10. Cc. 4

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

KNIGHTS of *MALTA*

By Monſ. L'ABBÉ DE VERTOT.

ILLUSTRATED

With LXXI. Heads of the GRAND MASTERS, &c
Engraved by the beſt Hands in *France*, from the ORIGINAL PAINTINGS, under the Inſpection of Monſ. *Bologne*, Director of the Royal Academy of PAINTING. With MAPS by Monſ. *de Lille*, and the PLANS and FORTIFICATIONS of *Malta* by the Chevalier *de Tigné*. And a compleat INDEX to the whole.

VOL. II.

LONDON:
Printed for G. STRAHAN in *Cornhil*; F. GYLES over-againſt *Grey's-Inn* in *Holborn*; Meſſ. WOODMAN and LYON in *Ruſſel-ſtreet*, *Covent-Garden*; D. BROWNE without *Temple-Bar*; Meſſ. GROENEWEGEN; PREVOST, and VANDERHOECK; in the *Strand*; C. DAVIS in *Pater-Noſter-Row*; and T. OSBORNE near *Grey's-Inn* Walks. MDCCXXVIII.

3

FH
MVSEVM
BRITANNICVM

THE HISTORY OF THE Knights Hoſpitallers OF St. JOHN of JERUSALEM,

Called afterwards

The KNIGHTS of Rhodes,

And at this time

The KNIGHTS of MALTA.

BOOK IX.

WHILST the happy Solyman was triumphing in the calamity of the knights of Rhodes, and that prince, who never valued the loſs of his ſoldiers, was rejoicing for a conqueſt that contributed ſo much to the glory of his arms, the grand maſter, before he ſailed out of the port of Rhodes, purſuant to the treaty which he had juſt made with the ſultan, diſpatched ſome brigantines, feluccas and tranſports to the commander d'Airaſque, governor of the caſtle of St. Peter, and to Perrin du Pont, bailiff of Lango, with orders to abandon the ſeveral places where they commanded, and make an immediate imbarkation of all the knights that were in their governments, and of all ſuch of the inhabitants ſubject to the order as ſhould be willing to follow them, and to repair with all poſſible expedition to the iſle of Candia; where he propoſed to ſtop for ſome time to wait their coming up, and receive prince Amurath, ſon to Zizim, if he ſhould be able to make his eſcape, with ſuch inhabitants of the iſle of Rhodes, as could not, by reaſon of his precipitate departure, embark at the ſame time with him. That prince after this ſet ſail, attended by all his knights, and followed by a great number of Rhodian families. His fleet made up fifty ſail, conſiſting of gallies, galliots,

VILLIERS DE L'ISLE ADAM.

VILLIERS DE L'ISLE ADAM.

galliots, brigantines, and feluccas of different bulk: He himſelf went on board the great carrack, taking with him the principal commanders, and particularly thoſe knights who were ſick and wounded; and it may be ſaid that this great veſſel, by carrying them, carry'd the whole fortune of the order.

IT would be difficult to draw in proper colours the affliction of the inhabitants of the iſle of Rhodes, when they ſaw themſelves forced to abandon their eſtates, their houſes, and their country. As long as this little fleet kept within a ſufficient diſtance, they had all of them their eyes fixed upon the iſland, but as ſoon as they loſt ſight of it, their grief burſt out in cries and tears; which however was but the beginning of their ſorrows.

AFTER ſome days ſailing, they were ſurprized by a violent ſtorm which diſperſed this little fleet among the iſlands of the Archipelago: The gallies eſpecially were in great diſtreſs for want of a ſufficient number of ſlaves and rowers. Solyman had before the grand maſter's departure taken from thence all the ſlaves who were either his ſubjects or of his religion: And the chriſtians who had voluntarily ſupplied their places, being very unequal to that employment, were rather an incumbrance to the ſervice than of any advantage to it. Several ſhips loſt their maſts by the violence of the ſtorm, and others that were overladen foundered. The poor Rhodians, to guard againſt ſuch like accidents, threw their bales and effects overboard; at laſt, after ſtruggling againſt the fury of the ſtorm for three days and nights together, the wind fell, the waves ſubſided, hope began to revive in their hearts, and the ſhips that were ſcatter'd, arrived one after another in different ports or bays of the iſland of Candia.

THE grand maſter, who was on board the great carrack, ſtopped in ſight, and came to an anchor in the road of the town of Setia; others put at firſt into the port of Spina Longa. As there were not any two veſſels of the fleet that kept together, they arrived one after another; they owed indeed their preſervation to this diſperſion, and if they had not been ſeparated by the violence of the winds, they would infallibly have fallen foul upon one another, and the bulging of a ſhip would have been as fatal as the ſtriking againſt a rock.

ALL the little veſſels, from the ſeveral places where they had put in for ſhelter, came up at laſt and joined the grand maſter. There arrived too about the ſame time the commander d'Airaſque, the bailiff of Lango, all the knights under their command, and the greateſt part of the inhabitants of the iſlands and fortreſſes of the order, who choſe to follow the fortune of their ſovereigns, rather than ſtay behind under the government of the Turks. When all this multitude was landed, the grand maſter made a general review, and the total amount of all, including men, women and children, came to near five thouſand. But having ſo lately undergone the fatigue of a terrible ſtorm, they were moſt of them ſick, faint and low-ſpirited; all of them were unprovided either of proviſions or means of ſubſiſtence; and ſome whoſe baggage had been thrown over-board, were left half naked, and utterly deſtitute of linnen.

THE grand maſter who had ſupported the loſs of his dominions with ſo much reſolution, could not refrain from tears, at the ſight of ſo forlorn a people: He was at the expence of procuring from the neighbouring towns proviſions, ſtuffs, and even linnen, to new cloath ſuch as wanted 'em. And at the ſame time enforcing theſe real and ſubſtantial ſupplies, with diſcourſes full of a ſpirit of charity, he aſſured them that the order would always give them a ſhare in their poſſeſſions and eſtates, to which, he told them, the poor had always the firſt claim. The people in the fulneſs of their heart

heart made no other reply to ſuch tender and moving ſentiments, than by offering up their vows for the long continuance of ſo beneficent a life: Every one ran to kiſs his hand; they all called him their father, and a name ſo dear to generous ſouls, gave this great man a more ſenſible pleaſure, than the title of lord and prince that was due to his dignity. VILLIERS DE L'ISLE ADAM.

HE was no ſooner landed near Setia, but he ſent advice of it to the governor and regency of the iſland; the governor immediately diſpatched the noble Pauli Juſtiniani, to offer him all manner of ſuccours that he might ſtand in need of, and invite him to come with all his people to the capital city, where they would find great plenty of proviſions. The grand maſter, though no way pleaſed with theſe Republicans, made no ſcruple to go thither. The governor, attended by the noble Dominico Treviſano, general of the gallies of the Republick, the magiſtrates and principal perſons of the iſland, came to receive him at his landing; they ſaluted him with great demonſtrations of their concern at the loſs of Rhodes, but ſo very unſeaſonably, that the grand maſter in a private converſation which he had afterwards with the general of the gallies, could not forbear reflecting on the timorous policy of the ſenate, who, tho' they had above ſixty gallies in the port of Candia, had yet ſtood ſtill as mere lookers on, whilſt Rhodes was falling into the hands of the infidels, without vouchſafing to throw the leaſt ſuccour into the place.

THE Venetian general could make no other reply to complaints that were ſo well founded, but by receiving them with a ſilence full of confuſion; and to wave all explications on ſo diſagreeable a ſubject, he invited him to ſtay in the iſland, till the winter and the ſeverity of the ſeaſon ſhould be over. But the grand maſter, full of the higheſt reſentment at the inſenſibility which the Venetians had ſhew'd in ſtanding as bare ſpectators whilſt Rhodes was loſt, told him, that as ſoon as he could refit his ſhips, which had ſuffer'd in the ſtorm, he ſhould continue his courſe; and that his deſign was to go immediately into Italy, to conſult with the pope about a place where it would be proper to fix the great convent, and ſettle the reſidence of the order.

WHILST he was labouring with the utmoſt application to repair his ſhips, Leonard Baleſtrin, the Latin metropolitan of Rhodes, arrived in Candia with his clergy, and ſeveral of the inhabitants. Solyman had obliged them to leave the place, under pretence that they were neither Rhodians nor Greeks, and that he would not ſuffer any Latins within his dominions. The grand maſter, who had the higheſt eſteem for the virtue of that prelate, received him very courteouſly, aſſigned him a penſion upon the treaſury of the order, and the archbiſhop afterwards taking the habit of the order, he named him prior of the church, which was at that time the firſt eccleſiaſtical dignity of the order, and indeed the very next poſt after the grand maſter; and which, therefore, had a right of ſitting in the council annexed to it.

AMONG the various events that happen'd after the grand maſter's departure, the archbiſhop told him, that the grand ſeignior had given ſuch ſtrict orders to ſearch for the ſon of Zizim, that the unfortunate prince was ſoon diſcovered, and brought before Solyman with his four children, two boys, and as many girls; that the ſultan, whoſe intereſt urg'd him in the ſtrongeſt manner to deſtroy this family, and who yet carefully avoided the character of a cruel prince, in order to have a plauſible pretence to get rid of him, asked him, as if he had known nothing of the matter, what religion he was of; that the prince anſwered him with great intrepidity, that he and his children were Chriſtians; that Solyman, under pretence of puniſhing him for a pretended apoſtacy, had order'd him to be ſtrangled

with

VILLIERS DE L'ISLE ADAM.

with his two ſons, and had cauſed them to be executed at the head of his army, in order to prevent any future malecontents or impoſtor from making uſe of their name, and raiſing an inſurrection; and that after this cruel execution, the ſultan had ſent the two young princeſſes to Conſtantinople, to be ſhut up in the old ſeraglio.

THE ſhips of the order being refitted, the grand maſter ſet ſail about the beginning of March; and diſpatched at the ſame time a light brigantine to carry the ſeveral ambaſſadors which he ſent to the pope, and to moſt of the princes of Chriſtendom, to acquaint them with the loſs of Rhodes, and complain of their having ſo univerſally abandoned him. This complaint was ſtill more juſtly levelled againſt the pope than the other chriſtian potentates: But that pontiff was entirely taken up with the affairs and intereſt of the emperor, and managed them with as much application as if he had ſtill been that prince's miniſter. 'Twould be impoſſible to relate all the reflections with which the world arraigned his conduct on this occaſion; they publickly exclaimed againſt the little zeal he had ſhewn for the relief of Rhodes: And the very day that the city was ſurrendered to Solyman, part of the architrave of that pope's chappel falling down the very moment that he was going into it, and that piece of marble daſhing out the brains of one of his guards that went before him, the people, who are very ready to interpret the intentions of heaven, did not fail upon this accident to look upon it as a judgment for his remiſſneſs, and a plain indication of the wrath of God.

THE grand maſter was very ſenſible of the great weight and influence that this pontiff's recommendation, and eſpecially his example, would have had for the ſaving of Rhodes; but as he ſaw plainly that he ſhould have occaſion for the pope's authority to ſupport his own, he ordered his embaſſador to explain himſelf in modeſt terms upon the want of ſuch military ſuccours, in order to engage him the more readily to grant him one of another nature, which was no leſs neceſſary for him in the preſent juncture. This prince in loſing Rhodes, had thereby loſt, not only a powerful and ſovereign dominion, but likewiſe the fixed and independent reſidence of the order, the great convent of it, the center and bond as it were, which united ſo conſiderable a number of knights of different nations in the ſame place, and in an immediate ſubjection to his authority. The fear of a general diſperſion gave him a ſecret anxiety; he was not without apprehenſions leſt upon his arrival in Italy, moſt of the knights finding themſelves without any fixed and ſettled convent, ſhould retire into their own countries; he was in the dark even as to a place where he might ſettle with his council and the body of people that follow'd his fortune; and what made his uneaſineſs ſtill greater, was the want he ſtood in of a port for the exerciſe of his profeſſion, and for the ſending out his veſſels to cruiſe. He was afraid he ſhould ſcarce find any Chriſtian prince who would give him a place or port within his territories in abſolute property and dominion: And ſuppoſing there ſhould be found one generous enough to afford him a place of refuge, he was ſtill as uneaſy for fear he ſhould afterwards pretend to diſpoſe of the forces of the order for his private intereſts; or if the order wanted a retreat, and was left without that common band of concord, that the knights ſhould diſperſe, and retire into their ſeveral countries: Which would exceedingly weaken the diſcipline of the order, and end at laſt in its deſtruction and ruin. Full of theſe melancholy conſiderations, he wrote about it to the pope, and order'd his embaſſador to get a bull from him directed to all the knights of the order, enjoining them under pain of excommunication, and being degraded of their knighthood,

to

to ſubmit to the orders of the grand maſter and the council, in what place ſoever he ſhould think proper to fix his own reſidence, and that of the council. VILLIERS DE L'ISLE ADAM.

THE embaſſador upon his arrival at Rome gave the pope an account of all that had paſſed in the defence of Rhodes: And purſuant to his inſtructions repreſented to him the melancholy ſituation of the order, and the juſt apprehenſions which the grand maſter had of a diſperſion, which would be ſtill of more fatal conſequence than even the loſs of Rhodes. The pope complied with the grand maſter's requeſt, and in order to retain all the knights under his obedience, granted him a bull, wherein, after extolling with juſt elogiums the zeal and valour which the knights had ſhewn againſt the infidels, he commanded them in virtue of their holy obedience to continue in a body under the grand maſter's authority, and threatned ſuch as ſhould prove refractory with all the cenſures of the church. The bull being iſſu'd out, the embaſſador ſent it to the prior of Meſſina, to deliver it to the grand maſter, who purſuant to his ſcheme was to arrive ſoon in the port of that city.

HE had indeed ſet ſail from the port of Candia; but he had been only a few days at ſea, when contrary winds obliged him to put in at Fraski, another port in the ſame iſland: From thence he went to that of Cerigo, formerly called Cytherea, and conſecrated to Venus, which is not above five miles from the main land of the Morea. The wind appearing favourable, the two carracks and the large ſhips ſailed before by his orders under the conduct of Auſton, commander of the language of England, kept out to ſea, and arrived happily in the port of Meſſina. But the grand maſter, reſolv'd not to quit the people of Rhodes, who were moſt of them ſick, ſet out a long time afterwards, went on board a galley, and with a galliot, the brigantines, feluccas, and ſmaller veſſels, with all that crowd of people on board, coaſted it, as being leſs dangerous, along the ſhore with extreme difficulties, entered the Adriatick gulf, and arrived at laſt at the port of Gallipoli, a town of the kingdom of Naples, in the gulph of Otranto.

THE great number of ſick that were on board the fleet, obliged him to ſtop for ſome time at this place. Whilſt he was taken up with providing for their relief, the knights, who were gone before him in the great ſhips of the order, arrived at Meſſina, where they found a great number of knights of different nations, who had rendezvouſed there with the ſuccours which they were in hopes of carrying to Rhodes. All theſe knights were under great uneaſineſs upon their receiving no manner of news of the grand maſter: Some were afraid that the gallies and ſmall veſſels were loſt in the ſtormy weather that had happened, and the bad ſeaſon in which they put to ſea; others were apprehenſive that the corſairs of Barbary which roved over thoſe ſeas, might have had advice of the grand maſter's departure, and the riches that he carried with him, and might have joined together to attack him; and that that little fleet, which was but ill provided, might have fallen into the hands of thoſe Barbarians. Their apprehenſions were the better grounded, in that Solyman having obliged the grand maſter before his departure to releaſe all the ſlaves that were either born his ſubjects or profeſſed his religion, there was not a galley that had half the crew neceſſary to row it. 'Twas indeed this want of men, as much as the ſeverity of the ſeaſon, which had occaſioned the grand maſter's wandering ſo long in thoſe ſeas; in fine, he came about the beginning of May with his little fleet into the port of Meſſina. Inſtead of the uſual flag of the order, he hoiſted on the top of the maſt of the veſſel that he

VILLIERS DE L'ISLE ADAM.

was on board of, a ſtandard or ſort of banner, on which was repreſented the image of the bleſſed virgin, holding her dead ſon in her arms, with this motto, *In the extremity of my affliction, he is my only hope*; AFFLICTIS SPES MEA REBUS. Pignatelli count of Monteleon, viceroy of Sicily, the archbiſhop of Meſſina, Fabritio Pignatelli brother to the viceroy and prior of Barletto, Charles Jeſvatre prior of St. Stephens, the prior of Meſſina, the commanders and whole body of the knights, the nobility, gentry, people, and all the city in a manner came out and were preſent at the grand maſter's landing. The whole multitude had their eyes fixed on the venerable old man, whoſe conſtancy and reſolution made him as illuſtrious under his misfortunes, as his bravery in the defence of Rhodes had made him glorious.

AFTER the viceroy had made him his compliment, and offered him in the emperor's name the town of Meſſina to ſerve him for a retreat, and for a place of refreſhment to his fleet, the archbiſhop and all the grandees of the kingdom, the gentry and people, by a ſolemn ſilence, very ſuitable to his ill fortune, expreſſed how much they ſympathized with him in it. But who could expreſs the real grief which all the knights felt for the loſs of Rhodes, the remembrance of which was renewed by his arrival? Such as were ſtanding upon the port, as well as thoſe that landed, unable to ſpeak a word, could only communicate their common affliction by tender embraces: Some tears ſtole from thoſe that had the moſt reſolution, notwithſtanding all their endeavours not to ſhed one; L'Iſle Adam alone, always ſuperior to his calamity, diſcovered plainly by his reſolution that he was worthy of a better fortune. He walked towards the prior's palace, preceded by all the knights, bare-headed, who kept a mournful ſilence, and diſcovered by theſe demonſtrations of their reſpect, that tho' he had loſt his territories, he yet had not loſt any thing of his authority over a body of nobility and gentry, who in happier times would be able to conquer a new iſland of Rhodes.

THE grand maſter's firſt care, after his landing, was to provide lodgings in his own palace and the houſes adjoining, for the knights that were ſick and wounded: He waited on them himſelf, aſſiſted by the knights that were left unhurt. 'Twas indeed a very moving ſight to ſee theſe men, who uſed to appear ſo terrible with their weapons in their hand, now animated only by a ſpirit of charity, devote themſelves to the meaneſt ſervices, carry broth to the ſick, make their beds, and ſhew a diſregard to every thing but what might contribute to their relief and recovery.

FROM theſe charitable offices, ſo agreeable to the firſt inſtitution of the order, the grand maſter, ſtill inconſolable for the loſs of Rhodes, paſſed to a ſevere inquiſition and enquiry againſt thoſe who were employed to carry ſuccours thither: He ordered them to be cited before a full council to give an account of their delay, and proteſted publickly that he would without reſpect of perſons puniſh according to law, as traitors and deſerters, all ſuch as ſhould be convicted of remiſſneſs and negligence in the execution of thoſe orders which had been preſcribed them.

ALL thoſe that were cited, and particularly pointed at by theſe menaces, preſented themſelves before that tribunal with a confidence which truth and innocence alone can inſpire. The priors of Barletto and St. Stephens were the firſt that appeared, who repreſented, that beſides a prodigious quantity of ammunition and proviſions which they had prepared, purſuant to the grand maſter's orders, they had likewiſe voluntarily, and at their own expence, liſted two thouſand old ſoldiers, and engaged a conſiderable body of volunteers and young noblemen to go to Rhodes; but

VILLIERS DE L'ISLE ADAM.

but that for the two laſt months the winds had held ſo perpetually contrary, and the weather had been ſo tempeſtuous, that no body had been imprudently bold enough to put to ſea; and that it was well enough known, that the chevalier de Nieuport, of the language of England, an old ſea captain, who buoyed himſelf up with the hopes of maſtering the waves by his skill, going on board at that time, was driven back by the violence of the wind againſt the point of a deſert promontory, where his ſhip with all his crew were loſt.

ANTONIO DI SAN MARTINO, prior of Catalonia, repreſented on his ſide to the council, that at the firſt news of the ſiege, he had fitted out a gallion at his own expence, and went on board it at the head of the knights of Arragon, Navarre, Valentia and Majorca, to go to the relief of Rhodes; that they were attack'd near the iſland of Corſica by a ſquadron of the grand ſeignior's gallies, which ply'd him with their cannon ſhot, and coming up cloſe with him, threw ſhowers of grenado's and fire-pots without ceaſing into his ſhip; that they made ſeveral attempts to board him, and were as often repulſed, but that after an engagement of ſix hours, they prepared to burn him with a fire-ſhip, but a freſh gale of wind ſpringing up in the night, he made a ſhift to ſave his veſſel, which was terribly torn with the cannon ſhot, and got to the port of San Boniſacio in the iſle of Sardinia, from whence with great difficulty and danger he had made his way to Meſſina.

THE chevalier d'Albi, ſon to the duke of that name, ſetting ſail from Carthagena with the knights of Caſtile and Portugal, had much the ſame fate: He was inveſted by a ſquadron of Algerine corſairs, who poured in their broad-ſides upon him from every quarter. His main-maſt was ſhot by the board, his ſails and tackling torn in pieces, he received likewiſe ſeveral ſhot between wind and water, without being brought to ſtrike; and was reſolved to blow up his ſhip rather than let the flag of the order fall into the hands of the infidels. By good fortune he with his laſt broad-ſide, ſunk the admiral of the corſairs: And the Barbarians launching out all their long-boats to ſave their general, and the ſoldiers that were aboard him; the Spaniſh captain, improving the little interval which that advantage afforded him, made off and got to the iſle of Buſa or Ivica, one of the Baleares, where he mended his ſails and tackling, but could not get from thence to the port of Meſſina till the beginning of December. The knights of Tuſcany and Lombardy repreſented in their turn, that they were to have embark'd on ſome ſhips which the commander de Tournebon, prior of Piſa, and of an illuſtrious family in Florence, had hired upon his own credit; but that knight, who was to fit them out at his own expence, happening to die ſuddenly, they were left unprovided of the neceſſary funds to go on with that armament; that indeed they had applied to the receivers of Piſa, Venice and Lombardy; but they were ſo long in raiſing the money neceſſary to defray the charges of this equipment, that they could not help being the laſt who arrived in the port of Meſſina.

IN fine, the chevalier d'Auſſonville, or de Villiers, who had been ſent embaſſador to the kings of France and England, declared that upon his arrival at the court of Francis I. he had repreſented to him in the warmeſt manner the preſſing need that Rhodes had of his ſuccour; to which that gallant prince replied, that though he was attacked on all ſides by the ſea and land forces of the emperor and the king of England, he yet would ſend orders forthwith to Andrew Doria, then general of his gallies, to ſupply him with three of thoſe that were the beſt provided, and alſo that he might take up in his dominions what proviſions and ammunition he had occaſion for: That continuing his road afterwards towards London, to wait

upon

VILLIERS DE L'ISLE ADAM.

upon Henry VIII. he had met that prince at Calais, who received him coldly, and that he could not get from him the leaſt encouragement that might give him room to hope for ſuccours; that he returned thereupon to Marſeilles, and Doria purſuant to the king's orders delivered him three gallies, viz. the Ferrara, la Trimouille and the Doria, upon which above 300 knights of the three languages of France embarked, carrying with them eight hundred men, all gallant ſoldiers and warriors: That he had, with the money of the order, freighted three merchant-ſhips which he found in the port of Marſeilles; and after loading them with ammunition and proviſions, ſet ſail for Meſſina, the place of rendezvous; but a terrible ſtorm, which had been at the ſame time ſo fatal to other veſſels of the order, had diſperſed his little fleet; that in all likelihood the tranſport veſſels had foundered; that the Ferrara galley was likewiſe loſt; that the Doria had ſtranded on the coaſt of Sardinia, and that none but the Trimouille had arrived ſafe in the port of Meſſina.

ALL theſe facts being clearly proved by the concurrent teſtimony and oaths of the knights, as well as of the crew of thoſe veſſels, "God be for "ever praiſed," cried the grand maſter, "who in our common misfortune "has given me the ſatisfaction of knowing that no one can aſcribe the "cauſe of it to the negligence of any of my brethren of the order." Then calling about him the priors and grand croſſes who had been brought before the council of war, he embraced them in a very affectionate manner; "'Twas neceſſary," ſaid he to them, "for the honour of the order, "as well as for your own, that I ſhould make this examination, which "will juſtify to all princes living, as well as to the lateſt poſterity, that "if Rhodes could have been ſaved by the ſingle forces of the order, that "bulwark of chriſtendom had not now been in the hands of the infidels."

HOWEVER juſt theſe reaſons might be, they yet did not allay the ſecret reſentment of the knights, on account of the informations and criminal proſecution carried on againſt them by the grand maſter. Moſt of them deſigned to retire immediately to their priories and commanderies; and ſeveral private knights, after their example, who had nothing to live upon, reſolved to return into their reſpective countries, and try to mend their circumſtances at the courts of their ſovereigns.

THE grand maſter getting notice of this kind of conſpiracy, called a general aſſembly of all the knights that were at Meſſina, in which he cauſed the pope's brief to be read, which had been delivered to him by the prior of Meſſina, and contained a prohibition to all the knights, under grievous penalties, to leave the grand maſter without his expreſs leave firſt obtain'd. He told them afterwards, that ſince the loſs of Rhodes, they alone might be ſaid to form the repreſentative body of the order; and if they did not keep together in this melancholy juncture, the order would dwindle inſenſibly, and perhaps be at laſt ſlighted by the ſovereign princes of chriſtendom. He added, that after having expoſed their lives ſo often on various occaſions againſt the infidels, particularly in the defence of Rhodes, he might juſtly expect from the obedience they had vowed at the altar, that they would practice the patience neceſſary to procure them, before their ſeparation, a ſettlement that might repair their loſs; and which might be declared the head convent of the order, and the reſidence of all the knights.

HE inſinuated very moving exhortations in this diſcourſe, which, with his repreſentation of the pope's orders, and the influence of his own authority, brought them to temper, and appeaſed the diſcontented. All their thoughts were now taken up in finding out a port, where the order, agree-

ble

able to its inſtitution, might continue the ſuccours it had given for ſo many ages to the Chriſtians that ſailed in thoſe ſeas. VILLIERS DE L'ISLE ADAM.

THE grand maſter's deſign was to go himſelf immediately to Rome to confer about it with the pope; but this great man was not yet at the end of his troubles and fatigues. A dreadful plague broke out at Meſſina; when he, in order to avoid the contagion, cauſed his knights, the wounded as well as the ſound, and all the Rhodians that had followed him, to reimbark. This new imbarkation was made with as much precipitation, as that from Rhodes: They were to avoid an enemy much more terrible than the Turks; but in ſpight of this precaution, the plague got into the veſſels of the order: Several knights died of it, and amongſt others Gregory de Morgut, grand prior of Navarre, who had ſignalized himſelf at the ſiege of Rhodes, and the chevaliers de St. Martin Grimault, and Avogadre. The grand maſter alike unfortunate by ſea and land, and carrying, as it were, his enemy about him in his boſom, reſolved, in order to the recovery of the ſick, to go in queſt of a more healthy air; and with leave from the viceroy of Naples, he landed his colony in the gulph of Baiæ. After taking a view of the country, he marked out a camp near the ruins of the old town of Cumæ; here they built cabbins and barracks by his orders for lodging the knights and Rhodians: And for fear of being ſurprized by the corſairs of Barbary, who roved all along thoſe coaſts, he made broad ditches and intrenchments about his little camp, fortifying them with paliſadoes and artillery, which he took out of his ſhips. This change of air was followed with immediate ſucceſs; moſt of the ſick recovered; and after a month's ſtay in that mild and temperate climate, the grand maſter being impatient to confer with the pope about a proper place for the ſettlement of his order, after giving him advice of his ſetting out, reimbarked with his colony, and arrived a few days afterwards at Civita-Vecchia. He immediately diſpatched the chevalier de Chevriere for Rome to compliment the pope in his name, and at the ſame time to deſire an audience of him concerning the diſmal revolution which had juſt happened in his order. The holy father diſpatched the biſhop of Cuença, a Spaniſh prelate, of his own family, to congratulate him upon his ſafe arrival in his territories. But inſtead of gratifying his eagerneſs, he let him know by the biſhop that he could not adviſe him by any means to go upon his journey ſo ſoon, eſpecially in the dog-days; that he ſhould have the patience to continue with his colony at Civita-Vecchia, and that after ſome time he would acquaint him with the day when he could give him audience: A pretence which the pontiff made uſe of to prevent the grand maſter's being witneſs of a declaration of war, which he was going to publiſh in great form againſt France. Bofio, T. 3. l. 1. Id. p. 16.

To underſtand rightly this point of Hiſtory, we muſt obſerve that Adrian, as ſoon as he was ſeated in St. Peter's chair, had agreeably to the example of his predeceſſors notified it to the grand maſter; and declared expreſly in the ſame brief, that nothing made that new dignity agreeable to him, but the deſire he had of employing all the credit it gave him with the chriſtian princes, to unite them in an holy league againſt the infidels: A proteſtation which he afterwards renewed in all his letters. But as if this declaration had been but a meer apoſtolical form of words, he, inſtead of forming a cruſade againſt the Turks, had juſt concluded a league between himſelf, the emperor, the king of England, and the duke of Milan, by which they were to attack the dominions of his moſt chriſtian majeſty, whilſt the conſtable de Bourbon, under pretence of a private grievance, was to raiſe an inſurrection within the kingdom. The league be-

Villiers de L'Isle Adam.

ing ſigned, the pope went to the church of Santa Maria Maggiore the day of the aſſumption; he there ſaid maſs pontifically, aſſiſted by all the ſacred college, and afterwards publiſhed with great ſolemnity, a declaration of war againſt France. Moſt of the cardinals were of opinion that the pope ought not to quit the character of the common father of the faithful; and ſeveral of them repreſented to him, that he ought to reſerve to himſelf the acting the part of a mediator between the emperor and the king of France; but his paſſion for the Houſe of Auſtria made him deaf to ſuch reaſonable advice: And the pope, though otherwiſe a very good and diſintereſted man, devoted himſelf blindly to the ambition of a prince who was minded to invade France: A paſſage which plainly ſhews, that private virtues do not ſufficiently qualify a man for government, and that great places muſt be filled up with great qualities and great talents. But whether God had a mind to puniſh the pontiff in this world for that ſpirit of party, which prevail'd in him, or, which is more probable, that the length of the ceremony had fatigued him too much, he was not able to go to a great entertainment which cardinal Pompeio Colonna gave, when church was over, to all the ſacred college, and the embaſſadors of the princes that had engaged in the league. An ague ſeized him as he came back to his palace; he was afflicted with it above a fortnight, ſo that 'twas only about the twenty-fifth of the ſame month, during an interval which his diſtemper gave him, that he notified to the grand maſter his being ready to receive him at Rome, and give him audience.

1523. Boſio l. 2.

The grand maſter ſet out immediately, attended by all his knights. Anne de Montmorency marſhal of France, his great nephew, was then at Rome: The king his maſter had ſent him thither, either becauſe he was not yet acquainted with the ſtep the pope had made, or elſe in order to engage him to quit the league. This French nobleman came to meet his uncle with a magnificent train, and went a conſiderable diſtance from Rome to receive him; and when the grand maſter drew near that capital of the chriſtian world, he was met by the auditor of the pope's chamber, the ſteward of his houſhold, and the firſt prelates of his family, who came to compliment him in his name: They were followed by the light horſe and Swiſs guards of the pontiff, and theſe by the families and equipages of the cardinals; the duke of Seſſa, the emperor's embaſſador, met him at the field of Flora, and accompanied him to the palace. The grand maſter as he paſſed over the bridge of St. Angelo, and in the piazza di San Pietro, was ſaluted ſeveral times by all the artillery of the city and caſtle. The nobility, gentry, and people in general crouded to ſee this great man, who had filled not only Rome, but alſo the whole world with his reputation, and the valour he had ſhewn in the defence of Rhodes. With this numerous and magnificent retinue he entered the pope's palace and apartment. The pontiff, tho' much weaken'd by his illneſs, when he ſaw him enter his chamber, roſe from his chair, advanced ſeveral ſteps to meet him, when the grand maſter proſtrating himſelf to kiſs his feet, he embraced him with great tenderneſs. He made him afterwards ſit down in the midſt of the cardinals who were preſent at the audience; and after having ſaid ſeveral obliging things about the greatneſs of his courage, and the valour of his knights, he aſſured him that he would not omit any thing that could be done to preſerve an order ſo uſeful to all Chriſtendom. He then took leave of him, calling him the hero of the chriſtian religion, and the brave defender of the faith; titles which he juſtly deſerved, but which put the pope to much leſs expence than the ſuccours would have done, for which they had ſo often applied to him, tho' always to no purpoſe.

Magnus Chriſti athleta, & fidei catholicæ acerrimus propugnator. Boſ. l. 2. p. 20.

The

VILLIERS DE L'ISLE ADAM. 1523.

THE grand maſter never ſaw him after, the pope relapſed, and the fever was ſo violent, that perceiving himſelf near his end, he ſent for the holy viaticum: And calling all the cardinals into his chamber, he exhorted them in the moſt moving terms, and with great humility, to chuſe one for his ſucceſſor, who would redreſs the faults he might have committed in the government of the church; he died on the 14th of September, being ſixty-four years of age. As ſoon as his funeral was over, the cardinals, who were thirty-ſix in number, ſhut themſelves up in the conclave, and were ſoon after increaſed to thirty-nine. The grand maſter and his knights were intruſted with the guard of the conclave. Among the ſeveral aſpirers to the papacy, Pompeio Colonna and Julio de Medicis ſeemed to have the faireſt pretenſions. The illuſtrious birth and riches of Colonna, his ſplendid and expenſive way of living, his great liberalities and his genius ſo proper for the managing an intrigue, had procured him a great number of partiſans among the cardinals; and he had been ſubtle enough to perſuade them, that they would all make their private fortunes by contributing to his promotion. Moreover, his ſtrict attachment to the emperor, an attachment that was hereditary in his family, ſecured him the cardinals of that prince's faction. It is ſaid that when he enter'd the conclave, he wanted only two votes to ratify his election; and he flatter'd himſelf that he ſhould gain them by his intrigues among the contrary party. Medicis however ballanced theſe advantages by the remembrance of the late pope Leo X. his couſin-german, whoſe memory was ſtill recent, and very dear to moſt of the cardinals, and thoſe eſpecially of his creation.

JULIO DE MEDICIS had always paſſed for the natural ſon of Julian de Medicis, till the pontificate of Leo X. That pope, who had nothing ſo much at heart as the grandeur of his family, declared him to be legitimate upon the depoſition of his mother's brother, and the information of ſome monks, who certified that there was a promiſe of marriage between his father and mother; a teſtimony that looks a little ſuſpicious in ſo delicate an affair. He entered at firſt into the order of the knights of Rhodes, and by the pope's credit he ſoon obtained rich commanderies, and roſe to the firſt dignities of it: But finding that nature had form'd him better for court-intrigues than for war, he took holy orders, and Leo X. created him cardinal in 1513. He afterwards made him legate of Bologna, and collated him to the archbiſhopricks of Florence, Ambrun, and Narbonne, and the biſhoprick of Marſeilles. That pontiff, who was deſirous of making him the ſupport of his family, loaded him with riches and preferments; but notwithſtanding the ſupreme power he had in the church, his ambition was ſtill unſatisfied. During his pontificate, Medicis, in quality of cardinal nephew, had a great ſhare in the government; and whilſt Leo ſeemed entirely taken up with his pleaſures, he ſeemed to ſupport the whole weight of affairs on his own ſhoulders. 'Tis however certain, that the pope had much greater views than his nephew, a better knowledge of his true intereſts, and a much greater conſtancy and reſolution. 'Twas he alone who formed in ſecret the ſchemes of all his enterpriſes; but in order to give the greater credit to the cardinal nephew, and probably out of lazineſs, he left the execution of them to him.

THE cardinal diſpoſed of the poſts and dignities of the court; no promotion was made, but by his advice, and at his recommendation: He was a ſort of a ſecond pope; and after Adrian's death he entered the conclave, followed by ſixteen cardinals, all of them his uncle's creatures, who before they went to a ſcrutiny always received his orders how they ſhould give their votes. Their deſign was to raiſe him to the pontificate; but the faction

Villiers de L'Isle Adam.

tion of Colonna threw an invincible obſtacle in the way. The two competitors, in order to know what they had to rely upon, and to make tryal of their ſtrength, propoſed each of them ſeveral cardinals of their party. Colonna put up Jacobaccio, a cardinal of ſhallow parts, but one who was cloſely attached to him. The party of Medicis immediately threw him out, and Colonna play'd the ſame game with regard to thoſe that were named by Medicis. This diſpute laſted ſeveral days before either of them would yield to the other. The two parties, animated by their principals, pretended equally to have the glory of creating them popes, or at leaſt to have the ſovereign pontiff taken only out of their faction. Notwithſtanding the ſeeming calm, ſecret Negotiations were carried on with vigour: Colonna and Medicis either by themſelves or by their emiſſaries, were continually buſy in getting over ſome votes, and making conqueſts in the oppoſite party; but the cardinals of each faction were ſo faithful to their principals, that there were no deſerters on either ſide.

Cardinal de Medicis, as if he was out of hopes of being pope himſelf, and in order to over-reach Colonna, brought cardinal Urſini upon the ſtage, a perſon fitly qualified for the papacy, by reaſon of his great age, his learning, and eſpecially his capacity in affairs of government; but he was of a family that bore an hereditary hatred to that of Colonna, as himſelf was a declared enemy to cardinal Colonna. All the cardinals of the faction of Medicis by his direction gave him one day their votes; upon this, Colonna was as one who had been thunder-ſtruck; he was ſenſible that Urſini, beſides the creatures of Medicis, had even ſome particular friends in his own faction, who might perhaps quit his party to raiſe Urſini to the popedom. He was frighted, and dreaded ſeeing the papal diadem on the head of a man of his capacity, who would probably employ all the authority of it to ruin his family. In the fear therefore of falling under his ſubjection, and in order to ſecure his being ſet aſide, he, after having try'd ſeveral expedients to no purpoſe, was at laſt forced to declare in favour of the election of his rival; he offered to give him his own vote, and all the reſt that were at his diſpoſal. The two heads of the parties had a conference together, and entered into ſeveral negotiations, in which Colonna did not neglect his own intereſt. Medicis gave him a promiſe in writing of the poſt of vice-chancellor of the church, and a grant of his own palace, which was one of the nobleſt buildings in Rome. Colonna, after taking all the ſecurity that could be given him, at the next ſcrutiny gave him his own vote, and procured him all the ſuffrages of his faction. By the union of theſe two parties an end was put to all diſputes, and after the conclave had held two months and four days, cardinal de Medicis was unanimouſly elected, and took the name of Clement VII.

Hiſt. des Conclaves, T. 1. p. 168.

Guicciardin. l. 15.

1523. Nov. 19.

Such cardinals as were the creatures of Leo X. and the people eſpecially, who remember'd with pleaſure the grandeur and magnificence with which that pope had lived, made great rejoicings at the firſt news of his nephew's election. They ſaid that Rome muſt needs be happy under the pontificate of a prince who had himſelf been witneſs to his uncle's great qualities, and alſo formed by him for government. But no body was more pleaſed with his promotion than the grand maſter and his knights; he was the firſt religious of the order that had been raiſed to the papacy, and in the unhappy condition the order was in, wandering about without a convent or fixed habitation, or without any port for their fleet to put in at, they looked upon the election of one of their knights, as a particular act of providence, which by ſo diſtinguiſhing a favour was pleaſed to ſoften the anguiſh of their calamities. The loſs of Rhodes began to ſit lighter on the grand maſter, who

imagin'd that under the pontificate of a knight of his order, and by the assistance of his protection, he should soon find a proper place of retreat, and even a new territory; where, agreeable to their institution, and for the common advantage of the christian princes, the order might continue to send out their fleets as usual, against the infidels. VILLIERS DE L'ISLE ADAM.

NOR was he deceived of his just expectation; for there never had been, since the foundation of the order, a pope that expressed so high an esteem, or shewed so tender an affection to the knights of St. John. The grand master, after a cardinal had proclaimed the election of Clement VII. opened the conclave, and was the first that made his compliments to that pontiff, who made him publick acknowledgments for the good order and exactness he had kept with regard to the conclave: And the clergy of St. Peter de Lateran coming in to carry the new pope to the church, whither he went attended by all the Cardinals, Sir Julian Ridolfi prior of Capua and embassador of the order, went immediately before him, compleatly armed and finely mounted, carrying the great standard of the order; a function which this very pontiff had formerly exercis'd in quality of knight of St. John, at the election of Leo X. his cousin.

No sooner was the pope rid of that numberless multitude of ceremonies, which are inseparable from an accession to the papacy, but he, at the grand master's request, gave him audience in a full consistory. That prince had desired it, in order to lay before him an account of the siege of Rhodes, and set forth in the first city of the christian world all that had passed in the defence of that place. The vice-chancellor of the order, who was the speaker on this occasion, related to them how six hundred knights that were shut up in Rhodes, had defended it for six months completely against two hundred thousand Turks that attacked it. He went on representing the thunder and continual fire of the artillery, the ruin of the fortifications, the lodgment of the enemy under the walls, the frequent assaults, the continual engagements which the knights had day and night with the infidels; notwithstanding all which, they did not abandon the place till after they had lost almost all their brother companions, their soldiers, the bravest of the inhabitants, and till such time as the enemy had carried on their works to the very heart of the place, and that they had no ground left to intrench themselves and fight upon.

THIS relation excited at once the admiration and compassion of all the sacred college; several cardinals at the relation of the death of so many knights as had sacrificed their lives in the defence of Rhodes, could not refrain from tears; and the pope in concert with all the consistory, in order to preserve an order and body of illustrious warriors, who were all of such eminent service to christendom, and provide for them till such time as they should meet with an island or port for continuing their military functions, assigned them Viterbo for their residence; a town seated about forty miles from Rome, in the patrimony of St. Peter; and permitted their ships and gallies to stay in the port of Civita-Vecchia. 1524. Bosio, l. 2.

To this favour, the holy father added another, which indeed was very honourable both for the order and its head; and by a particular act of Jan. 15, 1524, ordered that when he should go to chappel, the grand master should have the first place on the right hand of the throne, and that in all cavalcades he should march alone, immediately before his holiness: The pope would have this regulation inserted in the registers of the master of the ceremonies. The grand master, sensibly affected with these testimonies of his good will, went, before he set out for Viterbo, to the palace to return him thanks for them, and had afterwards several audiences of him, Id. ib. p. 24.

VILLIERS DE L'ISLE ADAM.

wherein he acquainted him with the various propoſals made him in relation to a fixed ſettlement for his order, which might compenſate for the loſs of the iſle of Rhodes. He told him, that during the vacancy of the holy ſee, various places on the continent had been mentioned to him, which he might have treated about; but that he had rejected the propoſal, becauſe the ſituation did not ſuit their inſtitution, whoſe profeſſion was to ſerve as convoys to thoſe pilgrims, who ſhould imbark out of devotion to viſit the holy places, and for a guard at the ſame time to all ſuch chriſtians as ſhould go by ſea; that Andrea Vendramino, an old religious of the order and archbiſhop of Corfu, had adviſed him to caſt his eyes upon the port of Suda in Candia, or upon the iſle of Cerigo, which belonged to the republick of Venice: but that his holineſs could not but be ſenſible how that commonwealth, like ſome women who are uſed to bear with every thing flowing from the violence and extravagance of their lovers, frequently diſſembled the inſults of the Turk, and through a fear of incurring his reſentment, did not dare receive into their dominions a military order, which the grand ſeignior looked upon as his eternal enemy: that he had been likewiſe ſpoke to about the iſle of Elba, on the coaſt of Tuſcany; but the king of Spain and the prince of Piombino being maſters of the principal places of the iſland, it did not ſuit either the dignity of the order, or the common good of chriſtendom, to have the grand maſter and ſupreme council of the order dependant on any particular prince. He added, that ſome Spaniſh knights, who were of the greateſt quality of that nation, probably in concert with the miniſters that the emperor had in Italy, had propoſed to him the iſlands of Malta and Goza, with the town of Tripoli on the coaſt of Africa, which belonged to that prince, in quality of king of Sicily; that this laſt propoſal, on account of the various ports that were in the iſle of Malta, was not diſagreeable to him; but then the emperor had ſuch ſubtle and ſecret views, that he was afraid leſt this project, which ſeemed to be only owing to a pious motive, might at laſt produce ſome ſort of ſubjection; and tho' they were to ſuppoſe that the emperor would make them an abſolute conveyance, and grant them the iſles of Malta and Goza in fee ſimple, yet they could not without great reluctance take into their hands the adminiſtration of ſo weak a place as Tripoli, which was ſurrounded on all ſides with barbarians and infidels, ſo that the putting knights there in garriſon, would be no other than ſending them to the ſlaughter.

HOWEVER, notwithſtanding theſe conſiderations, which were not altogether without ſome foundation, the pope after having maturely weighed theſe different propoſals, reſolved upon the laſt. But as he knew very well that the emperor was no ſlave to his word, he, without explaining himſelf further to the grand maſter, adviſed him to take his meaſures in ſuch a manner as not to be caught by any ſecret deſigns of his miniſters, who might perhaps have no other view but to increaſe his maſter's ſubjects in the perſons of the knights. L'Iſle Adam, upon his arrival at Viterbo, ſent an embaſſy to that prince; the embaſſadors were the prior of Caſtile, the chevalier de Martinengo, that excellent engineer, who had acquired ſo much glory at the ſiege of Rhodes, and the commander Boſio, chaplain of the order, one who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his skill in negotiations. Theſe embaſſadors upon their arrival at Madrid, where the emperor then was, applied to him in the name of the whole order, and deſired him to be pleaſed to grant them the iſles of Malta and Goza by an abſolute feofment, free from all manner of ſubjection and dependance; and they made this propoſal without mentioning Tripoli, purſuant to their inſtructions. The embaſſadors did not fail to repreſent to him, that he, by a grant ſo ſuitable to the

generoſity

generoſity of a great prince, would be the reſtorer, and as it were the ſecond founder of an order, which had for many ages been dedicated to the defence of the chriſtians; and that the knights by their ſettlement in thoſe iſlands, would put a ſtop to the ravages of the corſairs of Barbary, and ſecure the iſles of Sicily and Sardinia, the kingdom of Naples, and all the coaſts of Italy from their incurſions. VILLIERS DE L'ISLE ADAM.

THIS was juſt what the emperor had in view, and his communicating this project to the grand maſter, did not perhaps flow ſo much from a motive of generoſity as from ſelf-intereſt. Beſides, the conſiderable expences he was forced to be at in maintaining garriſons in thoſe iſlands and in Tripoli, which he by that means would be eaſed of, he was of opinion that the knights, who were the terror of the infidels, would keep them in awe by their valour; and that the ſquadrons of the order would ſerve for an invincible rampart againſt the enterprizes of the grand ſeignior, who after the conqueſt of the iſle of Rhodes might perhaps be tempted to attack Sicily.

THESE ſeveral motives were more than ſufficient to determine him to conclude the treaty: But this prince, who was the greateſt politician of his age, and who frequently reaped greater advantages by his negotiations than he did even by his arms, told the embaſſadors that he was no way averſe to the propoſitions which they were come to make him; but that he yet could not reſolve to alienate Malta and Goza, unleſs Tripoli was alſo comprehended in the ſame treaty; that he inſiſted likewiſe that the body of the order ſhould take an oath of fidelity to him in quality of its ſovereign; that a new creation ſhould be made of a ſecond bailiff of the language of Caſtile; that in the admiral's abſence, none but a knight of the language of Italy ſhould command the gallies: and as he very much doubted whether the order would ever ſubmit to take an oath of fealty to him, he added, that he had no intention of engaging himſelf to ſupply Malta with corn for the future. By this reſervation he ſecured to himſelf an abſolute dominion over the knights, who could never ſubſiſt without ſuch a ſupply. 1524.

THE prior of Caſtile and Martinengo ſtay'd at the emperor's court, and Boſio, by agreement with them, returned to Italy, and came to Viterbo to the grand maſter, to whom he gave an account of the emperor's intentions. Had they come from any other ſovereign, they would not have been ſo much as heard; but moſt of the commanderies of the order lying within the vaſt extent of that prince's dominions, they reſolved to wait, and ſee if time would afford them any relief; and if the pope's good offices could produce any moderation of ſuch hard conditions: and in the mean while, to keep the negotiation ſtill on foot, they prevailed with the emperor before they gave him a deciſive anſwer, to allow the order to ſend eight commiſſaries to Malta, Goza and Tripoli, viz. one of each language, to viſit thoſe places, and afterwards make their report of them to the council. Boſ. l. 2. p. 26.

THE grand maſter was the leſs eager to conclude the treaty, becauſe he had a new project at that time on foot, which was much more glorious and advantageous for the order; and this was to recover Rhodes, and drive out the turks. The propoſer of this enterprize was Achmet Baſſa, the very ſame that had contributed moſt to the taking of the place. The reader may have obſerv'd in the foregoing book, that Solyman being diſpleaſed with Muſtapha who commanded under him at the ſiege of Rhodes, had turn'd him out of his poſt and given it to Achmet; but at the requeſt of his ſiſter, whom Muſtapha had married, that prince had ſent him into Egypt to command there in quality of Begler-bey. He had no better ſucceſs in that

government

Villiers de L'Isle Adam.

government than he had at the ſiege of Rhodes: whether it were owing to his unskilfulneſs in the arts of government, or to his avarice, or that he tyrannized over that people, who had been lately brought into ſubjection to the Turkiſh empire, a general inſurrection aroſe in the provinces; and a prodigious army of Arabians and Egyptians came to beſiege him in Grand Cairo itſelf, whoſe inhabitants, from the ſame motive, held ſecret correſpondence with the rebels.

Mustapha's wife, alarmed at the dangers to which both herſelf and her husband were expos'd, had recourſe to the grand ſeignior her brother. That prince, whoſe intereſt engaged him to ſtifle this rebellion immediately, ſent Achmet into Egypt at the head of a mighty army, to bring off his brother-in-law, and take the government of thoſe great provinces in his ſtead.

Hiſt. de Chalcondile, Tom. 1. l. 14. p. 489.

The new general in a little time beat the rebels on ſeveral occaſions; but after he had eſtabliſhed the reputation of his valour and the terror of his arms, he ſet himſelf to gain the malecontents by a conduct that was entirely the reverſe of that of Muſtapha; the taxes were by his order conſiderably diminiſhed. As he ſecretly aſpired to make himſelf independent, and abſolute maſter of the kingdom, he removed the Turkiſh officers who were odious to the Egyptians, filling their poſts at the ſame time with noblemen of that nation; and in order to engage a body of troops in his intereſt that ſhould be independent on any one but himſelf, he got together all the Mamelukes that were left in Egypt, and who ever ſince the Turks ſubdued the country, had been diſperſed up and down in the remoteſt provinces. He made them his guards, increaſed their uſual pay, when being impoſed on by their expreſſions of affection and attachment to him, which was not ſo much the reſult of his merit as his fortune, and fancying himſelf maſter of their hearts, becauſe he was ſo of the country by his dignity, he was daring enough to aſſume openly the name and ornaments of a ſovereign. As he did not queſtion but Solyman, who was infinitely jealous of his authority, would ſend an army againſt him, he endeavoured to get himſelf a ſupport, and an alliance with the princes of chriſtendom; accordingly he ſent one of his partizans to the pope and the grand maſter, to propoſe to them a joint league againſt Solyman. This agent waited on them both, and preſented his maſter's letters, wherein he aſſured them, that if the knights came before Rhodes with a body of troops, they might depend, by the help of the intelligences which he had within the place, upon making themſelves maſters of it; or at leaſt that one of his creatures, who commanded in the two towers of the port, ſhould receive them there, upon the firſt ſight of any order from him.

The grand maſter heard theſe propoſals with more joy than he was willing to diſcover. He anſwered the envoy, that he could not engage in this enterprize without firſt communicating it to moſt of the princes of chriſtendom; but that the Begler-bey his maſter ſhould ſoon hear from him: and then making him a conſiderable preſent, he diſmiſſed him, and found a way to ſend him back ſafe into Egypt. While the grand maſter's thoughts were entirely taken up with this important project, the commander de la Roche-Aimon was juſt landed, bringing at the ſame time ſome Rhodians along with him, who determined him entirely to attempt that enterprize.

In order to form a juſt idea of this point of hiſtory, we are to obſerve that the grand maſter, notwithſtanding all the misfortunes that had happened to his order, frequently ſent veſſels out a cruiſing, to keep the arms of the knights continually employ'd againſt the corſairs. One of theſe

veſſels commanded by la Roche-Aimon, was met by ſome Rhodian mer- VILLIERS
chants, who were ſailing in the mediterranean; they knew the flag of the DE L'ISLE
order, and longing to pay their reſpects once again to one of their old ADAM.
maſters, they came up with him, and went aboard the knight's veſſel, who received them with a reciprocal joy, and entertained them in a ſplendid manner. In the midſt of the entertainment, the Rhodians being in a place of freedom and ſecurity, made grievous complaints againſt the tyranny of the turks, and regretted the loſs of the equitable government of the knights; theſe expreſſions of their regret ſoon grew up to earneſt wiſhes for the reſtoration of the order, and its recovering poſſeſſion of their iſland. As theſe merchants were ſome of the principal inhabitants of Rhodes, he began to conſult with them about the various methods that might be made uſe of in order to drive out the turks, and found ſo much facility in it, that he engaged them to come with him into Italy; and landing at Civita-Vecchia, he brought them to Viterbo, and preſented them privately to the grand maſter, who received them with the utmoſt candour and civility.

THESE merchants, whom la Roche-Aimon had taken care to diſguiſe, had a ſecret conference with the grand maſter, and repreſented to him that the walls and fortifications of Rhodes were not yet repaired; that there was but a weak garriſon in the place, and that the Aga before-mentioned, who commanded in the two towers of the port, had been a chriſtian, but had turned renegado purely out of weakneſs and for fear of torments, who ſtill retained a ſecret inclination for the religion of his anceſtors; that he was, as far as his abilities would allow him without prejudicing himſelf, a protector to all the chriſtians of the iſland, and that the people as ſoon as they ſhould ſee the ſtandards of the order, would, provided they brought them arms, turn them with pleaſure againſt their tyrants, and thoſe who were enemies to their religion.

THE grand maſter, like an able politician, was delighted to think that for the better ſucceeding in his deſigns, he ſhould have more than one intelligence within the place; he exhorted the merchants to perſevere in their good intentions for the order, and after beſtowing the greateſt civilities upon them, and loading them with preſents, he cauſed them to be conducted back with the ſame ſecrecy that they came, to the place where their ſhip waited for them.

THAT prince, in concert with the pope, ſent afterwards the commander Boſio, who was very ſkilful in negotiations, over to Rhodes; he got into the city diſguiſed like a merchant, and was an eye-witneſs to the condition of the place, the ſtrength of the garriſon, and the diſpoſition, as well as number of the Greek inhabitants that were left. He made a ſtill greater progreſs in his negotiation, and talked with the Aga, by the aſſiſtance of the Greek metropolitan, who was that officer's friend. Before he came to this interview, he had taken the precaution to fill one of the blank ſignatures which the grand maſter had confided to him, with a letter for the Aga, in which he offered him great rewards, provided he would make good what Achmet had promiſed in his name; and at the ſame time ſhewed him the letter which the Begler-bey had written concerning him and the two towers of Rhodes. The Aga, after having ſtood ſome time without returning Boſio any anſwer, made a reſolution at once; and told him that he had been long wiſhing for an opportunity of returning into the boſom of the church, and gave his word to the grand maſter's agent, that he would receive the knights into the towers where he commanded, provided that beſides the troops neceſſary to defend them, and form the ſiege of the city, they would immediately ſend a quantity of victuals, pro-

VILLIERS DE L'ISLE ADAM.

visions and ammunition, with arms for the inhabitants of the island. Every thing seemed to bid fair for the good success of this enterprize, when news came that the grand seignior had defeated Achmet's designs, and got him dispatch'd. That prince, upon advice of his rebellion, had sent a mighty army against him, under the conduct of his favourite Ibrahim, a native of Albania, and who was both a skilful general and an artful courtier.

ACHMET had flattered himself that the enterprize of Rhodes would cause a powerful diversion in his favour; but the unhappy revolution that had happen'd in the affairs of the knights, prevented their making any attempts, so that Ibrahim's entering Egypt caused a general consternation among the partisans of Achmet. Nevertheless he, like a man of courage, began to make preparations to carry on the war. He sent orders into all parts for the troops to march out of the most distant provinces to join him; but little deference was paid to his orders, an usurper's authority is never fix'd with any solidity in the beginning of a change of government: Several of his principal commanders, under different pretences, kept off from declaring openly against their lawful sovereign. Ibrahim hearing that things were in this disposition, promised them a full and general pardon, and even rewards, provided they would dispatch the rebel. These traitors stifled him in the bath, opened the gates of Grand Cairo to Ibrahim, and made their submission to him. That general sent Achmet's head immediately to the grand seignior, who by this quick dispatch was eased of the trouble of maintaining a war in a distant country, and in a nation too that had ever been at enmity with the Turks, and in which his power was not as yet well settled upon any solid foundation.

THIS rebel's death frighted the Aga of Rhodes; the fear of being discovered, and of meeting with the like fate, made him press the execution of the enterprize, in which he had engaged himself; and the very same motive made the grand master, who had no hopes left of any succour or diversion from Egypt, resolve, before he engaged further in it, to see how the christian princes stood affected, and what forces he could obtain from them.

WHILST these revolutions happened in Egypt, the commissaries which the grand master and council had sent to visit Malta, Goza and Tripoli, being return'd back, made their report of the condition in which they found those islands, and the town of Tripoli. They said, that the isle of Malta was only one continued rock of sandy stone, and might be about six or seven leagues long, three or four broad at most, and about twenty in circumference; that upon the surface of this rock there was not at most above three or four foot of earth, and that too all stony, a soil altogether unfit to produce wheat and other corn; but that it abounded in figs, melons, and other fruits, which were very plenty there, and that the principal commerce of the island consisted in honey, cotton and cummin, which the inhabitants barter'd for corn; that if they excepted a few springs which they met with in the farther part of the island, there was no such thing as spring-water, nor indeed any well, so that the inhabitants were forced to supply that defect by cisterns; that there was the like scarcity of wood, that they sold it by the pound, and that the inhabitants were forced to make use of cow-dung dried in the sun, or else of wild thistles, to dress their meat; that the capital city of the island, called *the * notable city*, was seated upon a hill in the midst of the island, and was of difficult access, by reason of the rocks which covered all the plain about it; that the place was only walled about without any other fortifications, except some towers

* Or considerable city.

which

which were erected over the gates of the city; that upon the ſouth-ſide of the iſland, there were neither ports, nor bays, nor roads, and that all the ſhore in that part was lined with vaſt rocks, againſt which ſhips, when caught in a ſtorm, were often drove by the violence of the wind, and daſh'd to pieces; but that they diſcovered ſeveral points or capes on the oppoſite ſide, and places that formed a ſort of bays and roads very proper to anchor in. They continued to relate that they had put in at the great port, which was defended by a fort called the caſtle of St. Angelo; and that below it there was a little town commonly called la Cita del Borgo; that this port was divided from another called the Porto di Muſetto, only by a narrow ſlip or point of rock; that beſides the capital, the caſtle, and the town, there were about forty hamlets or villages, conſiſting of ſeveral dwellings ſcattered up and down the country, and about 12000 inhabitants, including the men, women and children, who were moſt of them poor and miſerable by reaſon of the barrenneſs of the ſoil. VILLIERS DE L'ISLE ADAM.

THE commiſſaries preſented likewiſe to the grand maſter and council a plan of the iſland, in which they had taken care to deſcribe with great exactneſs ſeveral little bays and roads which ſerved as a ſhelter to fiſhermen, and where the corſairs ſometimes put into. They added, that the convenience of ſo many ports, ſo convenient for the armado's of the order, made them be of opinion that the emperor's propoſals ought not to be rejected, provided he did not by his grant pretend to oblige them to turn their arms againſt his particular enemies.

AS for the iſle of Goza, called by the inhabitants Gaudiſch, they ſaid it was ſeparated from that of Malta only by a narrow channel, which went by the name of Freo, of a league and a half or two leagues in breadth, in the middle of which lay the little iſles or rocks called Comin and Cominot; that Goza was about eight leagues in circumference, three long, and one and a half broad, that they could not find any port in it, that 'twas all ſurrounded with craggy rocks and ſhelves, ſo that there was no landing but with great difficulty: That however the ſoil ſeemed to be very fruitful, that there were about 5000 perſons in it, including men, women and children, who were diſperſed up and down in different villages, who for their ſecurity againſt the corſairs, had built a caſtle ſituated on a hill; but that in their opinion it was ill fortified, and of very little conſequence: that notwithſtanding its being ſo weak, they did not think the council would act prudently were they to accept the offer which was made them of the iſle of Malta, ſeparately from that of Goza, which lay too near it, and which might ſome time or other ſerve for a retreat to their enemies.

THE commiſſaries did not form the ſame judgment with reſpect to the town and caſtle of Tripoli; they repreſented to the council that the place which was ſeated on the coaſt of Barbary, near eighty leagues from Malta, had no fortifications about it, and that it was almoſt impoſſible to raiſe any there in a ſandy ſoil and bottom full of water; that the ditches were neither broad nor deep enough; the port and caſtle being commanded by a hill adjoining: and in a word, that the place was ſurrounded by the territories of the king of Tunis, who would not ſuffer the chriſtians to continue there long, and that the great diſtance of it from Malta would not allow them, in caſe it was attacked, to throw in ſeaſonable ſuccours; that corn was ſtill ſcarcer at Tripoli than at Malta, by reaſon of the barrenneſs of its ſoil, which bore nothing but dates: From all which they concluded, that if they undertook the defence of the place, they ſhould be expoſed to loſe all the knights they might afterwards put in garriſon there.

Villiers de L'Isle Adam. 1524. Auguſt. Boſio, l. 2. p. 32.

THE grand maſter acquainted the pope with this relation, and deſired him to uſe his good offices with the emperor, to engage him to excuſe the order from the defence of Tripoli, and remit the other heavy conditions he was for annexing to the feofment of Malta. But at that juncture it would have been impoſſible for him to have pitched on a mediator with Charles V. who was leſs agreeable to that monarch, or more ſuſpected by him, than Clement VII. There was actually at that time a league on foot between that pontiff, the king of England, and the Venetians, in order to maintain the liberty of Italy, which was threaten'd with an entire ſubverſion, ſince the loſs of the battle of Pavia, in which Francis I. king of France, had been taken priſoner by the emperor's generals.

1525. Feb. 24.

THAT prince, whoſe perſonal qualities merited a better fortune, had invaded the dutchy of Milan, which he pretended belonged to him and queen Claude his wife, in right of Valentia Viſconti, wife to Lewis duke of Orleans, brother to Charles VI. The Sforzas had ſeized on it in prejudice of the princes of the houſe of Orleans. Francis Sforza was actually in poſſeſſion of it; the emperor, under pretence of ſupporting him as his vaſſal, had ſent a ſtrong army into the Milaneſe, and after the battle of Pavia his generals behav'd more like conquerors than protectors and commanders of auxiliary troops. They put garriſons in the emperor's name into the principal towns of the dutchy, under pretence that the new duke had not yet received the inveſtiture of it. The pope and Italian princes, who in the beginning of the war were equally afraid of the neighbourhood of two ſuch powerful princes, could have wiſhed that the French had not diſturbed Sforza in the poſſeſſion of the Milaneſe.

THE king's being taken priſoner brought not only the Italian princes, but alſo the king of England over to the party of France: Sforza himſelf, who had now no reaſon to be under any further apprehenſions from a prince, who was both a priſoner and oppreſſed by the imperialiſts, who continued to plunder him of his dominions, negotiated a league againſt a potentate who was for ſwallowing up all Europe, and aſpired to an univerſal monarchy.

SUCH was the ſituation of affairs, and the occaſion or pretence of a war, which in reality had no other ſource than the ambition of Charles V. After the death of the emperor Maximilian, that prince and Francis I. were rivals in the election for the empire. This rivalſhip of rights and pretenſions, which monarchs are ſcarce ever at a loſs for, when they do not want forces, and their perſonal qualities, which were excellent indeed, but directly oppoſite in both; all theſe circumſtances, I ſay, inſpir'd thoſe two great princes with an emulation of glory, which, after the election of Charles the Fifth, was ſucceeded by an animoſity, that was not to be appeas'd by the blood of ſo many thouſands of their ſubjects. All mankind beheld with admiration in the perſon of Francis I. a courage that was proof againſt the greateſt dangers of war, a noble frankneſs worthy of a better age, an inviolable faith in his treaties, his goodneſs and clemency towards his ſubjects: But it would have been happy had this prince been leſs devoted to his pleaſures, had been more ſecret in his affairs, had uſed a cloſer attention and purſuit in the execution of his deſigns, and had never employed his favourites as his miniſters and generals. Charles V. on the contrary, had all the qualities of a great politician, but few of thoſe virtues which have their ſeat in the heart, and that ſhine with luſtre in a private man; he was puffed up with an inſatiable ambition, intereſt was the ſole motive of all his actions, was impenetrable in his deſigns, always attentive to the different diſpoſitions of all the princes of Europe, had a ſuperiour capacity to all

his miniſters, was happy in the choice of his generals, had no reliſh for the pomp and luxury of entertainments, and if he was not ſo chaſte as the precepts of chriſtianity might require; he yet at leaſt, in order to avoid ſcandal, was as careful to conceal his gallantries from the penetrating eye of the courtier, as other princes of his time were to publiſh theirs. In a word, he was in reality without faith, probity, honour, or even gratitude; and he yet uſed his utmoſt endeavours, by his behaviour, to perſuade the world that he poſſeſs'd all thoſe virtues. VILLIERS DE L'ISLE ADAM.

IT was ſcarce poſſible for two princes endow'd with ſuch great qualities, both of them ambitious, brave, powerful, and neighbours to one another, to remain long in peace, or leave the reſt of Europe ſo. From the pictures of theſe two monarchs, of which we have only given the reader a sketch, he will eaſily judge that fortune muſt be obliged to declare for the abler of the two; and indeed Francis I. became the prey of his enemy, ſo that the buſineſs at that time was to negotiate a peace, and the recovery of his liberty. Charles V. rated them both at ſo high a price, that the king greatly diſguſted at the hardneſs of the conditions, proteſted openly that he would ſooner reſign the crown to the dauphin his ſon, than tear off one of its fineſt flowers.

BUT the regent his mother, not minding a deſign which the uneaſineſs of his impriſonment had occaſioned, reſolved to ſend the dutcheſs of Alençon her daughter and the king's ſiſter into Spain; ſhe was a princeſs adorned with all the graces of nature, brought up in the intrigues of a court, and of as complying a temper as if ſhe had not been born with that pride and empire, which are almoſt inſeparable from a multitude of charms, eſpecially when ſupported by ſo illuſtrious a birth. The regent was in hopes, that ſhe would prevail with the emperor to ſet the king her brother at liberty upon leſs hateful conditions. To aſſiſt her in this important negotiation, ſhe named the archbiſhop of Ambrun, known afterwards by the title of the cardinal de Tournon, the biſhop of Tarbes, afterwards cardinal de Grammont, and de Selue firſt preſident of the parliament of Paris. The writer of the annals of the order of St. John of Jeruſalem, relates, that the regent, thoroughly perſuaded of the grand maſter's affection for the perſon and ſervice of the king her ſon, ſent him an expreſs to deſire him to convey the princeſs her daughter to Spain, on board the gallies of the order; that the marſhal de Montmorency his great nephew wrote to him about it, by the regent's order, in the moſt preſſing terms, and that nobleman, in order to determine him by motives drawn from his own intereſt to undertake the voyage, repreſented to him, that as his order ſtood in need of a ſure and fixed ſettlement, he by his preſence, and treating in perſon with the emperor, would be able to get over that infinite number of difficulties, which that prince's miniſters in Italy ſtarted, with regard to the feofment of the iſles of Malta and Goza, and the town of Tripoli. [Boſio, T. 3. l. 2. p. 38.

THE grand maſter acquainted the pope with theſe diſpatches of the regent: Clement, who was actually engaged in meaſures with that princeſs, highly approved the voyage; he was deſirous of the king's liberty, perhaps not ſo much out of regard for him, as for fear of the formidable power of his enemy; he flatter'd himſelf, that if they could once get Francis I. out of priſon, that prince, to revenge the ſeverity of his treatment, would not fail to open a new war, which ſhould it but once break out between two ſuch implacable enemies, would be the ſecurity of the other ſovereigns, and maintain a peace in the reſt of Europe. The grand maſter, upon his holineſs's anſwer, embarked on board the gallies of the order at Civita-Vecchia, and went to Marſeilles, where he waited upon the regent, and had 1525. June 25.

VILLIERS DE L'ISLE ADAM. had ſeveral conferences with her, during the time he waited for the dutcheſs of Alençon.

THE emperor's miniſters alarmed and jealous of this voyage, the motive of which they were utter ſtrangers to, ſeized immediately on all the revenues of the order in Italy: The emperor did not fail to approve their conduct; that prince was diſpleaſed with the grand maſter and council on other accounts. We have already obſerved, that he had offered them the iſles of Malta and Goza, and the town of Tripoli, for their reſidence; the order's retarding to give him a poſitive anſwer, made him reſolve to write in particular to the languages of Caſtile and Arragon, the knights whereof were born his ſubjects; and he diſpatched away a Spaniſh knight to the council, Peter Fernandez Heredia or Errera by name, who upon his arrival at Viterbo, repreſented in the emperor's name to the lords of the council, that from a perſuaſion that the order would accept of ſo conſiderable a ſettlement with great ſatisfaction as well as acknowledgment, he had for eighteen months paſt delay'd providing for the fortification of thoſe iſlands, and deſired that the council would tell him their ſentiments plainly upon thoſe points. The envoy added in a very arrogant manner, that if there was any language who ſhould oppoſe them, the emperor his maſter would take his meaſures accordingly.

THAT prince, dazzled by a conſtant ſeries of proſperity, and grown more haughty by the king's impriſonment, imagin'd himſelf able to give laws to all the powers of Europe; and this domineering ſpirit had diffus'd itſelf into the languages of thoſe who were born in his dominions. The Spaniſh knights were for governing in the council, and would have the emperor's offers accepted immediately, and the dependance and ſubjection he annexed to them ſubmitted to: Nay, ſome of them went ſo far as to inſinuate, that if the French would not comply with their ſentiments, they would divide from them; that they would ſettle themſelves at Malta, independent even on the grand maſter, and that they were in hopes of prevailing with the emperor to unite the order of Monteza, a Spaniſh foundation, to their particular congregation, that they might indemnify the order for what they might loſe in France, by the withdrawing of the French knights and commanders.

BUT the council, as well as diſcreeteſt of the Spaniſh knights, who abhorred a ſchiſm, anſwered the envoy, that the whole order was very ſenſible of the generorus offers of his imperial majeſty; but that in an affair of ſuch importance, they could not take any deciſive reſolution without the grand maſter's preſence and the pope's expreſs conſent; that they would write immediately to them both; that they underſtood the grand maſter was gone to the emperor's court, in order to learn from his own mouth what were his intentions with reſpect to the iſle of Malta, and that they were in hopes that great prince would, for the general good and honour of the order, modearte ſome of the conditions which he was for annexing to that feofment.

THE council immediately diſpatched away the commander Boſio for France, to give the grand maſter advice of the ſequeſtration which the emperor's miniſters had made of the eſtates which belonged to the order in Italy, and the propoſals which the chevalier Errera had made before all the council. The grand maſter deferred anſwering the council, till he had ſeen the emperor; he ordered Boſio to follow him, and ſet out for Spain with the dutcheſs of Alençon, for whom the king of England had got a ſafe conduct.

As ſoon as this princeſs was arrived at Madrid, and that the emperor had diſcharged the ceremonial, and paid the firſt honours that were due to her quality, he gave a private audience to the grand maſter, who firſt gave him an account of all that had paſſed at the ſiege and the ſurrender of Rhodes. That great man afterwards repreſented to him the loſſes which the order had ſuſtain'd in that place, and the deplorable condition the whole body was in at that time; and finding the emperor was moved and affected with ſuch a number of calamities, he complain'd in the ſofteſt terms of the ſeizure which his miniſters had made of the eſtates of the Italian commanderies, under pretence that in his way to Spain, he had paſſed through France, before he came to his court. To prevent the deſigns which the emperor in granting the iſle of Malta to the knights, might have of making them his vaſſals, he wittily inſinuated to him, that tho' they were all born ſubjects of different ſovereigns, yet the order in general, by its profeſſion, was independent from any of them; that a knight who was a Frenchman by nation, was no more devoted to the king of France than he was to his imperial majeſty; that the only view of their inſtitution was to defend all chriſtians alike againſt the incurſions of the infidels; that for ſo many ages as the order had exiſted with ſome kind of glory, it had never been yet known to engage againſt any chriſtian prince in favour of another. He entered afterwards into the affair of Malta, and omitting the hard conditions which the emperor was for tying them down to, he told him in general, that the order would have long before reap'd the advantages of his imperial majeſty's beneficence, if they had not been with-held by hopes of recovering Rhodes; that there was a party formed for the execution of that enterprize; upon which, he, with the emperor's leave, brought the commander Boſio into his chamber, who gave him a very particular account of all the meaſures he had taken on that account with the principal inhabitants. He added, that the order wanted nothing but a ſum of money neceſſary to raiſe three or four thouſand men, and carry at the ſame time arms for the inhabitants, whom the turks had diſarmed with the utmoſt ſtrictneſs.

Villiers] de L'Isle Adam. Guicciardin. l. 16. 1525.

The emperor entered into the grand maſter's views; however, before he engaged further in the project, he adviſed him to confer with the duke of Alva, his ableſt general, about it. He added further, that in caſe that nobleman ſhould find the execution of it practicable, he himſelf would freely give 25000 crowns, to facilitate its ſucceſs; that he wiſhed the other potentates of chriſtendom would likewiſe contribute to it; but that if, after all, the project ſhould not happen to ſucceed, the order might nevertheleſs depend upon having the iſle of Malta for their ſettlement; and as an earneſt of his friendſhip, he immediately order'd a full and entire reſtitution to be made of all the revenues which his miniſters had ſequeſtered in Italy. The grand maſter, who was very ſenſible that monarchs will never own themſelves to be in the wrong, thanked him for that act of his juſtice, in as handſome and grateful a manner, as if he had received a favour from him. He begg'd leave before he left him, to wait upon the king of France; which the emperor readily granted him, in hopes that the grand maſter might contribute to the negotiation of a peace.

An officer of his guards, by his order, conducted him to the apartment of Francis I. That prince was not guarded like a priſoner of war, but rather like a ſtate-criminal. Charles V. altho' the king's vaſſal, in order to extort an immenſe ranſom, and the exorbitant conditions from his lord, did his utmoſt to make his impriſonment inſupportable to him. Such harſh and unworthy uſage threw Francis I. into a deep melancholy, which was ſucceeded by a violent fever. The arrival of the princeſs his ſiſter,

Villiers de L'Isle Adam.

ſiſter, who was very dear to him, gave him the firſt emotions of joy ever ſince his misfortune. His health grew better, and the grand maſter being introduced into his room at this juncture, he embraced him very affectionately, extolled the brave defence he had made at Rhodes, and ordered the miniſters who accompanied the princeſs his ſiſter, not to treat of any article in their negotiations with the emperor's miniſters, without firſt communicating it to the grand maſter. He was admitted into all their conferences, where he acted as a mediator. His dignity and great reputation, his prudence and excellent capacity, greatly enforc'd his remonſtrances, and he left no expedient untried in order to reconcile the intereſts of thoſe two princes, and engage them by a ſolid peace to unite their arms againſt the common enemy of the chriſtians. The dutcheſs of Alençon, on her ſide, employ'd all the charms of her wit, in order to conquer the emperor's harſhneſs and obſtinacy; but that prince, who was regardleſs of every thing but his intereſt, and who fancied that as the king was his priſoner he might ſoon make himſelf maſter of a part of France; beſides the renunciations which the king offered to make of his rights to the Milaneſe and kingdom of Naples, as well as to the homage of the counties of Flanders and Artois, and alſo an immenſe ſum of money; inſiſted likewiſe on the dutchy of Burgundy, in order to enable himſelf, in caſe the war ſhould break out again, to fall with his troops into France, and march up to the gates of Paris. The king, who was highly ſenſible of the importance of this alienation, rejected the propoſition with great reſolution; and to ſhew the emperor that he would rather renounce his liberty, than ſo conſiderable a branch of his crown, he reſolved to part with the princeſs his ſiſter, and deprive himſelf of her company, though it was the only comfort he had left. He made her ſet out on her return for France, and ſhe was likewiſe obliged to it upon ſome private advices which ſhe received, that the emperor ſought nothing but a pretence to give orders for her being arreſted.

Charles V. the moſt artful prince of his time, had purpoſely ſpun out the negotiations, in order that the ſafe-conduct which he had granted her might be expired. He was ſurpriz'd at the princeſs's departure, and he ſent orders to the frontiers of Spain to ſtop her the very day that the term of her ſafe-conduct ſhould be at an end; but the princeſs being well informed of this trick which he deſign'd to play her, travelled as many miles in one day upon the ſame road in her return, as ſhe had done in four at her coming into Spain. This expedition, and Clermont de Lodeve's arrival on the frontier, with a large convoy, on the laſt day of the ſafe-conduct, hindered the emperor's officers from making any attempt to ſeize her perſon; ſo that the emperor could not gain any advantage by his artifice.

The departure of the princeſs did not any way cool the grand maſter's zeal and good offices in promoting a peace. He frequently repreſented the neceſſity of it to the emperor and his miniſters; declaring that whilſt that prince's arms were employ'd againſt France, Solyman was puſhing his conqueſts in Hungary, and opening himſelf a way to penetrate into Auſtria and the hereditary countries. On the other ſide, when he was got with the king, he made him ſenſible how neceſſary his preſence was in his kingdom, but prov'd to him at the ſame time that the emperor would never give him his liberty, unleſs he made a reſignation of the dutchy of Burgundy. In fine, he managed both thoſe princes ſo ſucceſsfully, that he brought them to agree to a treaty of peace. Francis I. perſuaded that he could not alienate the demeſne of his crown, and that conditions extorted during a ſevere captivity were never valid, made a ſecret proteſt againſt the violence offered him by his vaſſal, and ſigned every thing they preſented to him.

1525. Boſ. l. 3. p. 141.

'Twas agreed that the king ſhould be conducted back into his kingdom on the tenth of February, and that for a ſure guaranty of the treaty, he ſhould give the two princes his ſons in hoſtage; and alſo ſeveral other articles which are foreign to this work. The grand maſter, who was ever vigilant to promote the intereſts of religion, got an article inſerted in it, which was, that the emperor, and king of France, ſhould join in ſolliciting the pope to ſet on foot a cruſade againſt the infidels, and ſhould themſelves contribute to it to the utmoſt of their power. VILLIERS DE L'ISLE ADAM.

AFTER the treaty was ſigned, the emperor and the king had ſeveral interviews; but their viſits were like thoſe of reconciled enemies, and were made with more politeneſs than ſincerity. The firſt time that the emperor went to ſee the king, he would needs take the grand maſter, whom he called his father, along with him. We meet with a remarkable circumſtance, viz. that thoſe two great princes being out together, the emperor, as they were to paſs thro' a door, offered the king the precedence, which that prince refuſed; whereupon they called the grand maſter to decide it. "I pray God," ſaid the venerable old man, "that there may never be any "difference of greater conſequence between your majeſties:" and then directing his diſcourſe to the king of France; "No body," ſays he to him, "Sir, diſputes but that the emperor is the firſt prince in chriſtendom; but "as you are in his dominions, and in his palace, you ought not in my o-"pinion decline the honours which he thinks himſelf obliged to ſhew to "the greateſt monarch in Europe." This anſwer, which was as ſubtle as it was judicious, ſatisfied both parties; the emperor eſpecially was exceedingly pleaſed with it: He honoured him afterwards with ſeveral marks of diſtinction, and whenever he was giving audiences from his throne, he would make the grand maſter ſit under the ſame canopy with himſelf. In fine, when the grand maſter, after the king's departure, took leave of him to return into Italy to Viterbo, he made him freſh promiſes of the iſland of Malta, and likewiſe aſſured him that he would leave that affair to the pope, who ſhould be arbitrator of the conditions and terms of the feoffment. 1526. Bofio, T. 3. l. 3. p. 42.

BUT before the grand maſter left Spain, he, by his prudence, put an end to a diſpute that was riſen in Portugal, relating to the great priory of Crato. Since the loſs of Rhodes, and retreat of the convent to Viterbo, ſeveral European princes, not well affected to the order, and under pretence that it did not ſend any more ſquadrons out, as its inſtitution required, againſt the infidels, ſeized on the revenues of the commanderies; or elſe in violation of the ſtatutes of the order, and the rights of ſeniority, diſpoſed of them in favour of ſuch knights as were moſt agreeable to them. The priory of Crato falling vacant by the death of John de Meneſes, the king of Portugal, in prejudice of the chevalier Gonſalvo de Piementel, beſtowed it upon prince Lewis his brother; and to make Piementel ſome amends, offered him a yearly penſion of 9000 livres. The Portugueze knights, unwilling to bear with ſuch an infringement of their rights, refuſed to own Don Lewis; the king incenſed at their oppoſition, threaten'd to ſeize all the eſtates belonging to the order within his dominions, and pretending that they ſtaid at Viterbo in a ſtate of inactivity, contrary to what their ſtatutes obliged them to, he declared that he would employ the revenues in a holy war againſt the Moors of Barbary. Id. ib.

THE grand maſter judiciouſly ſuppoſing that ſuch a proceedure, tho' very unjuſt, might yet be a dangerous precedent with reſpect to other princes, made up the affair. He thought that it was beſt, at ſuch an unhappy juncture, to diſſemble an injuſtice which he had not the power to redreſs: He con-

VILLIERS DE L'ISLE ADAM.

ſented that Don Lewis ſhould keep the adminiſtration of the priory, by way of commendam; but he, in exchange, obtained of the king an authentick confirmation of all the rights and privileges of his order. That prince engaged ſolemnly that he would never trouble the knights again in the enjoyment of the commanderies, which ſhould fall to every one according to his rank of ſeniority. And as the enterprize of Rhodes was the only end and view, in which all the grand maſter's deſigns centered, it was ſtipulated in the ſame treaty, that for carrying on that holy war, the king ſhould furniſh the order with 15000 cruſado's, a ſort of ſilver money, worth at that time about four livres and an half.

SCARCE was the grand maſter returned into France, when news came that Henry VIII. king of England, on the very ſame pretence that the king of Portugal had made uſe of, and as if the order had been entirely extirpated by the loſs of Rhodes, had prevented the commander Weſton from taking poſſeſſion of the grand priory of that kingdom; and even pretended to unite the revenues of all the commanderies to the crown, or oblige all the Engliſh knights to ſerve as a garriſon to Calais. Theſe odious pretenſions were a ſenſible affliction to the grand maſter; he ſaw with grief, that the eſtates of his order, notwithſtanding his indefatigable endeavours to the contrary, were going inſenſibly to be made a prey to princes and their courtiers. The popes, under colour of being its ſovereigns, had ſome time before aſſumed to themſelves the power of nominating to the grand priory of Rome, and to the commanderies that fell vacant within the patrimony of St. Peter, and their other territories: That on the other ſide, the emperor's miniſters in Italy ſeized on the richeſt benefices without any manner of ſcruple; and fancied they did a favour to the order, by putting on its croſs, as a mark that they enjoy'd them only by virtue of the title of knights. In this general pillage and deſolation, the grand maſter applied himſelf to the king of France, the only prince of chriſtendom, as we may ſay, who amidſt all the misfortunes that had happened to the order of St. John, treated it with the ſame eſteem and affection with which he had always diſtinguiſh'd it.

THE grand maſter, when he ſent the prior of St. Giles, and the commander de Bourbon, obliged them to take the French court in their way. Theſe deputies, or, if you pleaſe, embaſſadors, beſought that prince in his name, to employ his intereſt with Henry VIII. in behalf of the order. Accordingly the king wrote to him about it in the moſt preſſing terms, and obſerved in his letter, that the reaſon why the order had not, ſince the loſs of Rhodes, been able to continue making war upon the infidels, was only for want of ports to fit out their ſhips; that they were actually treating for the iſle of Malta, and he intreated him in the moſt preſſing terms to contribute to their ſettlement in that place; that as ſoon as the head convent and place of arms for the order ſhould be fixed there, the knights would immediately be out at ſea according to their profeſſion; and that the Engliſh merchants his ſubjects might perhaps be the firſt, who would experience how uſeful that military body was to all chriſtendom in general, though independent on any particular chriſtian prince.

BUT theſe conſiderations, which were ſo very reaſonable in themſelves, and all the offices of that great prince, had little influence on the king of England; he had no manner of regard to the memorials, which the two embaſſadors preſented to him; nay, he proceeded further, and forbad them to carry either money or effects, ariſing from the eſtates of the order, out of his dominions; and diſmiſſed the envoys pretty abruptly, without any great regard to their character. Theſe miniſters, upon their return, giving

the

the grand maſter an account of the ill ſucceſs of their negotiation, told him they fancied they had diſcovered the true ſource of this ſhameful injuſtice, and that it aroſe from the reſentment of that prince, the proudeſt monarch of his age, who was offended that the grand maſter had viſited the emperor, and the king of France, without paying him the ſame compliment; nor was this conjecture altogether groundleſs. Though the dominions of Henry VIII. were not ſo large as thoſe of Charles V. and Francis I. he was not leſs formidable to thoſe two princes upon that account, whoſe power he ballanced by turns, always falling in with that party, which his intereſt led him to take in their diſputes: This ſubtle conduct was the reaſon of his being courted by both thoſe princes, who were very careful to treat him with great reſpect. The important part he acted in the affairs of Europe, the abſolute authority he had acquired in his own dominions, though the laws are more reſpected there than the ſovereign, and his skill in always bringing the parliaments into his meaſures; all this, I ſay, made him conſider himſelf, and expect to be conſider'd by others as the arbiter of chriſtendom. The grand maſter could hardly at firſt perſuade himſelf that the omiſſion of a formality, and of a ceremony which he was not obliged to, could poſſibly raiſe that prince's reſentment, and put him upon treating the order in ſo harſh a manner: But after all, as the moſt powerful princes, eſpecially ſuch as reign with deſpotic ſway, are bred up in flattery, and ſeldom breathe any air, but what is ſwell'd with pride and vanity, the grand maſter thought he ſhould come off at an eaſy rate enough, provided he could but by ſo ſlight a condeſcenſion, get the eſtates of his order reſtored. The venerable old man therefore, without regarding either his age, or the ſeverity of the ſeaſon, ſet out for England, ſending the commander Boſio before, the ableſt negotiator at that time in the order, and perhaps in all chriſtendom. The commander applied himſelf firſt to Cardinal Wolſey, the king of England's firſt miniſter, to whom he delivered a letter from the grand maſter; intreating him to preſent Boſio to the king, and uſe his credit with that prince to promote the intereſts of the order. The cardinal procured him an audience; Boſio preſented the grand maſter's letter to Henry VIII. telling him at the ſame time, that he was coming on purpoſe from Italy to pay his reſpects to him; but thought it his duty not to enter his dominions, without firſt knowing whether it would be agreeable to him. Henry, pacified by this ſtep, anſwered, that he had the utmoſt veneration for the grand maſter's perſon; that he ſhould be delighted to ſee ſo great a captain, but that he was ſorry he had ſet out in ſo ſharp a ſeaſon; that however he ſhould at all times be received in his dominions with all the reſpect that was due to his dignity and merit. The king ſent Boſio back to the grand maſter, whom he found at the court of France, and delivered him two letters, one from the king, the other from his miniſter, dated Feb. 25. both of them in very obliging terms, and inviting him to come as ſoon as poſſible into England. He immediately went thither, and after having reſted himſelf for ſome days in the commandery or priory of St. John, he ſet out for the court, attended by the great croſſes, commanders, and knights of England and Scotland, who were come from different places to wait upon him.

VILLIERS DE L'ISLE ADAM.

1524. Jan. 1.

THIS retinue was numerous and magnificent, and to make its ſplendor ſtill greater, the king ſent ſome of the moſt conſiderable lords of his court a great way before to meet him on the way. With this noble convoy he was introduced into the palace: Henry gave him a very gracious reception, and the ſpectators obſerved that he beheld him with an earneſtneſs and attention, which the ſight of a prince, whoſe valour and conduct had made him equally famous in Europe and Aſia, may naturally inſpire.

The

VILLIERS DE L'ISLE ADAM.

The grand maſter paid him all the civilities which he thought due to ſo powerful a monarch, but did not think it proper to enter into any detail of the affairs which had brought him into England; he went no farther than to deſire of that prince in general terms his protection for the order: All that the king ſaid, conſiſted only in elogiums on the defence of Rhodes, which, he ſaid, was more glorious than the conqueſt of an entire province; and when the grand maſter was for withdrawing, the king ordered his officers to lodge him in his palace, where he was ſerved with a magnificence ſuitable to his rank and the eſteem the king had for ſo illuſtrious a gueſt.

THEY afterwards had ſeveral private conferences together concerning the ſiege of Rhodes, and a proper place for fixing the convent. The grand maſter declar'd to him, that notwithſtanding the formidable power of Solyman, the order would ſtill have been miſtreſs of Rhodes, had the chriſtian princes vouchſafed to ſend the leaſt ſuccour thither. He continu'd to relate how being in want of proviſions and ammunition, particularly of powder, and after having ſeen the greateſt part of his knights, and alſo of the inhabitants, fall in the defence of the place, and that the Turks had puſhed their works to the very middle of the city, he had found himſelf reduced to the laſt extremity, and was forced to abandon them the little ground that was left him; how he had embarked with the poor remains of his fortune, and had been attacked with terrible ſtorms in his voyage; how thinking to find a place of refuge in the port of Meſſina, he had been driven thence by the plague; how pope Clement had allow'd him to retire to Viterbo, till he might meet with a fixed and ſecure place for his reſidence; how the plague had driven them thence a ſecond time; how part of the knights of the convent had been received in the town of Nice, by the duke of Savoy's conſent, and the veſſels and gallies of the order put into the port of Villa-Franca; how the reſt of the knights were by his permiſſion diſperſed over the ſeveral provinces of chriſtendom, where the order had any commanderies; how the plague being abated at Viterbo, they had aſſembled there again, under the protection of the holy ſee; and how in this uncertain and deplorable ſituation the emperor made him a generous offer of the iſlands of Malta and Goza; but that his miniſters were clogging this donation with conditions that were incompatible with the independance ſo neceſſary to be preſerved in his order: for the knights could not own any one particular prince for their ſovereign, without rendering themſelves ſuſpected to the reſt: He moreover added, that he had not loſt all hopes of recovering Rhodes, that a party was actually formed there for driving out the Turks; that the principal inhabitants of the iſland, as well as ſome officers of the garriſon, were engaged in the conſpiracy; that the order wanted nothing to make the attempt, but the neceſſary funds for levying troops, and fitting out the ſhips of the order; that in caſe the project ſhould not ſucceed, he would accept of Malta, and that he hoped the emperor's generoſity would extend ſo far, as not to inſiſt upon a ſubjection from the order, which would give a fatal ſtroke to their liberty, and that ſpirit of neutrality which the knights profeſſed.

THE king of England thought the deſign of re-conquering Rhodes, was a project highly worthy of the grand maſter's courage and valour; and he, in order to have ſome ſhare in ſo noble an enterprize, promiſed him 20000 crowns, the value of which he paid afterwards in artillery and fire-arms. They no longer talk'd of ſeizing or ſequeſtring the eſtates of the order, much leſs of diſpoſing of the priories and commanderies; all that the king deſir'd of the grand maſter, was, to confer the grand priory of Ireland upon the Turcopilier, brother John Ranſon by name, who had been very ſerviceable

viceable to that prince in the government of that iſland, whoſe gentle adminiſtration had been very inſtrumental in poliſhing and civilizing its inhabitants, who were at that time not many degrees above ſavages. VILLIERS DE L'ISLE ADAM.

THE grand maſter, in order to ſhew his complaiſance to a king, with whom the order was ſo much obliged, for intereſt ſake, to keep due meaſures, engaged the Chevalier Babington to reſign the priory of Ireland to Ranſon, who by way of exchange made a reſignation to him of the commandery of Dinemor, and the dignity of Turcopilier. The grand maſter brought them likewiſe to a further agreement, viz. that if Babington ſhould come to be grand prior of England, he ſhould be obliged to pay Ranſon a penſion of 1800 livres. The king ſeemed extremely pleaſed at the grand maſter's readineſs and exactneſs in executing what he had required of him: he returned him thanks for it, confirmed all the privileges of his order, and when that prince took leave of him to return into Italy, he ſent him in his own and the queen's name a baſon and cup of maſſy gold, ſet with precious ſtones, which the grand maſter afterwards lodged in the treaſury of the order.

THE grand maſter returned into Italy with the ſatisfaction of having maintained the rights and privileges of his order in France, Spain, Portugal, and England; and in hopes of getting from the reſpective ſovereigns of thoſe countries, particularly from the pope, a body of troops ſufficient to carry his point in the enterprize of Rhodes. But whilſt the illuſtrious old man was paſſing through the principal courts of Europe, various revolutions happen'd at Rome, which would not allow him to depend any longer on the ſuccours which the pope had promiſed him. We have before obſerv'd that Clement, in order to ballance the power of Charles V. who was grown formidable ſince his gaining the battel of Pavia, had made a league with the kings of France and England, the Venetians, Sforza duke of Milan, and the Florentines, for the ſecurity and liberty of Italy. They called it *The Holy League*, becauſe the pope was at the head of it: that pontiff, like moſt of his predeceſſors, was afraid of nothing ſo much as of the re-eſtabliſhment of the imperial authority in Italy. But the exploits of this league, through the different intereſts of the allies, were no ways anſwerable to the ardor with which it was form'd.

THE emperor, by the aſſiſtance of the Colonna's his partiſans, raiſed a civil war in the pope's territories; and that pontiff, who was afraid of the expence which it would neceſſarily put him to, ſuffering himſelf to be amuſed by a treaty which he made with the emperor's miniſters and the Colonna's, disbanded the troops which he had in Romagna. His enemies ſeeing him diſarmed, not having the leaſt regard to their faith, or the treaty they had juſt ſigned, entered Rome in an hoſtile manner. Cardinal Pompeio Colonna, the moſt inveterate of all the pope's enemies, was at the head of the rebels: ſome have pretended that his deſign was againſt the pontiff's life, flattering himſelf that by his death, and by force of arms he ſhould get himſelf placed in the pontifical chair. The pope had only juſt time enough to fly to the caſtle of St. Angelo: but as there was not proviſions within the place ſufficient to hold out for any conſiderable time, he was forced to ſubmit to his enemies terms. They obliged him to ſign a truce for four months with the emperor, to pardon the Colonna's, and to give hoſtages for the performance of his promiſe. But he was no ſlave to it; and as ſoon as he had received a ſupply from the king of England, he took up arms again, he broke the truce, under pretence that they had made him ſign it, with a dagger as it were at his throat; and that the Colonna's in particular, who were vaſſals of the holy ſee, could not

Guicciardin. l. 17.

1526.

VILLIERS DE L'ISLE ADAM.

oblige their ſovereign to capitulate. To revenge the inſult which they had offered him, he began to ſhew his reſentment by a ſolemn deprivation of Pompeio Colonna from the dignity of cardinal, and cauſed likewiſe the troops, which he had juſt levied for his ſecurity, to march againſt the lords of that family. Vitelli his general ravaged their lands, plunder'd the towns and caſtles belonging to that houſe, demoliſhed their walls, and left the moſt dreadful marks of their maſter's reſentment wherever they came.

ALL Italy was a prey to the ſeveral armies of the emperor and the confederates: 'twould be impoſſible to deſcribe the plunderings, the violences, and the inhumanities, which ſuch a multitude of ſoldiers of different nations exerciſed in thoſe provinces where each party was the ſtrongeſt. The ſoldiers frequently had nothing but licentiouſneſs and impunity for their pay; and the generals did not ſo much conſult the orders they received from their reſpective ſovereigns, as they did the ſeveral methods of procuring ſubſiſtence for their troops.

THE conſtable of Bourbon, a prince of the blood of France, who, inraged at finding himſelf perſecuted by the mother of Francis I. had gone over to the emperor's party, not being in a condition to pay the body of troops which he commanded; he, in order to put a ſtop to the clamours of his ſoldiers, promiſed them the plunder of one of the richeſt cities in Italy, without making any further declaration of the enterprize he had in view. We have heard but of few generals who like him gain'd the entire confidence, and an abſolute authority over their ſoldiers, without having any money to pay them with; but a certain air of grandeur, which flows from an illuſtrious birth, and which never fails to command reſpect; his ſurprizing valour, his skill in the art of war, and his eaſy and familiar behaviour, which yet was never derogatory to his dignity, had gained him the affection of his ſoldiers, who loved him even to adoration: ſo that they all ſwore, ſays Brantome, to follow him wherever he ſhould lead the way, *tho it were to the devil.*

THE march of this army, which advanced with great diligence towards Tuſcany, terrified the pope, and he relapſed into his uſual uncertainties. The emperor's miniſters made their advantage of it, and endeavour'd to perſuade him that he would find no ſolid advantages, nor indeed any kind of ſecurity, but in a ſtrict alliance with their maſter.

CLEMENT, though he had been already tricked by thoſe very miniſters, as was juſt now ſeen, was nevertheleſs very fond of believing them, and glad to disburthen his mind of thoſe irreſolutions which ſhewed him the danger he was in, without ſhewing him at the ſame time how he ſhould prevent it; he ſigned a new truce. Lannoy, Viceroy of Naples, whom he treated with, aſſured him that he had no occaſion to be under any further apprehenſions from Bourbon and the reſt of the emperor's generals. He flattered himſelf with this hope, and looked upon this treaty as an invincible barrier, which the imperial troops could never break through, in order to fall upon the lands of the church. But Bourbon, whether in concert with Lannoy, or contrary to the ſentiments of that miniſter, is uncertain, continued his march, and appeared ſoon at the gates of Rome. He began by ſcalado, and as he himſelf was clapping a ladder to the wall, he was ſhot by a musket-ball, and died two hours after. His ſoldiers, enraged at the death of their general, forced the defendants to quit the wall, threw themſelves into the city ſword in hand, and killed all that came in their way. They then diſperſed themſelves into the ſeveral quarters of it, broke into the houſes, and without regarding either dignity, age or ſex, they

March 15.

1527.
May 7.

they committed ſuch cruelties and outrages as the moſt barbarous nations could hardly have been thought to perpetrate. What is ſtill more deplorable, is, that this dreadful ſcene laſted not only twenty four hours, as uſually happens to places taken by ſtorm; but the imperialiſts daily repeated the ſame violences for upwards of two months afterwards, and did not ſtick to commit ſacrilege, rapes, nor murders in cold blood, in order to gratify their avarice and ſenſuality. VILLIERS DE L'ISLE ADAM.

THE pope with thirteen cardinals took refuge in the caſtle of St. Angelo, but was ſoon inveſted; he held out however for near a month with the troops he had, but afterwards proviſions failing him, he was obliged to capitulate a ſecond time with his enemies. 1527. Octob. 30.

THE conditions of this new treaty would have been ſcandalous, had they not been neceſſary: the imperialiſts inſiſted that he ſhould engage to pay the ſum of 400000 ducats, in order to pay the army; requiring moreover, that he ſhould continue a priſoner, till he had paid the third part of the ſum; that he ſhould afterwards be carried to the caſtle of Naples, to wait till the emperor's pleaſure was known, with relation to the diſpoſing of his perſon; and that he ſhould deliver up the caſtles of St. Angelo, Oſtia, Civita Vecchia, Caſtelana, and the towns of Parma, Piacenza and Modena.

CHARLES V. was greatly delighted to ſee one of his greateſt enemies fall a ſecond time into his hands; but he, far from diſcovering any thing that might betray the real ſentiments of his mind, did, from a regard to religion, conceal 'em under the ſpecious appearances of a ſenſible affliction: ſo that at the firſt news he had of the pope's impriſonment, he, as if he had been taken captive by the Turks or Corſairs, put on mourning in a publick manner, and ordered ſolemn proceſſions to be made over all Spain, to pray to God for his liberty: an affectation which he carried to too great lengths, and which impos'd on no body, even among his own ſubjects, unleſs it were the common people.

WHILST this comedy was acting in Spain in a manner ſo unbecoming the character of a great emperor, he, for fear his priſoner ſhould make his eſcape, ſent orders to Rome, to have him put under the guard of an old Spaniſh officer, Alarçon by name, who had been entruſted with that of Francis I. at Madrid. This officer behav'd himſelf in as ſurly a manner towards the pope, as he had done towards the king of France; and carried himſelf towards a priſoner of his conſequence, not like a ſoldier or an officer, but rather like a goaler of criminals, or a commander of gally-ſlaves. But what gave the pontiff ſtill more concern than the plundering of Rome, and his impriſonment, was the news he heard, that the Florentines, upon the firſt account of what had paſſed at Rome, had juſt before drove all the houſe of Medicis not only out of the city, but alſo out of the whole ſtate of Florence, under pretence that it had too unlimited a power and authority in that place.

NAY, to ſuch lengths did the ſpirit of party proceed, as to tear down the arms of this family, in all places where they had been ſet up: all which was done at the inſtigation of the emperor's miniſters. The pope alſo was afraid leſt his goaler ſhould have had private orders to diſpatch him; but we muſt do him the juſtice to ſay, that he was not capable of committing ſo great a crime, and that though he kept the pope very cloſely ſhut up without allowing him the leaſt indulgence in his impriſonment, yet that this was no more than the reſult of his own rough and diſtruſtful temper. An hiſtorian has indeed told us, that cardinal Colonna preſſed him ſeveral times to make away with the pontiff: that cardinal, who was all

on

VILLIERS DE L'ISLE ADAM.

on fire for revenge, had alſo another motive for it, by hoping to make that act of vengeance a ſtep towards his own promotion. But whether this officer might have been juſtly ſhock'd at the dreadful villany of the propoſal, or that he was afraid, that by the pope's death, he ſhould loſe his part of his ranſom; be that I ſay, as it will, 'tis certain that he always rejected that bloody cardinal's infamous ſollicitations with an invincible conſtancy and reſolution, and that all the time the pope remained in his cuſtody, he was as careful of preſerving his life, as he was to prevent his making an eſcape.

THE grand maſter, who was the pope's particular friend, and had both a great affection for his perſon, and the warmeſt for his intereſt, was ſenſibly concerned at his misfortunes: Moreover, the open enmity between him and the emperor, his impriſonment, the breaking out of the war in all the provinces of Italy, the ſhare that moſt of the ſovereigns of Europe had in it, the leagues and treaties which were negotiating at the ſame time on all ſides, ſcarce left the knights of St. John any room to hope that the emperor would, in the hurry of theſe affairs and the tumults of war, ſuffer the affair of Malta to come upon the carpet; or particularly, that a prince of his ambition, and inſatiably thirſting after dominion, could be prevailed with to give up any thing of that kind of vaſſalſhip which he was for annexing to the feoffment of the iſland. The greateſt part of the knights, eſpecially the French, for fear of falling under the power of Charles V. ſhewed as much averſion for Malta as the Spaniards did eagerneſs for their ſettling there. The grand maſter juſtly conſider'd that no body was able but the pope, by his good offices to obtain a pure and abſolute grant of it from the emperor; but then, that ſo long as that pontiff ſhould be at variance with the emperor, he either would not intermeddle in it at all, or if he did, it would be to no manner of purpoſe. 'Twas reſolved therefore in the council of the order, to wait and ſee what time might produce in their favour, in what manner the affairs of Europe would clear up, what fate would attend the pope, and what reſolution would be proper for them finally to take with reſpect to Rhodes or Malta.

NOT to mention the great diſparity there was between theſe two Iſlands, with reſpect to largeneſs, the extent of their dominion and intrinſic riches; the grand maſter, uneaſy at being a melancholy witneſs of the continual wars that raged between the chriſtian princes, wiſhed himſelf far remov'd into the fartheſt parts of Aſia, and his heart was entirely fix'd upon the affair of Rhodes; nor was it long before he had news of it.

EUTIMIUS the Greek metropolitan of the Iſland, the *primum mobile* of the enterprize, was as uneaſy as any head of a party could poſſibly be, at the dilatorineſs of the affair; and fearing to be diſcovered, had ſent expreſs after expreſs to the grand maſter, in order to procure intelligence, and haſten the execution of it. The grand maſter wrote back to him; that the order not being able of it ſelf to defray the expence of ſo great an armament as was neceſſary for ſuch an attempt, he himſelf had been obliged to go into France, Spain and England to ſollicit ſuccours; that they were actually fitting out the two great carracks of the order; that they had likewiſe three gallies upon the ſtocks; that France had ſupplied him with gally-ſlaves, and England with cannon and artillery; that he was obliged to be preſent at a general chapter of his order which he had called at Viterbo, but that he hoped to be ſoon able to appear before Rhodes with a fleet and body of troops ſtrong enough to drive out

the infidels. He ſent this letter by the commander Boſio, embaſſador and negotiator general of all the affairs of the order, and ordered him to go a ſecond time into the eaſt, to learn the diſpoſition of the people, and alſo to take, in concert with the principal inhabitants of the iſland, the laſt meaſures for the execution of that important project. The continual wars that infeſted all Europe, prevented the knights that lay at the greateſt diſtance from Italy, from coming to the chapter: the grand maſter opened it with a diſcourſe which was equally ſolemn and pathetick. He put the aſſembly in mind of the loſs of Rhodes, and took notice of the diſpoſition of moſt of the knights, the ſtorms they had paſſed through, the plague and ſickneſs that had haraſſed the convent, the greedineſs of the ſeculars to graſp at, and ſeize on the eſtates of the order; and the fear of worſe evils for the future, if they did not prevent 'em by a fixed reſidence in ſome ſea-port, by the convenience of which, the knights might again carry on war againſt the infidels, and thereby take away from all thoſe princes, who were ill affected to their body, all manner of pretence to ſeize on their revenues. He next took occaſion to mention his old age, the cruiſings and voyages he had made, the long and tedious fatigues and labours that he had undergone, the calamities of the time and the publick miſeries: "Muſt I, cried this great man, ſurvive the loſs "of Rhodes, for no other end than to be a witneſs, and at the period of "my life, of the ſcattering, and perhaps the utter ruin of an order, "whoſe inſtitution is of ſo ſacred a nature, and whoſe government is "confided to me?" When at laſt directing his diſcourſe to all the knights, he beſought them in the moſt preſſing terms, in the name of their predeceſſors, the founders of the order, and by the blood which they themſelves and their brethren had ſo lately ſhed in the defence of Rhodes, to put an end to their diviſions, which could not but be very fatal to the order; and to be unanimous in their choice of a port for the future reſidence of the Convent.

VILLIERS DE L'ISLE ADAM.

THIS moving diſcourſe, his hair grown white in war, his perfect diſintereſtedneſs, his unbounded zeal and affection for the preſervation of the order, melted the hearts of the whole aſſembly: and as the affair of Rhodes had been communicated only to two or three of the principal of the council, all the voices of the ſeveral nations united for applying to the emperor for a grant of the Iſle of Malta, free from all ſubjection, and on condition only of having a ſolemn maſs ſaid every year in memory of that benefaction on the day that the donation ſhould be made, and of ſending a faulcon to the viceroy of Sicily, but without any deputation, and by any meſſenger they ſhould think proper.

UPON this, deputies were immediately diſpatch'd to the court of Madrid, with orders to treat with the emperor's miniſters on theſe conditions: but they found them much colder and ſtiffer than they had been told they would be. Whatever inclination the emperor had at firſt ſhewed to eſtabliſh the order of St. John in the iſle of Malta, to make uſe of it as a bulwark to ſecure Sicily and the ſea-coaſt of the kingdom of Naples, from the incurſions of the infidels; they had ſince filled him with apprehenſions, that as in the preſent juncture, he was in war with France, the grand maſter being a Frenchman born, would receive the fleets of Francis I. and his confederates into his ports, and favour their enterprizes. Beſides, the emperor had as ſtrong ſuſpicions of the attachment of the knights to the intereſt of the holy ſee. On the other ſide, the principal deputy of the order, who was entruſted with the ſecret of the affair, and who knew that the grand maſter was ſtill in hopes of recovering Rhodes,

Villeroi and de L'Isle Adam.

very pressing in the negotiation; so that by the different views of those that managed it, it was spun out a great while longer, and every body saw plainly that this great affair would not be adjusted till such time a general peace should be concluded, or at least till the pope should have recovered his liberty, and made a pretended or real reconciliation with the emperor.

THIS however was thought as yet to be at a very great distance; but the French army commanded by the marshal de Lautrec, which was advancing towards Rome, hastened the conclusion of it. This army consisted of 26000 foot, and 1000 men of arms, without including the light horse. On the other side, there was at Rome no more than the dregs of the Spanish and German troops that had sacked that great city: the plunder and booty which the soldiers had got there, made a great number of them desert; nor had they lost a less number by excessive drinking, debauchery, and the contagious distempers, which infecting various quarters of Italy at that time, compleated the ruin of this army.

THE emperor therefore seeing that he could not hinder the French from setting the pope at liberty, was desirous of having the honour of doing it himself. But as his interest was far superior to any private views of generosity, he ordered his ministers in their treating with him about it, to get all the advantages from him that they could. Hugo de Moncada, who was pitched upon for this negotiation, told him, that he had orders from the emperor to set him at liberty; and to give him some little earnest of it, his confinement was less strict. The first thing he insisted on, was, that he should disengage himself from the league, and act, as became him, the part of the common father to all christians. There was little difficulty on this article: the pope, who was not very scrupulous as to his word, would, to extricate himself out of those difficulties under which he labour'd, have signed new treaties every day of his life. But they likewise demanded Hypolito and Alessandro de Medicis as hostages, by way of surety for his execution of the treaty. The imperial minister went further, and declared, that it was impossible for him to compleat his liberty, tho' his master was so very much desirous of it, till he had paid down the 400000 ducats stipulated in the former treaty; and that without this previous condition he was afraid lest the emperor's soldiers, who were most of them Lutherans, and a sett of ungovernable fellows, should make an attempt on his holiness's person.

THAT pontiff understood his meaning very well; but he was more afraid of Moncada himself, than of his soldiers. He, therefore, in order to get as soon as possible out of their hands, promised to pay 95000 ducats down, to give the like sum, a fortnight after his leaving Rome, and the rest in three months afterwards. Guicciardin tells us, that he, in order to raise this sum was forced, before he went out of the castle of St. Angelo, to alienate the goods of the church; to sell, as it were by auction, three cardinals hats to persons unworthy of such an honour; and all this, says the historian, in order to furnish pay to hereticks, at the expence and with the consent of the vicar of Jesus Christ, who was likewise oblig'd to give not only his nephews, as hostages, but also several cardinals who were the most devoted to him, as a pledge for the performance of his promise.

Guicciardin. l. 18.

DECEMBER the ninth was the day fixed for setting him at liberty; but as there was still, notwithstanding all their treaties, a mutual diffidence on both sides, the pope fearing lest Moncada should not be so good as his word, took his opportunity whilst he was more negligently guarded, and got the night before out of the castle, disguis'd like a merchant; and

mounting on a Spaniſh horſe, made the beſt of his way to the caſtle of Orvieto, where he choſe to retreat. Villiers de L'Isle Adam.

THE pope, entirely perſuaded that his liberty was altogether owing to the weakneſs of the emperor's troops, and the approach of the French army, wrote a very obliging letter on that ſubject to the marſhal de Lautrec: and as if he had fully anſwer'd his firſt engagements by that ſlight complement, obſerved a kind of neutrality ever afterwards; which it were to have been wiſhed, for the edification of the church, he had never departed from. The war however between the emperor and confederates, laſted near two years more with various ſucceſs; but with the ſame fury and animoſity. Id. ibid.

DURING that interval, the commander Boſio, who (as we have obſerved) had been ſent by the grand maſter to Rhodes, returned thence with very ill news. The grand maſter's project had been communicated to too many perſons, and the execution of it delayed too long, to be ſtill kept a ſecret. The Turks had ſome ſuſpicion of it: the grand ſeignior immediately changed the garriſon, and put ſeveral Chriſtians of the Greek religion to death, and alſo ſome Mahometans; and 'twas with infinite difficulties, and through a thouſand dangers, that the commander Boſio found means to eſcape the ſtrict ſearch which had been made by order of the governor of Rhodes. As a conſolation for this ill ſucceſs, that knight, who had a very penetrating genius, ever fruitful of new reſſources, propoſed to the grand maſter a project for ſeizing on the town of Modon and making it the ſeat and reſidence of the order.

THIS City, which is ſituated in the Morea, fell into the hands of the Venetians, A. D. 1124. Bajazet the ſecond took it in 1498. A Rhodian named Lomelino Del-Campo, who after the loſs of Rhodes had retired to Meſſina, ſhewed Boſio in his paſſage to that iſland, that it would be a matter of no great difficulty for the order to take Modon by the aſſiſtance of two Turks originally Chriſtians, and Greeks by birth, with whom he kept a conſtant correſpondence relating to commerce, and who had confided to him their remorſe for having renounced the faith, and their ſincere deſire of returning into the boſom of the church, as ſoon as a favourable occaſion ſhould offer it ſelf; that one of theſe renegadoes, Calojan by name, had the command of the port; and that the other, whoſe name was Scandali, was, by his poſt of ſupreme director of the cuſtoms, maſter of the gate of the mole; and that they would both of them be glad to favour an enterprize, that ſhould put ſo important a place into the hands of the Chriſtians. Boſio, who was ever warm and enterprizing in thoſe things in which the intereſts of his order were concerned, was reſolved to go and view the place in perſon; and diſcourſe, if poſſible, with the two Turks. With this deſign he got letters from Lomelino for them both, and as he paſſed near the Iſland of Sapienza, which lies off of the ſouthern coaſt of the Morea, over againſt Modon, he put into a bay, where he lay ſnug, and ſent a Rhodian that attended on him, named Stefi Marquet, in a fiſherman's bark, to Modon, to deliver the letters to the two Turks. They both came on board him in the night; he found them thoroughly penitent for their fault, and reſolved to atone for it, though at the expence of their lives. The commander confirmed them in this noble reſolution, and after having conſulted together about the ſeveral methods for putting their project in execution, the reſult of it was, that they, by the help of this intelligence, ſhould conceal a certain number of knights in ſome merchant veſſels; that part of thoſe knights ſhould in the night be let into the tower which commanded the port, and that the reſt ſhould ſeize on the Boſio, t. 3. l. 5. & 6.

Villeroy and de L'Isle Adam.

of those that managed it, it was spun out a great while longer; and every body saw plainly that this great affair would not be adjusted till such time a general peace should be concluded, or at least till the pope should have recovered his liberty, and made a pretended or real reconciliation with the emperor.

THIS however was thought as yet to be at a very great distance; but the French army commanded by the marshal de Lautrec, which was advancing towards Rome, hastened the conclusion of it. This army consisted of 26000 foot, and 1000 men of arms, without including the light horse. On the other side, there was at Rome no more than the dregs of the Spanish and German troops that had sacked that great city: the plunder and booty which the soldiers had got there, made a great number of them desert; nor had they lost a less number by excessive drinking, debauchery, and the contagious distempers, which infecting various quarters of Italy at that time, compleated the ruin of this army.

THE emperor therefore seeing that he could not hinder the French from setting the pope at liberty, was desirous of having the honour of doing it himself. But as his interest was far superior to any private views of generosity, he ordered his ministers in their treating with him about it, to get all the advantages from him that they could. Hugo de Moncada, who was pitched upon for this negotiation, told him, that he had orders from the emperor to set him at liberty; and to give him some little earnest of it, his confinement was less strict. The first thing he insisted on, was, that he should disengage himself from the league, and act, as became him, the part of the common father to all christians. There was little difficulty on this article: the pope, who was not very scrupulous as to his word, would, to extricate himself out of those difficulties under which he labour'd, have signed new treaties every day of his life. But they likewise demanded Hippolito and Alessandro de Medicis as hostages, by way of surety for his execution of the treaty. The imperial minister went further, and declared, that it was impossible for him to compleat his liberty, tho' his master was so very much desirous of it, till he had paid down the 400000 ducats stipulated in the former treaty; and that without this previous condition he was afraid lest the emperor's soldiers, who were most of them Lutherans, and a sett of ungovernable fellows, should make an attempt on his holiness's person.

THAT pontiff understood his meaning very well; but he was more afraid of Moncada himself, than of his soldiers. He, therefore, in order to get as soon as possible out of their hands, promised to pay 95000 ducats down, to give the like sum, a fortnight after his leaving Rome, and the rest in three months afterwards. Guicciardin tells us, that he, in order to raise this sum was forced, before he went out of the castle of St. Angelo, to alienate the goods of the church; to sell, as it were by auction, three cardinals hats to persons unworthy of such an honour; and all this, says the historian, in order to furnish pay to hereticks, at the expence and with the consent of the vicar of Jesus Christ, who was likewise oblig'd to give not only his nephews, as hostages, but also several cardinals who were the most devoted to him, as a pledge for the performance of his promise.

Guicciardin. l. 18.

DECEMBER the ninth was the day fixed for setting him at liberty; but as there was still, notwithstanding all their treaties, a mutual diffidence on both sides, the pope fearing lest Moncada should not be so good as his word, took his opportunity whilst he was more negligently guarded, and got the night before out of the castle, disguis'd like a merchant; and

mounting on a Spaniſh horſe, made the beſt of his way to the caſtle of Orvieto, where he choſe to retreat. VILLIERS DE L'ISLE ADAM.

THE pope, entirely perſuaded that his liberty was altogether owing to the weakneſs of the emperor's troops, and the approach of the French army, wrote a very obliging letter on that ſubject to the marſhal de Lautrec: and as if he had fully anſwer'd his firſt engagements by that ſlight complement, obſerved a kind of neutrality ever afterwards; which it were to have been wiſhed, for the edification of the church, he had never departed from. The war however between the emperor and confederates, laſted near two years more with various ſucceſs; but with the ſame fury and animoſity. Id. ibid.

DURING that interval, the commander Boſio, who (as we have obſerved) had been ſent by the grand maſter to Rhodes, returned thence with very ill news. The grand maſter's project had been communicated to too many perſons, and the execution of it delayed too long, to be ſtill kept a ſecret. The Turks had ſome ſuſpicion of it: the grand ſeignior immediately changed the garriſon, and put ſeveral Chriſtians of the Greek religion to death, and alſo ſome Mahometans; and 'twas with infinite difficulties, and through a thouſand dangers, that the commander Boſio found means to eſcape the ſtrict ſearch which had been made by order of the governor of Rhodes. As a conſolation for this ill ſucceſs, that knight, who had a very penetrating genius, ever fruitful of new reſſources, propoſed to the grand maſter a project for ſeizing on the town of Modon and making it the ſeat and reſidence of the order.

THIS City, which is ſituated in the Morea, fell into the hands of the Venetians, A. D. 1124. Bajazet the ſecond took it in 1498. A Rhodian named Lomelino Del-Campo, who after the loſs of Rhodes had retired to Meſſina, ſhewed Boſio in his paſſage to that iſland, that it would be a matter of no great difficulty for the order to take Modon by the aſſiſtance of two Turks originally Chriſtians, and Greeks by birth, with whom he kept a conſtant correſpondence relating to commerce, and who had confided to him their remorſe for having renounced the faith, and their ſincere deſire of returning into the boſom of the church, as ſoon as a favourable occaſion ſhould offer it ſelf; that one of theſe renegadoes, Calojan by name, had the command of the port; and that the other, whoſe name was Scandali, was, by his poſt of ſupreme director of the cuſtoms, maſter of the gate of the mole; and that they would both of them be glad to favour an enterprize, that ſhould put ſo important a place into the hands of the Chriſtians. Boſio, who was ever warm and enterprizing in thoſe things in which the intereſts of his order were concerned, was reſolved to go and view the place in perſon; and diſcourſe, if poſſible, with the two Turks. With this deſign he got letters from Lomelino for them both, and as he paſſed near the Iſland of Sapienza, which lies off of the ſouthern coaſt of the Morea, over againſt Modon, he put into a bay, where he lay ſnug, and ſent a Rhodian that attended on him, named Stefi Marquet, in a fiſherman's bark, to Modon, to deliver the letters to the two Turks. They both came on board him in the night; he found them thoroughly penitent for their fault, and reſolved to atone for it, though at the expence of their lives. The commander confirmed them in this noble reſolution, and after having conſulted together about the ſeveral methods for putting their project in execution, the reſult of it was, that they, by the help of this intelligence, ſhould conceal a certain number of knights in ſome merchant veſſels; that part of thoſe knights ſhould in the night be let into the tower which commanded the port, and that the reſt ſhould ſeize on Boſio, t. 3. l. 5. & 6.

the

Villiers de L'Isle Adam.

the gate of the Mole; that thereupon a cannon-shot should be fired for a signal, and that the christian fleet, which was to lie concealed behind the island of Sapienza, should advance, and land the troops on board it; which should afterwards enter by the gate of the mole, throw themselves into the place, and carry it.

Bosio finding this enterprize might be very easily effected, highly commended the two renegadoes; exhorted them to persevere with constancy and resolution in the design with which heaven had inspired them for their salvation; moreover promising them great rewards, if they should contribute to the conquest of Modon. He, after this, kept on his voyage, and at his return into Italy gave the grand master an account of this new negotiation; represented to him that Modon was situated in a fruitful and plentiful country, where they might extend their conquest, if the enterprize should meet with success; that there was no rising ground near enough the place that might command it; that it was surrounded by the sea on two sides, and was divided from the main-land by a ditch, which they might make broader if they thought proper; that the port was spacious and secure, by means of a great mole, and several rocks that defended the entrance of it; and that as the island of Sapienza lay off it, they might build a citadel in that place, which might serve as an advanced fortification to the town of Modon.

The grand master did not reject the proposal; but being a man of solid judgment, and seeing that the affair of Rhodes had absolutely miscarried, he preferred a certain settlement at Malta, before the uncertain hopes of the conquest of Modon. However, as he saw no great difficulty in this last project, he put off the execution of it, till after he had taken possession of the isles of Malta and Goza, and he sent Bosio to the pope to solicit him in his and the order's name, to use his mediation in the treaty proposed about Malta, and employ his credit to get the rigour of the conditions moderated.

The pope being kept away from Rome, bare of money, and disheartned by the misfortunes of the war, was then endeavouring to repair his losses by a new treaty with the emperor; and that prince, if he could have depended on his word, would not have been averse to it: nay, he would have been glad of a publick reconciliation, to blot out from the minds of Christians the scandal which he had given by the imprisonment of that pontiff, and the horrible sacking of the city of Rome.

There was but one consideration only, that could affect Clement's heart, and that was the restoring of his family in Florence. Charles V. plied him on that side: he offered him Margaret of Austria his natural daughter for Alexander de Medicis, that pontiff's great nephew, or, as others say, his son. The managers of the negotiation said further, that the emperor would engage himself to make him sovereign of the city and state of Florence, and that he should, after the ceremony of his coronation, and before the year 1530 was expired, see a mighty army before Florence, under the command of his ablest generals, in order to oblige them to take the oaths of allegiance to young Alexander, his nephew. These advantageous proposals, such indeed as the pope could never have expected, though the league had been victorious, made him forget his own disasters and the emperor's insults, and to labour himself to a conquest of such importance to him; whereupon he engaged to maintain 8000 men for this enterprize at his own expence. He promised at the same time to give the emperor the investiture of the kingdom of Naples, without any other annual acknowledgment but a white genet; and agreed with the em-

Guicciardin. l. 19.

Paulo Jovio. l. 27.

emperor's agents to be at Bologna the next January at fartheſt, in order to perform the ceremony of that prince's coronation: this treaty was ſign'd June 29, 1529. The Ducheſs Louiſa of Savoy, the king's mother, and Margaret of Auſtria, the emperor's aunt, governeſs of the low countries, ſign'd likewiſe another at Cambray in the king's and emperor's names, to which they gave the name of the ladies treaty.

SUCH was the ſituation of affairs in Europe, when Boſio arriv'd at the pope's court: and tho' the affair of Rhodes had not ſucceeded, the pontif was yet ſo well ſatisfy'd with the manner in which he gave him an account of his negotiation, and of that which he had begun at Modon, that, as he himſelf was very skilful at negotiations; or, to ſpeak more properly, had a taſte for them, tho' at the ſame time without having any talents or capacity requiſite for that purpoſe, he would needs keep him near his perſon in quality of his privy chamberlain; and order'd him to write to the grand maſter, to tell him, that he was in hopes of prevailing with the emperor, at their interview at Bologna, to make a grant of the iſle of Malta to the order, with an entire exemption from all the burthenſome conditions which his miniſters were for clogging it with. About the latter end of the year, the emperor went from Spain into Italy, and came to Bologna, where the pope performed the ceremony of his coronation; and in their interview, they adjuſted matters for eſtabliſhing young Medicis as ſovereign in Florence.

THE pope, ſeeing this happy proſpect for the reſtoration of his family, recommended the intereſts of the order of St. John to the emperor, in the moſt preſſing terms; the pope having been bred up in it, and conſidering it, in a manner, as his ſecond family. Tho' the emperor was not eaſily caught with ſollicitations in which his intereſt was not concern'd, yet, in this juncture of his reconciliation with the pope, it was impoſſible for him to refuſe him any thing: and we may affirm, that the houſe of Medicis, and the order of St. John, owe their re-eſtabliſhment to that pontif. The treaty concerning the knights was ſign'd on March 24, at Caſtel-Franco, a little town in the territory of Bologna; by which, the emperor declares, that in conſideration of the particular affection which he had always bore to the order, and the important ſervices which it had done for many ages to the Chriſtian world, and to enable it to continue the ſame againſt the enemies of the faith, he had given and granted for ever, as well in his own name, as for his heirs and ſucceſſors, to the moſt reverend the grand maſter of the ſaid order, and to the ſaid order of St. John, as a fief-noble, free and franc, the caſtles, places, and iſles of Tripoli, Malta, and Goza, with all their territories and juriſdictions, authority of judging in all pleas whatever, and power of life and death, with all other houſes, appurtenances, exemptions, privileges, rents, and other rights and immunities; provided, that for the future, the grand maſter and the knights ſhould hold thoſe places of him and his ſucceſſors in the kingdom of Sicily, as noble, free, and franc-fiefs, without being obliged to any ſervice or acknowledgment but that of a faulcon every year on All-ſaints day; and that in the vacancy of the biſhoprick of Malta, the grand maſter and the convent ſhould be obliged to preſent to him and his ſucceſſors, three learned and pious perſons, in order for his making choice of one of them to ſucceed to that dignity; and that the perſon ſo promoted, ſhall be honour'd with the grand croſs of the order; and in that quality, ſhould have the privilege of ſitting in the council.

VILLIERS DE L'ISLE ADAM.

THE reader will find this deed at length in the collection of proofs in the Appendix: The emperor, when he had ſigned it, delivered it to the commander Boſio, to carry it to the grand maſter. That zealous miniſter ſet out immediately: but as the coachman, to ſatisfy his impatience, and make the greater haſte, drove very hard, the coach overturn'd, and the embaſſador was conſiderably hurt. What aggravated the misfortune, was, that an unskilful ſurgeon being ſent for to bleed him, inſtead of opening a vein, ignorantly prick'd him in an artery; when the blood extravaſating croſs the fleſh and muſcles of the arm, cauſed a ſwelling, which was ſoon followed by a gangrene that put a period to this excellent man's life. But before he expired, he gave the emperor's packet to a Rhodian gentleman, Statigogulo by name, his intimate friend and companion, to deliver into the grand maſter's hands; and charged him likewiſe from him, to urge him to keep up the correſpondence of Modon, from which, he ſaid, he was perſuaded the order would ſome time or other reap great advantages. The Rhodian diſcharged his commiſſion with great exactneſs. The grand maſter was ſenſibly afflicted at the news of Boſio's death; when he, in order to purſue his ſchemes, ſent afterwards the ſame Rhodian to Modon with rich preſents to the two renegadoes. He was order'd to inquire into their character, the diſpoſition they were in, and whether they had not changed their mind; and in caſe he found them reſolved and qualified to go through with the enterprize for the ſervice of the order, he was then to draw a plan of the city and the parts adjacent, that ſo they might be able to concert beforehand the order of the attacks.

THIS gentleman landed at Modon, diſguiſed like a Greek merchant, and found the two Turks firm and unſhaken in their reſolution. They ſhewed him the facility of the enterprize, by means of the authority which one of them had in the tower of the port, and the other by the keys of the gate of the mole, which were in their diſpoſal. They told him, that the enterprize could not fail of ſucceſs, provided the knights would but come with a body of troops, ſufficient to beat the garriſon and the inhabitants. When, after ſeveral conferences, they agreed to put off the execution of the project till the latter end of the next ſummer; in order that, if it ſhould meet with favourable ſucceſs, as they had all the reaſon in the world to hope it would, the news of it might not reach Conſtantinople till autumn, when the Turks, not being able to put to ſea in the winter, the knights might by that means have time ſufficient to fortify themſelves in their new conqueſt.

THE grand maſter and council, as ſoon as they had received and examined the deed containing the donation of Malta, diſpatched two of the principal commanders to thank the emperor in the name of the whole order. They alſo ſent at the ſame time an authentick copy of that important inſtrument to the prior Salviati, their embaſſador at Rome, and nephew to the pope, in order that he might obtain a confirmation of it from the ſovereign pontiff, who was the firſt ſuperior of the order. Clement with the greateſt joy imaginable granted it in a full conſiſtory; and to make this deed ſtill more binding and ſolemn, he caus'd a bull to be drawn up to that purpoſe, and publiſh'd April the 25th. Not long after this, the grand maſter ſent, as from the order, into Sicily, Hugh de Copones general of its gallies, and John Boniface bailif of Manoſque, of the language of Provence, in quality of embaſſador, to take an oath of fidelity in preſence of Hector Pignatelli, duke of Montalcon, and viceroy of Sicily. The embaſſadors acquitted themſelves of this duty in the church of Palermo; when, the ceremonies being perform'd as uſual in

VILLIERS DE L'ISLE ADAM.

thoſe caſes, he receiv'd the deed of inveſtiture which the viceroy gave up into their hands in the name of the emperor. This nobleman named afterwards ſix commiſſioners who went on board the ſame gallies of the order, as had brought the embaſſadors to Sicily; after which, they in concert went together to Malta, Goza and Tripoli, of which they were put in poſſeſſion by thoſe commiſſioners. Theſe, by virtue of the power which they had receiv'd from the grand maſter and council, took an oath in their name, to maintain the inhabitants and people of thoſe iſlands in their rights, cuſtoms, and privileges: And left, by the grand maſter's order, the commander Aurelio Botigella as governor and captain of arms of Malta, and the chevalier Auguſtine Vintioville as his lieutenant.

A Spaniſh officer, Alvarez de Nava by name, who commanded in the caſtle of St. Angelo, having deliver'd up that fort to them, they deliver'd it up to the commander Peter Piton, who accordingly took poſſeſſion of it at the head of a company of foot. Not long after this, the grand maſter ſent two gallies and a galion with a conſiderable number of knights on board to Tripoli, whereof he nam'd governor, Gaſpar of Sangueſſea, commander of Aliagne. The commiſſioners, after having provided for the defence of theſe ſeveral places, return'd on board, and arriv'd at Saragoſſa or Syracuſe in Sicily, where the council, for the better conveniency of their paſſage to Malta, had been already aſſembled for ſome time.

THE grand maſter before his ſetting out ſent a great number of workmen and materials to Malta, to rebuild the lodgment of the caſtle of St. Angelo, which was entirely ruin'd, and ſhipp'd off powder and ammunitions on the ſame veſſels. But when he was for ſhipping off corn, the viceroy of Sicily inſiſted upon the duties of exportation; and the maſter of the mint acquainted the council, that the emperor would not ſuffer any money but what bore his impreſs to be coin'd at Malta, and that by his officers only. Theſe difficulties being thus ſtarted, retarded the departure of all the knights. The grand maſter and council were very ſenſible that Malta could not poſſibly ſubſiſt without receiving corn from Sicily, and they look'd upon theſe duties of exportation, from which the inhabitants of Malta, as denizens of Sicily, had been always exempted, as an indirect duty and tribute, to which the order was going to be ſubjected.

NOR did they leſs reſent their pretending to deprive an order, that was ſovereign and independent, of the right of coining money. Theſe ſeveral circumſtances made them apprehenſive leſt the emperor, a prince who was ever to be guarded againſt in his treaties, and whoſe words, tho' in outward appearance clear and free from ambiguity, nevertheleſs conceal'd equivocal meanings, ſhould one day make uſe of theſe pretenſions as a right, and employ them in keeping the order in an abſolute dependence. Reflections of this nature alarm'd the greateſt part of the knights; there were many of them who maintain'd, that it would be impoſſible for the order to preſerve its liberty in the neighbourhood of ſo powerful and ambitious a prince; others of a warmer temper, and who were for ſtraining of every thing, inſiſted openly that they muſt abſolutely break the treaty; that Malta was a barren iſland, or rather rock, where the inhabitants died of hunger; that the two elements of man's food, viz. bread and water, were wanting in it; and that the preſent which Charles V. had made them, was not worth the parchment they had employ'd in writing the deed of gift. But the grand maſter and council, more prudent and circumſpect in their views as well as words, thought proper to inform themſelves of the emperor's real inclinations from himſelf only; for which purpoſe they diſpatch'd two embaſſadors to him, with orders to repreſent

to

VILLIERS DE L'ISLE ADAM.

to his imperial majeſty was very ſenſible, that ſo far from drawing any advantage from the iſles of Malta and Goza, and the city of Tripoli, he was at the yearly expence of 340000 livres for the maintaining the garriſons in the ſeveral ſtrong holds and caſtles; that it would have been impoſſible for the inhabitants to ſubſiſt in them, had they not ever been conſider'd as denizens of Sicily, and as ſuch had not enjoy'd the privilege of receiving corn from thence free from any duty of exportation; that the order had been ſurpriz'd he ſhould be for rendring its condition ſtill worſe than that of the people, whom he had offer'd it in quality of its ſubjects; nor were they leſs ſurpriz'd, that the order by the deed of gift ſhould be acknowledg'd as ſovereign and independent, and nevertheleſs, that it ſhould be debarr'd from coining money, and be by that means depriv'd of one of the choiceſt of its royal prerogatives, and which the grand prior of Germany enjoy'd in all its latitude in the empire. The embaſſadors were order'd not to abate a tittle in theſe articles, and at the ſame time, by a particular one, were expreſly commanded, in caſe the emperor ſhould abſolutely inſiſt upon the pretenſions of his miniſters, to give him back immediately his deed of gift, to take their leave of him, and to return back forthwith.

THESE two miniſters were no ſooner arriv'd at his court, and admitted to an audience, but they, inſtead of opening with the deſign, for which they had chiefly been ſent, told him, that their ſuperiors had ſent them to thank his imperial majeſty for the great exactneſs, as well as little trouble, which his commiſſioners had given the order, in putting them in poſſeſſion of the iſlands and ſtrong holds, of which he had been ſo gracious as to make a ceſſion in their favour, and that the grand maſter was juſt upon the point of tranſporting himſelf thither, and all the convent. They added, that he ſhould even have been ſet out by this time for that purpoſe, had not ſome difficulties aroſe, which the viceroy of Sicily had ſtarted, only from the great zeal he had for his ſervice; but that the whole order hoped, that his majeſty, out of his wonted goodneſs, would come to a reſolution, and terminate that affair. After having told him in few words what the viceroy's pretenſions were, as if the emperor had known nothing of the matter, they artfully inſinuated to him, that altho' the grand maſter and council were highly ſenſible of the importance and value of the gift which he had made them of Malta, that nevertheleſs, it had not yet been accepted by the unanimous conſent of all the knights; that the French in particular, who had been brought up at Rhodes, and in an independence that naturally reſults from an unlimited ſovereignty, appear'd to be leaſt ſatisfied with it; that they had juſt reaſons to apprehend they ſhould make the different pretenſions of the viceroy, ſerve as a handle to oppoſe the tranſlation of the council; that his imperial majeſty knew very well, that the ſuperiors of a free republic, compos'd of knights of various nations, and educated in a certain pomp of courage, were not to exert their authority, but with the utmoſt circumſpection, and particularly in an affair, wherein each private man imagin'd he had as great an intereſt as his ſuperiors; for which reaſon, the grand maſter and council conjur'd him to finiſh himſelf the work of his own creation, and to employ his ſovereign authority for the removing of the obſtacles which his miniſters form'd. They concluded, with aſſuring him that the free and voluntary acknowledgments and gratitude of the knights, and their zeal in defending his territories againſt the infidels, would greatly compenſate all the viceroy's pretenſions.

NOT-

VILLIERS DE L'ISLE ADAM.

NOTWITHSTANDING that the emperor's deſign in making over Malta to the order of St. John, was to make it ſerve as a bulwark to cover his kingdoms of Sicily and Naples; nevertheleſs this monarch never gave up the moſt inconſiderable of his intereſts, but in the view of gaining a more conſiderable one by ſuch a ceſſion. He inſiſted ſtrongly on the viceroy's pretenſions, imagining that the order, after having brought matters thus far, would not break the treaty for the ſake of thoſe two articles. In order therefore to increaſe the duties of exportation, he delar'd that he could not conſent to allow the order to fetch corn from Sicily, unleſs they would agree to pay a certain ſum per tun, as ſhould afterwards be agreed upon; and to procure to himſelf a kind of right of ſovereignty over the order, he added, that he would not abſolutely allow the order to coin money, or any other to be current all the iſland over, but what was coin'd in his own mints.

IF theſe two miniſters had acted directly as they were order'd by their inſtructions, all treaty would have been at an end; but they thought it important enough to merit their ſending for new orders from the council how to act: Accordingly, they wrote with the utmoſt expedition to the grand maſter, who immediately ſent advice of it to the pope, the protector of the order. The pontif diſpatch'd to the emperor the prior Salviati his nephew, who was at his holineſs's court in quality of reſident of the grand maſter and the whole order; and this miniſter made ſo good an advantage of the credit which the pope had then with the emperor, that he obtain'd from him a new treaty, in which the two articles relating to the exportation of corn, and the coining of money, were inſerted in favour of the order.

NOTHING was now wanting for the entire eſtabliſhment of the knights at Malta, but the tranſportation of the grand maſter, of the council, and all the knights into that iſland. They firſt put on board five gallies, two great carracks, and different tranſport ſhips, the inhabitants of Rhodes, who being reſolv'd to ſhare the fortune of the order, had continued with the knights ever ſince they had quitted that iſland. They alſo ſhip'd on board theſe veſſels the effects and records of the order, as likewiſe various moveables, together with ammunition and proviſions. A great number of knights and ſoldiers in their pay, went over in this little fleet, which, before its arrival, met with a dreadful ſtorm, in which one of their gallies was daſh'd to pieces againſt a rock; one of the carracks had alſo like to have been loſt, ſhe was already got into the port at Malta, when immediately there aroſe ſuch mighty winds, that notwithſtanding her being faſten'd with three anchors, ſhe yet broke her cables, and after twice running aground, at laſt ſunk in the ſand. They thought her loſt, when a contrary wind ſpringing up, rais'd her; after which, they ſet her afloat, and found that her hull had receiv'd no manner of damage. Such as are for drawing predictions from every thing, did not fail to give out, that heaven ſeem'd by that incident to point out the fate of the order, which, after having ſuffer'd under ſo great a variety of dangers and ſtorms, ſhould at laſt fix itſelf happily in Malta.

THIS iſland is ſituated in the 46th degree of longitude, and the 35th degree 10 minutes of northern latitude; it has the Mediterranean to the Eaſt, looking towards Candia; to the North, Sicily, which is but fifteen leagues diſtant from it; Tripoli in Barbary, to the South; and the iſlands of Pantalarea, Linoſa, and Lampaduſa, to the Weſt; and that part of the ſea, which ſeparates that iſland from Sicily, generally goes by the name of the channel of Malta. This country, according to a tradition of its in-

Villiers de L'Isle Adam.

habitants, had been anciently govern'd by an African prince call'd Battus. It was ſince in the hands of the Carthaginians; and at the time that the knights of St. John took poſſeſſion of it, they met with ſeveral inſcriptions in the Punic tongue, engrav'd on pieces of marble and broken pillars. The Romans, during the wars of Sicily, drove the Carthaginians from thence; and the Arabians, about the 9th century, and after the ruin of the empire, made themſelves maſters of it. About anno 1190, Roger the Norman count of Sicily won this iſland from the Barbarians; ſince which time, it has been always annex'd to the kingdom of Sicily, whoſe fortune it had ever follow'd.

1530. October 26. The grand maſter, the council, and chief commanders got into the great port on the 26th of October; and as ſoon as they were landed, they went directly to the parochial church of St. Lawrence, where having paid their firſt homage to him whom the order acknowledge for its only ſovereign, they went to the town, which is ſituated at the foot of the caſtle of St. Angelo. The grand maſter could hardly meet with a houſe for himſelf to lodge in, they being no more than ſo many fiſhermen's hutts, in which the commanders and knights diſpers'd themſelves. The grand maſter took up his quarters in the caſtle; ſome days after his entry, he went and took poſſeſſion of the capital, that lay farther up the country, and about the middle of the iſland. 'Tis call'd by Ptolemy *Melita*, after the name of the whole iſland; others give it the name of the *notable city*. We are told, that it was not 1300 paces in circumference; 'twas the uſual reſidence of the biſhop. The grand maſter, after his authority had been acknowledg'd by all the inhabitants, went thro' the whole iſland to find out a place that might be ſafe, as well as commodious, for the ſetling of the council and the whole body of knights.

We have already obſerv'd, that the two greateſt ports were ſeparated from one another by a neck of land, or rock, call'd *Mount Sceberras*, which commanded them both. This place appear'd to him to be very commodiouſly ſituated for the raiſing of a new city. The grand maſter would have been very deſirous, in caſe the order could ſubſiſt in the iſland, to ſettle the convent in that place; but as the circumſtances of the order at that time would not allow them to execute ſuch a deſign, tho' jndg'd to be ſo very uſeful, the grand maſter and council were oblig'd in that infancy of things to ſettle themſelves in the caſtle of St. Angelo, the only place of defence that was in the iſland, and the knights diſpers'd themſelves up and down the town, which is ſituated at the foot of the fort: this was their firſt reſidence. This town had no fortifications and was commanded on all ſides. The grand maſter built a wall round it, to prevent his being ſurpriz'd by the corſairs: they have ſince added flanks to it with reſſauts at certain diſtances, and agreeable to the unevenneſs and declivity of the ground. The grand maſter did not intend to continue long in that place, but was reſolv'd, before he ſettled himſelf intirely there, to make an attempt upon Modon, a rich and populous city; and a circumſtance which gave him the greateſt ſatisfaction, was its little diſtance from Rhodes, which the order might be able to ſurprize in caſe a civil war ſhould break out among the Turks, or even attack openly in other conjunctures. He deſign'd, in caſe the affair of Modon ſhould miſcarry, and that the order ſhould be oblig'd to continue at Malta, to build a new city upon that point of rock above mention'd, which went by the name of Mount Sceberras. But the immenſe ſums the order had ſpent for eight years together, for the ſubſiſtence of the knights and Rhodians in Italy; the different tranſlations from Candia to Meſſina, from Meſſina to Civita-Vecchia, from thence to Viterbo,

Viterbo, from Viterbo to Nice, to Villa-Franca, and other places in Italy; and even Sicily, where the knights, for their eaſier ſubſiſtence, were diſpers'd up and down, with the grand maſter's leave; ſo many cruiſings, voyages, journeys, tranſmigrations of a whole body of people, of which that colony was compos'd, had quite drain'd the treaſury of the order, and would not allow the grand maſter to execute ſo great a project. He was even diſtaſted with every thing he ſaw in Malta; the barrenneſs of the ſoil; their bread, which they were obliged to ſeek, as it were, as far as Sicily; the poverty of the inhabitants; their ruſtic and ſavage behaviour; no place of defence in caſe of an attack: ſuch gloomy reflections as theſe afflicted him very ſenſibly, and awak'd with the utmoſt grief in his mind the remembrance of Rhodes, ſo fruitful in corn, ſo rich by its extenſive commerce, ſo powerful by its fleets and armaments; and moreover, the capital of five or ſix other iſlands or ſtrong holds, the moſt inconſiderable of which was much better fortified than Malta. But as L'Iſle Adam was inform'd with a ſpirit of bravery and a greatneſs of ſoul, ſuperior to even the moſt unhappy accidents of life, he generouſly took his reſolution at once; and without forgetting the enterprize of Modon, devoted all his cares to the building ſome houſes for the knights to dwell in, in order to make their reſidence in the iſland more ſupportable. 'Twas from this laſt eſtabliſhment that they borrow'd the name of Malta, inſtead of that of knights of Rhodes, which they had made illuſtrious by a continual ſeries of great actions during upwards of two hundred years.

VILLIERS DE L'ISLE ADAM.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE Knights Hoſpitallers OF St. JOHN of JERUSALEM,

Called afterwards

The KNIGHTS of Rhodes,

And at this time

The KNIGHTS of MALTA.

BOOK X.

VILLIERS DE L'ISLE ADAM. 1530.

THE grand maſter had no ſooner given the neceſſary orders for the defence of the iſland of Malta, but he croſs'd to that of Goza: he went all over it, viſited thoſe places, where the corſairs might make deſcents, gave orders for the building of retrenchments, brought ſeveral pieces of cannon, and ammunition and proviſions, into the caſtle, left a company of foot in it; and, after having exhorted the inhabitants to be inviolably true to the order, he returned back to Malta, and immediately turn'd all his thoughts upon Tripoli; that city of Africa, which, as has been already ſeen, the order was ſo unwilling to meddle with, by reaſon of its weakneſs and diſtance.

Fazelius de rebus Siculis, l. 1.

Bof. t. 3. l. 5.

WE before obſerv'd, that the chevalier Sangueſſe had been appointed governour of it by the commiſſioners, who took poſſeſſion of it in the name of the order. The grand maſter, at the ſame time that he ſent him a new reinforcement, confirmed him in that poſt, which could hardly have been fill'd up by a more worthy perſonage: he was an antient knight, who had ſignaliz'd himſelf in the laſt ſiege of Rhodes by a great number of heroick actions, and who, by fighting under the orders of the grand maſter,

master, during so long and bloody a siege, had acquir'd the art of preserving such places as he should be intrusted with. This commander, seeing himself greatly straitned in Tripoli by other neighbouring cities and towns, all of them inhabited by infidels, and people that had been formerly subject to the kings of Tunis, often sent different parties against these Africans, who made incursions into their territories, and ravaged the country. VILLIERS DE L'ISLE ADAM.

AMONG these several cities, inhabited by Mahometans, Gienzor and Tachiora, or Tachora, had withdrawn themselves for some years from the dominion of the kings of Tunis: the garrison of Tripoli used frequently to take several prisoners, and make a considerable booty even to the very gates of those cities. The inhabitants of Gienzor, wearied out with the continual attempts of these troublesome neighbours, made a treaty with them; and Sanguesse, with the grand master's consent, and in consideration of a certain sum agreed upon between them, granted them a peace, and open'd a free trade on that side.

THE lord of Tachora, being more powerful than those of Gienzor, and master of a good port, would not so much as hear a word mention'd of a tribute. The territory of this *Check*, or lord of Tachora, on that side which lay towards Tripoli, consisted in a large plain, which extended itself within four leagues of that city towards the east. This spacious plain was full of villages, which furnished their lord with a pretty considerable number of very brave horsemen and musketeers, whose chief business was robbing: these often engaged with the Malteze, and each party laid ambuscades for his neighbours. Things pass'd in this manner at first with little loss on either side, if we except the death of the chevalier de Harlai, of the language of France, occasion'd by an excess of courage and too little caution; he being cut to pieces, with all the soldiers under his command, by the Tachorizins, who had lain in ambush for him.

WE should not have been so particular in our account of these inroads, so common between people that border upon one another, and who are of a different religion, had not these petty wars afterwards given rise to others of much greater consequence, and in which the reader will observe that the arms of the knights of St. John were no less serviceable to the princes of Christendom in Africa, than they had been before in Asia, and during the time that the order resided in Palestine, and afterwards at Rhodes.

'TWAS now some time since the civil wars being kindled in the territories of Algiers and Tunis, the Ottoman Turks, or rather the corsairs under their name, in order to make their advantage of these divisions, had seized upon several places situated upon the coasts of Barbary; several knights, and those even who had discovered the greatest disinclination for taking upon themselves the defence of Malta, proposed at that time to the grand master, to turn all the efforts of the arms of the order, on that side; and they represented to him, that it would be impossible for the order to preserve so weak a place as Tripoli was, and particularly as it had no ground belonging to it, unless they cover'd it with new conquests and an extent of ground that might furnish subsistence for the garrison. This project was not without some foundation; but not to mention that the grand master, before engaging himself in this war, was very desirous of letting these infidels weaken and destroy one another; he besides had devoted all his thoughts to a design which had been formed for many years,

Villiers de L'Isle Adam.

and from the ſucceſs of which, he promiſed himſelf that the order would draw advantages that were much more conſiderable.

MODON at this time engroſs'd all his thoughts, it was the ſole object of his deſires, and every thing that might bring him nearer to Rhodes, appear'd like another Rhodes in his eyes, or at leaſt as a means that might one day make it a more eaſy conqueſt: So that he reſolv'd, before he would abſolutely fix his reſidence in Malta, or engage his order to lay out thoſe immenſe ſums that muſt neceſſarily be employ'd, before that iſland, which was open on all ſides, would be put in a ſtate of defence, to endeavour to ſurprize Modon, by the help of the intelligence he had in that place.

Boſ. t. 3. l. 6. IN this view, he took into the order's pay a good number of ſoldiers, who had lately ſerv'd at the ſiege of Florence, which the pope and emperor had undertaken in concert; and theſe two princes, after having made themſelves maſters of that great city, had reſtor'd the Medicis to their authority in it. The chevalier Salviati, who was related to that pope, and prior of Rome, by the grand maſter's command, brought theſe forces to Malta, on board ſix gallies well arm'd, three of which belong'd to the order; the viceroy of Sicily had lent the fourth; and James Grimaldi, a Genoeſe lord, and an excellent ſeaman, had hired two others, which belong'd to him, at the rate of 1000 crowns per month, and they agreed that he ſhould command them in perſon, as long as this expedition ſhould laſt.

THE grand maſter not being able to leave Malta, as its chief ſtrength lay in his preſence, nam'd the prior of Rome general of the enterprize; and the chevalier de Boniface, bailif of Manoſque, was to command the fleet, during the time that the general ſhould be aſhore, and employ'd in beſieging Modon: theſe gallies were to be accompanied with brigantines of a different bulk, with men and ammunition on board; and two trading veſſels loaded with planks, which they intended to employ for the execution of the enterprize, were entruſted to John Scandali, a Greek Chriſtian of the iſland of Zante, and ſon to one of the two renegadoes; and to Janni Necolo, who was alſo a Greek Chriſtian; both of whom were well known at Modon, by the daily traffick which they carried on to that place.

BESIDES a great number of knights, who went on board for this expedition, the viſcount Cigale, a famous privateer, and brother to the cardinal of that name, offer'd his ſervice to the grand maſter; and accordingly join'd the fleet of the order with two gallies well arm'd, that were his own, and which he commanded in perſon.

BEFORE this armament ſet ſail from the ports, ſeveral councils were held upon the execution of this enterprize; when, after a variety of projects, the grand maſter concluded upon this, That the gallies, brigantines, and other ſmall veſſels ſhould lie hid along the coaſts of the little iſland of Sapienza, which lay over againſt Modon; that towards the cloſe of the evening, they ſhould bring up two trading-veſſels freighted, in outward appearance, with timber and planks, under which a conſiderable number of knights and brave ſoldiers ſhould lie conceal'd; that young Scandali, under pretence of deſiring to come with his ſhip to an anchor, and trading there, and in concert with his father, ſhould advance to the foot of the tower of the mole, which was about 500 paces from the place, and that he ſhould ſeize upon it; that young Scandali's aſſociate ſhould go to another ſide at the entrance of the harbour, when, after having been viſited for form's ſake by Quir Calojan the other renegado, the director of the cuſtoms, he ſhould retire in the dark to his houſe; that the next day at

at the opening of the gate, the ſoldiers which lay conceal'd in the two brigantines, ſhould unite in a body, in order to make themſelves maſters of that gate; that a cannon ſhould immediately be fired, to give notice of it to the general, who ſhould leave the iſland of Sapienza that very moment, ſhould put his forces on board, and throw himſelf into the place through that gate, which ſhould be ſeiz'd.

1531. 17 Auguſt. THE prior of Rome, who was at the head of this expedition, ſet ſail from the port of Malta on the 17th of Auguſt; and after having ſail'd propitiouſly for ſeveral days together, would not put in at the iſle of Sapienza, but in the night-time. He hid his little fleet in the ſafeſt road of the whole iſland, and which was leaſt expos'd; when having taken down the flags and maſts of his gallies, he ſent Statigogulo and Marquet, the two Rhodians above-mention'd, to Modon, to ſee whether or no the two renegadoes had not chang'd their inclinations, and whether they were ſtill maſters of their poſts, and capable of keeping their word. The two Rhodians went into Modon diſguis'd like merchants, ſaw the two renegadoes; when having found them fix'd and reſolv'd, immoveable, and even impatient to ſignalize themſelves in the execution of that enterprize, they engag'd them to go over with them into the iſland of Sapienza, to confer with the prior of Rome upon that ſubject. This general gave them a very civil reception, and after having confirm'd to them in the grand maſter's name the promiſes of a ſplendid reward, which the two Rhodians had made to them, he ſtarted ſeveral difficulties, to all which they return'd very ſatisfactory anſwers. They added, that all lay in the diſpatch that ſhould be made in the execution; and in order to make Salviati reſolve upon it at once, they repreſented to him, that the ſole reaſon of the order's failing in its attempt upon Rhodes, was owing to its dilatorineſs and exceſs of caution: But this general fearing a double intelligence, and leſt thoſe Greeks after having renounc'd the faith, ſhould not ſcruple to betray and deliver him up to the Turks, he requir'd them, before he engag'd himſelf further in that affair, to carry to Modon the commander Sciateſe, a Roman; the chevalier de Broc, a Frenchman, of the language of Provence; and ſignior James Grimaldi; in order, that as they would be upon the ſpot, they would all three be able to judge whether the enterprize might be undertaken with ſafety, and afterwards agree among themſelves upon the final meaſures, for the landing of the troops and attacking the place.

THESE two renegadoes, in company with the knights diſguis'd like merchants, arriv'd in the port of Modon in the evening, as if they were return'd from the iſland of Sapienza, upon ſome affairs relating to their traffick. Scandali the father, who commanded in the tower of the mole, under pretence of giving theſe pretended merchants a ſupper there, ſhew'd them how eaſily they might make themſelves maſters of it; and with the ſame view, they went and lay at the other renegadoe's houſe, which was near the city-gate, and of which he had entrance free, in quality of director of the cuſtoms. The knights appear'd ſatisfy'd with the diſpoſition of the two Greeks, when the ſon of Scandali, a Chriſtian, and who, as was already obſerv'd, would not apoſtatiſe as his father had done, brought them back the next day to the iſland of Sapienza.

THE knights at their return, declar'd to the general, that their opinion was, the two renegadoes were ſincere in the affair; but that after all, a man could not be too cautious and circumſpect, when he had to deal with traytors; that they even met with great difficulties in the execution of that enterprize; that notwithſtanding Scandali commanded in the tower of the mole, yet the janizaries, who were upon guard there, would

not

VILLIERS DE L'ISLE ADAM.

not fail, upon the leaſt ſtir that ſhould be made, to take up arms againſt him; that upon the noiſe which is unavoidable in occaſions of that nature, and on the notice which the governor of Modon would receive of it, he would immediately order all the city gates to be ſhut, and that the garriſon and the inhabitants would ſoon be able to repulſe all ſuch as ſhould attack them. Theſe difficulties, and even thoſe which in ſuch like occaſions can ſcarce ever be foreſeen, ſuſpended for ſome time the deſire the general had of attempting this enterprize. Young Scandali, who ſaw thro' part of the general's ſuſpicions, told him that the only reaſon of his father's ſending for him from Zante, and making him privy to that deſign, was to put him into his hands by way of hoſtage, till ſuch time as he ſhould have perform'd his promiſe, and that he deſir'd no other than to continue on board his gallies; that as for the Janizaries in the tower of the mole, who were very few in number, his father would find a method to ſend them at a diſtance under various pretences, and that he had reſolv'd to make them drunk, and by that means prevent their being able to oppoſe the entrance of the knights into the tower; moreover, that his father and his aſſociate never intended to carry the place by open force; that it would be impoſſible for them to ſucceed any other way than by ſurprize; that his only fear was, that the ſuſpicion of the general had been owing to the great eaſe with which it might be executed. In fine, this young man, whoſe breaſt glow'd with zeal and bravery, ſhew'd them how eaſy as well as advantageous it would be to make their conqueſt ſure, ſo that the whole council reſolv'd to continue no longer in ſuſpenſe; and accordingly ſent young Scandali to his father, to aſſure him that they would make their attempt that very evening.

WITH this view, the general embark'd ſeveral knights and a conſiderable number of ſoldiers on board two felucças, who were hid under the planks, with which thoſe veſſels ſeem'd to be freighted, and which were deſign'd to aſſiſt the troops that were on board the gallies in their landing. Stefi Marquet the Rhodian, who had been ſo ſerviceable to Boſio in drawing up the plan of that conſpiracy, was on board the firſt brigantine, which in thoſe days was call'd a *Grips*, and advanc'd to the entrance of the port in the evening. Calojan, who had the guard of it, in quality of director of the cuſtoms, pretending not to know him, went on board his ſhip; when after having viſited it for form-ſake, and to prevent all ſuſpicion, he made his report thereof to the governor, telling him that it was a ſmall veſſel loaded with planks, which he ſaid a merchant was coming to ſell to ſome workmen in the city; upon which, the governor gave him leave to admit her in.

THE men who were hid in this felucca, in the diſguiſe of ſailors, befriended by the darkneſs, and under the pretence of their being oblig'd to ſet out very early the next morning, put aſhore thoſe planks and other pieces of wood with which they form'd a kind of bridge oppoſite to that gate of the city which they intended to ſurprize, in order to aſſiſt the landing of the forces that were on board the gallies; after which, they retir'd into the houſe of the renegado, where they ſpent the reſt of the night.

YOUNG Scandali, who was in the other felucca, came much about the ſame time and caſt anchor at the point of the tower; and as his father commanded in it, and he himſelf came frequently thither from the iſle of Zante, where he inhabited, the janizaries of the tower, with whom he was very familiar, made no ſcruple to admit him, and accordingly he enter'd into this tower in company with eight other Greeks in a Turkiſh Dreſs, who

ſpoke

ſpoke that language fluently, and who pretended to be ſoldiers belonging to the garriſons of Lepanto and Patras. His father, as had been concerted, diſpers'd ſome of his guards upon different commiſſions, and invited the reſt to ſupper. In the midſt of their gaiety and good cheer, they gave them an excellent Greek wine to drink, which, he ſaid, his ſon had brought him in his felucca. The real Turks, who thirſted after that liquor with greater cagerneſs, as they were prohibited to drink it by their law, pour'd it down in great quantities, and were ſoon drunk. The Greek Chriſtians, diſguis'd like janizaries, taking their advantage of that lethargic drowſineſs that uſually attends upon drunkenneſs, let into the tower all thoſe knights and ſoldiers that lay conceal'd in the brigantine; when they cut the throats of ſome of the Turks, bound others, made themſelves maſters of the tower, all which was done during the ſilence of the night, without the leaſt noiſe; inſomuch that the governor, whoſe houſe was about five hundred paces from the tower, had not the leaſt notice of it.

ON the other ſide, the renegado Calojan, at day-break, and at the opening of the gate, preſented himſelf at it with ſome knights diſguiſed like ſailors, and who had ſpent the night in his houſe; they made a halt at the gate, in order to give time to the other ſoldiers, who were hid in the two brigantines, to advance forwards; when immediately the two companies join'd in a body, making in all about 300 men. Upon their approach, the pretended ſailors, who ſtood at the entry of the port, drew their ſwords, fell upon the guards, cut ſome of them to pieces; when the main body advancing up, ſeiz'd on the gate, and imagin'd the city was their own. Immediately a cannon was fir'd by way of ſignal to the general, that he ſhould advance immediately with his gallies; during which, the Chriſtian forces, inſtead of marching directly up to the caſtle, where the governor had withdrawn himſelf, leaving only a guard at the city gate, they threw themſelves into thoſe houſes that ſtood neareſt to it, in order to plunder them; they here committed all the outrages uſual on ſuch like occaſions, and in places taken by ſurprize, or carried by ſtorm and ſword in hand. The inhabitants, in order to ſhun the firſt fury of the ſoldiers, fled for ſhelter into the caſtle, when the governor put weapons into their hands; and having advice that there was but a very ſmall number of the Chriſtians, and that the greateſt part of them were roving up and down in ſearch of plunder, he made a ſally at the head of his garriſon and of the inhabitants, charged briskly theſe plunderers, who were diſperſed, and kill'd ſeveral at the firſt onſet: when their common danger uniting them again in one body, they rallied, made head, and endeavour'd to maintain themſelves in their ſeveral poſts, till ſuch time as the gallies ſhould come up. Both parties fought with equal fury; the knights, who ſaw every moment the braveſt of their troops drop, gave themſelves over for loſt, when no reinforcement came: but they did not know that a very high and contrary wind had hinder'd the general from hearing the ſignal; inſomuch that it was noon before he had notice, by a bark, which young Scandali diſpatch'd to him, that the knights were got in the city, and engaged with the garriſon of the caſtle. Immediately he haſted to the place, and with as much ſpeed as the crew of his gallies could poſſibly make, landed without the leaſt obſtacle; and after having, according to the rules of war, left a body of men under the command of the chevalier d'Humieres to guard the gallies, and in the tower of the mole, he advanced at the head of the body under his command, join'd thoſe who were fighting with the governor and the garriſon; when immediately his bravery

Villiers de L'Isle Adam.

and the ſuperior number of his forces, ſoon obliged him to take refuge in the caſtle. As it would be impoſſible to force him there without artillery, he ſent for ſeveral pieces of cannon from on board his gallies; but whilſt they were employing themſelves in fetching it from thence, the governor was ſuccour'd: for no ſooner had he ſeen the firſt body of knights in the place, but he diſpatch'd couriers to the neighbouring cities, and to the governor of the province, to give him notice of the deſcent and attack of the Chriſtians. Happily for the governor of the caſtle, the ſangiac of the province was at the head of a conſiderable body of troops, which by Solyman's order he was immediately to march to the frontiers of Hungary, where the grand ſeignior was then making war. The ſangiac, who was encamp'd not far from Modon, at the firſt news he heard of the enterprize of the knights, drew out ſome troops of horſe for that place, where they arriv'd with the utmoſt diligence, and were let into the caſtle by a gate that lay towards the country, at the ſame time that the Turkiſh general advanced himſelf at the head of 6000 foot. The governor of the place having order'd his cavalry to diſmount, in order to bring them ſooner to an engagement, ſallied out at their head, and charged the knights with his whole garriſon. Tho' the prior of Rome ſaw that the infidels were reinforced, he nevertheleſs ſtood their attack with the greateſt courage; when cutting to pieces the braveſt of his horſemen, and taking ſeveral of them priſoners, he forced the reſt to ſhelter themſelves behind the fortifications of the caſtle. Nevertheleſs, being informed by the priſoners he had taken, that the ſangiac would infallibly be at Modon before ſun-ſet, and not having forces enough to make head againſt him, and beſiege the place in form, and as he had not expected ſucceſs in his enterprize but from the advantage of a ſurprize; he ſaw himſelf, ſo contrary to his deſires, reduced to the neceſſity of returning on board his ſhips, which gave him the greateſt uneaſineſs.

But before he commanded a retreat to be ſounded, he, after having block'd up the port of the caſtle by a good retrenchment, abandon'd the whole city to be plunder'd by the ſoldiers. The richeſt houſes in it were now become their prey; nay, the knights themſelves, and the principal officers, had a hand in this not over-honourable, tho' profitable employment. There is no expreſſing the riches they carry'd off out of this city; but that which gave the inhabitants ſtill greater pain, was their tranſporting on board their gallies or ſhips, upwards of 800 married women and maidens, whom they made priſoners and ſlaves. Among theſe ladies of Modon, chance having thrown a young Turkiſh woman of exquiſite beauty into the hands of the viſcount of Cicala, he carried her to Meſſina, had her baptized, made her his wife, and had a ſon by her, Scipio Cicala by name; whom a variety of adventures brought afterwards to Conſtantinople, when turning Mahometan, and ſignalizing himſelf by his bravery, he attain'd to the dignity of general, when he reveng'd the Turks for the ſack of Modon. The knights abandon'd the city a little before ſun-ſet, and embark'd with all the forces without meeting with the leaſt oppoſition, or ſuſtaining the leaſt loſs, if we do not look upon the expence of that armament as a very conſiderable one; which was not any way compenſated by the plunder of the city of Modon, that fell only into private hands.

The grand maſter, upon the return of his gallies, was inform'd of the ill ſucceſs of the enterprize, which gave him great uneaſineſs; but as his courage had been always ſuperior to the moſt unhappy revolutions of fortune, he from that time judg'd that providence had decreed that his

order ſhould ſettle at Malta, and thereupon turn'd all his thoughts to the fortifying of that iſland, and to put it in a condition to brave the inſults and incurſions of the corſairs. VILLIERS DE L'ISLE ADAM.

WHILST he was entirely taken up with theſe cares, ſo worthy a ſovereign prince, there happen'd another accident, which put his patience and reſolution to a freſh trial. Baltazar Waltkirk biſhop of Malta being dead, the emperor was to name the perſon who was to fill that dignity; and the order, purſuant to the treaty made with that prince, was to propoſe three eccleſiaſticks to him, one of which at leaſt was to be choſen from among his ſubjects. The grand maſter and council preſented to the viceroy of Sicily, brother Pontus Laurencin, of the language of Auvergne; brother Thomas Boſio, an Italian, and vice-chancellor of the order; and brother Dominic Cubelle, of the language of Arragon, and the emperor's vaſſal. The grand maſter, to recompence in the perſon of Thomas Boſio, the great merit and important ſervices which the commander his brother had done to the order, would have been very well pleas'd that the emperor's choice had fallen upon Boſio; and accordingly acquainted the pope with his views. This pontif, to whom the commander in his life-time had been one of his privy-chamberlains, and of whoſe ſervices he had always retain'd a grateful remembrance, wrote to this prince upon that ſubject; and not only told his embaſſador that he ſhould think himſelf very much obliged to the emperor, if he would declare in Boſio's favour, but alſo gave orders to ſignior Salviati, who was his relation, and the prior of Rome's father, to write in his name to cardinal Campejus, who was at that time in the emperor's court in quality of legate *à latere*, to be very earneſt in ſolliciting for that nomination. The emperor gave a very agreeable reception to theſe good offices of his holineſs, and order'd his embaſſador who reſided at Rome to aſſure him, that he would give him in a little time all the ſatisfaction he could wiſh for, with reſpect to the biſhoprick of Malta: but this prince, who never beſtow'd his favours but with the utmoſt circumſpection, whether it were that he intended to obtain ſeveral others from the pope, or that he had not time to attend to this affair, he deferr'd the nomination of Boſio. But at laſt, after he had engag'd the pope and the order in a league againſt the Turks, he then, and not before, declar'd publickly the nomination of Boſio to the biſhoprick of Malta; when he gave the inſtrument of it to the embaſſador of the order, who reſided at that time at his court.

THIS miniſter being very ſenſible that this nomination would give the grand maſter no ſmall ſatisfaction, diſpatch'd a courier with the inſtrument of it. The grand maſter receiv'd it with great demonſtrations of joy, which he divided with the biſhop elect, to whom he gave the firſt account he had receiv'd of his nomination to that dignity. All the knights that were at that time in the iſland, congratulated one another; and as the prieſthood and the empire had equally conſpir'd in this election, they look'd upon that affair as happily ended. The grand maſter, in order to have it ſeal'd as it were, and compleatly concluded, would have Boſio take out his bulls himſelf, and get himſelf conſecrated at Rome. He likewiſe had him accompanied by an embaſſador extraordinary, whom he diſpatch'd to the pope, to thank him for the continuation of his favour and kindneſs to the order; and the embaſſador was moreover order'd at the ſame time to preſent the biſhop elect to his holineſs.

BOTH of theſe being arriv'd at Rome, deſired to be admitted to an audience of the pope, which they obtain'd. The embaſſador, when he preſented Boſio to him, told him, that he was order'd by the grand maſter and council

VILLIERS DE L'ISLE ADAM.

council to thank him for all his good offices with the emperor, and for his having engag'd that prince to prefer Bosio to one of his subjects: But how greatly was this minister, and he who accompanied him surpriz'd, when he heard the pope utter the following words! That the church of Malta was already provided with a pastor; that he had already nam'd cardinal Ghinucci to that bishoprick; that he could not possibly have given a more illustrious testimony of his constant and unalterable affection to the order, than by filling that dignity with one of the most worthy men in the church, and a cardinal of so great merit; that his eminency was going to send a grand vicar to Malta, to take possession of that dignity in his name, and that he hoped he would not meet with the least obstacle or opposition in it.

THO' the embassador was thunder-struck, as it were, with a discourse which he so little expected, he nevertheless answer'd him, That the grand master and council would ever pay the highest deference and submission to his orders; but, continued he, the only difficulty in this affair is with respect to the emperor, whom alone it concerns, and the manner in which he may take so surprizing a change. Upon which, the pope raising his voice, reply'd, "The right of providing for that church, ever since the "property of that island devolv'd to other owners, has been lodg'd in us, "and not in Charles." And thereupon dismiss'd the embassador and Bosio, who accordingly withdrew in the deepest vexation of mind, and cover'd with shame and confusion.

THE grand master himself was not less surpriz'd and afflicted, his constancy wanted, as it were, no more than this last trial, but he bore it with his usual steadiness and resolution; when, in order to get clear of so tickliſh an affair, and to hold the scales even between two powers, with both whom his interest obliged him to keep equal measures, he thought proper, before he himself took notice of the affair, to see how the emperor would act in it. He himself could not possibly have taken a more judicious step; for Charles V. who found that his honour and dignity were struck at by the pope's conduct, made Bosio's affair his own. This prince, tho' so guarded in all his expressions, was not master enough of himself to prevent his resentments from breaking out. Sangro, one of his historians, pretends, that in the first emotions of his rage and indignation, he was heard to say, that he had never repos'd any confidence in that pope, and that because he had observ'd there was always some latent craft in all his actions; and that the emperor added, he then own'd to his shame, that he had been over-reach'd in that affair, which was owing to his not having sufficiently mistrusted the eager and importunate manner, in outward appearance, in which he himself sollicited for the nomination of Bosio. 'Tis probable, that the uneasiness Charles V. felt to find himself bubbled by the pope, in an art wherein he imagin'd he was so greatly his superior, might have drawn those bitter complaints from him. But whatever he might say, which perhaps might be to sooth his resentments, it appears by the testimonies of all historians, that the pope in his offices acted at first with great sincerity. His change of mind was not the result of any premeditated design; but 'tis pretended, that the only reason of the pope's supplanting the emperor, was to revenge himself for his deferring so long to nominate Bosio; and that in the uneasiness it gave him, he could not forbear crying out with relation to that affair, at a time when he was complaining about it to some cardinals, "That when a sovereign pontif stoop'd "so low as to sue and intreat, his intreaties and offices ought to be re-"receiv'd as commands." Others maintain, that without seeking in this

change

change for ſuch a refinement of vengeance, of which his genius was not over-capable, this pope had reflected, or that his miniſters had made him take notice, that in conſideration of the great eſteem and credit which moſt of the knights had in all the courts of Europe, and above all, of that great height of power to which that military order had rais'd it ſelf; it no ways ſuited the intereſts of the holy ſee, that the emperor, and the kings of Sicily his ſucceſſors, ſhould reſerve to themſelves the right of nominating to the biſhoprick of Malta; which gave the perſon ſo nominated a privilege of entring into the council, and even the firſt ſeat in it after that of the grand maſter; that a cunning and intriguing biſhop, taking his advantage of the troubles which frequently diſturb'd Italy, might engage the knights in parties oppoſite to thoſe of the pope: in a word, that they ought never to ſuffer a religious order that was continually in arms, that lay ſo near Italy, and which had forces and a fleet at its command, ſhould be dependent on any other power than that of the holy ſee. VILLIERS DE L'ISLE ADAM.

WHATEVER might have been his motive, which was not without ſome foundation; and whatever inſtances the emperor might make to oblige the pope to deſiſt from the nomination of cardinal Ghinucci; this pontif was fix'd and immoveable upon that article, at the ſame time that he appear'd to be in the moſt perfect intelligence with regard to Charles V. and that which might induce us to believe that his ſteadineſs was not the reſult of reſentment, is, that lying at the point of death, and in thoſe precious moments which decide our fate to all eternity, and in which all the paſſions vaniſh and diſappear, he ſent for cardinal Caraffa, whom he knew to be a zealous adherer to the intereſts of the holy ſee, and charg'd him to repreſent to his ſucceſſor, that he was oblig'd in conſcience to maintain ſtrenuouſly the nomination he had made of Ghinucci. But as the laſt deſires and intentions of even the moſt abſolute monarchs are generally buried with them in their graves, Paul III. who ſucceeded Clement, having receiv'd letters from the emperor written in the moſt urgent terms, and being moreover deſirous for the ſake of his own private intereſt with reſpect to his family, to keep in favour with ſo powerful a prince, he reſolv'd to give him ſatisfaction. Accordingly, they begun to treat of the affair, when an expedient was found out to reconcile the intereſts of the two competitors. Boſio, after having proſecuted his affair for three years together, and ſpent immenſe ſums in the court of Rome, and in ſuing for the emperor's favour, at laſt obtain'd his bulls; but upon condition of paying the cardinal an annual penſion of 9000 livres: and the emperor, who imagin'd he was oblig'd in honour to make Boſio enjoy the biſhoprick of Malta in all its latitude, ſince he had procur'd it for him, in order to indemnify him for the penſion, gave him an abbey in Sicily of the like value. Notwithſtanding that this affair was not ended till the pontificate of Paul III. I imagin'd my ſelf oblig'd to anticipate the concluſion of it, for the ſake of the reader, to prevent our being oblig'd to return to the ſame incident by digreſſions, which often confound and interrupt the thread of the narration. 1536.

IN the mean time, the ſteadineſs and reſolution which Clement had diſcover'd in maintaining the nomination of cardinal Ghinucci, had not any way cooled the zeal he had diſcover'd againſt the infidels. Accordingly, he join'd a good number of his gallies to thoſe of the emperor; when writing a brief, couch'd in the moſt urgent terms, to the grand maſter, this prince immediately put to ſea the great carrack, with the gallies and ſhips of the order for his quota. We may juſtly affirm, that the order did not want theſe exhortations from the pontif to induce it to put to ſea theſe

VILLIERS DE L'ISLE ADAM.

armaments: for the knights, agreeable to the ſpirit of their inſtitution, and out of gratitude for the favours they had receiv'd from Charles V. were always ready to furniſh him with the moſt powerful ſuccours, whenever war was to be made againſt the infidels. There were few engagements, as will be ſeen in the ſequel, either in Aſia or Africa, wherein the ſtandards of St. John were not ſeen waving in the emperor's army.

AUGUST the 8th, this ſquadron join'd the emperor's fleet commanded by the famous Andrew Doria, prince of Melphi. That of the Turks, conſiſting of 70 ſail, was at that time in the gulph of Larta, or de la Preveſa. Doria, in his courſe, met with 60 Venetian gallies near Zante; when he propoſed to Vincent Capello, a noble Venetian, who was general of 'em, the joining of their fleets, after which they ſhould force Gallipoli, and carry their arms as far as Conſtantinople, which they would find drain'd of its ordinary garriſon; Solyman, he ſaid, having drawn it from thence to reinforce the army, which he commanded in perſon upon the frontiers of Hungary. But the Venetians, who were ſo very careful not to give any umbrage to the Turks, that they often ſuffer'd themſelves to be inſulted, without daring ſo much as to reſent it, excuſed themſelves from ſharing in this enterprize, by ſaying, that they had promiſed the grand ſeignior to be neuter in this war. The Chriſtian fleet being at that time between the iſland of Sapienza and Modon, they propos'd the beſieging of the latter. The prior of Rome and the knights declar'd themſelves for that opinion, who would have been very glad to attempt by open force, the conqueſt of a place which they had fail'd to ſurprize the year before. But the ſoldiers, who had little elſe for their pay but what they might get by plunder, diſcover'd the utmoſt reluctance for that enterprize; and did not ſcruple to ſay, and that publickly enough, that they would not expoſe their lives in attacking ſo ſtrong a place which the knights had glean'd ſo thoroughly the year before, that they had left nothing to indemnify the victorious for all their toil. The council of war thought themſelves oblig'd to wink at diſcourſes, which they would have puniſhed, had the ſoldiers been duly paid; and thereupon reſolv'd upon the ſiege of Coron, a place whoſe fortifications were much weaker than thoſe of Modon, and which was not above twelve miles diſtant from it by land.

CORON, or Corona, the antient *Chæronea*, the country of Plutarch, that great philoſopher and celebrated hiſtorian, is ſituated to the left of cape Gallo, and is in the ſhape of a ſcalene triangle, or that whoſe ſides are unequal: one of the angles looks towards a craggy rock, the other two are ſeen from the gulph of Coron, which ſerves almoſt as a port to the tower; but theſe angles are not waſh'd by the waves, and one may eaſily, by coaſting along them, go round this fortreſs; which was ſurrounded with a wall built after the antique faſhion, of no great ſtrength, but flank'd with ſix towers of antient ſtructure.

DORIA having taken a view of its ſituation, landed his troops, after which he brought up his gallies, and placed them behind his high-built ſhips, and particularly the great carrack of the order, which, firing over the gallies, beat down moſt of the fortifications of the place. All the artillery of thoſe ſhips, and two batteries which they had raiſed on ſhore, having made a wide breach, the count of Sarno and Mendoza, colonel of a Spaniſh regiment, were commanded to attempt a ſtorm, which they accordingly did with the utmoſt bravery; nor did they meet with leſs courage in the Turks, who kill'd three hundred of their ſoldiers, with ſeveral officers, and wounded a much greater number. The priors of

Rome

Rome and of Auvergne, who advanced to their ſuccour, took their places; they were both come from on board the great carrack at the head of two hundred knights, and five hundred ſoldiers in the order's pay. This ſecond aſſault was full as bloody as the firſt; unhappily for the beſiegers, their ladders were too ſhort for the height of the walls, ſo that the knights were forced, in order to gain the top of the breach, to catch hold of the wall, and to climb it by main ſtrength of the hands and feet. VILLIERS DE L'ISLE ADAM.

IN this diſadvantageous ſituation, they found themſelves expoſed to the fire of the ſmall arms, and annoy'd by the croſs-bows; nor were ſtones, fire-works, and ſcalding oil ſpar'd on this occaſion. Great numbers of them loſt their lives by theſe different weapons: but as they had all taken a reſolution of being cut to pieces at the foot of the walls, rather than give over the ſtorm, they, after having call'd upon the name of St. John, which was their watch-word, puſh'd forward with ſo much fury, and crouded ſo faſt one upon another, that they at laſt lifted up the foremoſt to the top of the breach, when they made themſelves maſters of it, and planted the great ſtandard of the order upon it. The armies both of ſea and land ſhouted for joy at the ſight of this ſignal of victory: theſe acclamations made the beſieged believe that the Chriſtians were maſters of the place; upon which, ſuch of the inhabitants as were ſtill intrenched in different parts of the city, and the garriſon of the caſtle, ſet up a white flag, which was ſoon follow'd by a capitulation; the native Turks and their houſes were ſpar'd, but thoſe of the Jews were abandon'd to the ſoldiers. Doria, after this, went and beſieged Patras, which he took; at the ſame time that the gallies of the order made themſelves maſters of the caſtle of Ardinel, and other forts ſituated along the coaſt, which made but very little reſiſtance. After this expedition, as the winter was drawing near, the different ſquadrons of which the Chriſtian fleet was compoſed, ſeparated, and retir'd into their reſpective ports.

THE year following, the Turks, who did not care to be loſers, made a powerful armament to recover Coron; and as ſoon as the ſeaſon permitted them to keep the ſea, a famous corſair, nam'd the Moor, by Solyman's order block'd up that place with four great gallies, at the ſame time that another Turkiſh general beſieg'd it by land.

DORIA was no ſooner inform'd of their deſigns, but he immediately put to ſea, and was reinforced by the pope's gallies and thoſe of the order, commanded by the prior of Rome. The Chriſtian fleet advanced in good order againſt the infidels; the ſoldiers call'd out aloud for battle, but Doria, who had as much bravery as experience, whether it were from prudential motives, or in order to perpetuate himſelf in the command, ever avoided coming to a deciſive battle; and uſed to ſay frequently, that he never lov'd to be in thoſe engagements wherein fortune had a greater ſhare than the conduct of the general. All he deſign'd, was to throw ſuccours into the place, and afterwards retire; in this view, he placed the great carrack of Malta at the head of his fleet, from whence, as from a fort and a cittadel, he maul'd the Turks prodigiouſly, and had given orders to the captains under his immediate command, to take their advantage, during the fire and ſmoke of the cannon, to run ſeveral barks full of ſoldiers and ammunition into the place; but this deſign was ſo ill executed, that theſe ſmall veſſels were ſuddenly ſurrounded with the Turkiſh gallies: upon this the Chriſtians are ſeiz'd with a panic; ſome throw themſelves into the main body of the army; others, who were got aſhore, imagin'd they ſhould more eaſily avoid the fury of the infidels, by

throw-

throwing themſelves into their boats; but they crouded in ſuch great numbers, and with ſuch great precipitation, that they ſunk to the bottom, and thus haſten'd their death by endeavouring to fly from it.

Villiers de L'Isle Adam.

THE Turks being thus maſters of part of the convoy, fell afterwards upon the great ſhips; the combat was now become general; gallies attack gallies, and ſhips engage with ſhips: Doria on one ſide, and the prior of Rome on the other, come to the aſſiſtance of ſuch as were moſt briskly attack'd; their preſence inſpires the ſoldiers with freſh courage, and reſtores order in the fleet. Fortune ſoon ſhifts ſides, the Chriſtians recover their ſmall veſſels, take ſeveral from the Turks, and moreover thoſe infidels having thrown themſelves ſword in hand into a ſhip belonging to the order, and being already maſters of the upper deck, another Malteſe ſhip comes up, which diſengages that belonging to the order, and makes the aſſailants priſoners; whom they load with the very chains, which they had deſign'd for thoſe knights.

IN fine, this great croud of maſts begins to thin by degrees, the great noiſe is leſs ſtunning by the death of ſome, and the flight of others. The victorious Doria throws proviſions into Coron, ſets ſail again, purſues the infidels, and ſeeks for freſh opportunities to immortalize his name.

THE ſquadron of the order being recall'd by the grand maſter, ſeparates from the body of the Chriſtian fleet, and returns into the ports. Malta, Tripoli, the coaſts of Naples and Sicily were equally threatned by Barbaroſſa, captain of the corſairs of Barbary, who with 82 gallies ſcour'd thoſe ſeas, and carried terror and dread in all thoſe places, without any one's being able to know where the ſtorm would fall. As the old city of Malta was but poorly fortified; that the town, where the convent reſided, was commanded from ſeveral places; and that the caſtle of St. Angelo was the only place it could retire to; the council was of opinion, that they ſhould leave only three hundred knights to defend it; that the grand maſter ſhould retire into Sicily, and tranſport thither the convent, the relicks, the church-ornaments, the records and treaſures of the order. But this generous old man bravely rejected this advice, with ſaying, "I have never "yet fled from the enemies of the croſs, and the world ſhall never ſee me "ſet ſo bad an example to all my religious, only for the ſake of preſerving "the remains of a languiſhing life." Upon which, he immediately ſent an hundred knights, with ſome companies of foot, into that tower, which went by the name of the notable city; and rais'd, as quick as poſſible, and as well as the time would allow, ſeveral advanc'd works to the tower of the town. All the inhabitants of the iſland, by the grand maſter's order, took up arms; and that the relicks and records of the order might be out of danger, he ſent them over into Sicily, where that precious charge was preſerv'd with the greateſt care. After having thus taken all theſe prudent meaſures, he waited the arrival of the Barbarians with the utmoſt reſolution; but their general took another courſe, he return'd to Africa, when he made ſome attempts, of which mention will be made in the ſequel.

THE grand maſter, who attended as much to the preſervation of ſtrict diſcipline, as to the defence of the ſtate, took the advantage of ſummoning a general chapter, during this interval which the infidels allow'd him. Since the loſs of Rhodes, and during the ſpace of eight years that the order, without having any ſettled habitation, had wandred up and down in different places, ſeveral abuſes had crept into the order, which he thought fit to remedy. The knights at their firſt arrival at Malta, had made ſhift with taking up their abodes in ſeparate houſes, in different quarters of the town,

town and other places in the iſland, in oppoſition to the cuſtom of the order and what had been obſerv'd at Rhodes, where there was one quarter of the city call'd Collachio, which was inhabited by the knights only, none of the laity being allow'd to dwell there. The grand maſter, in concert with the chapter, reſtor'd ſo prudent a regulation in Malta, ſo that all the knights were oblig'd to have their dwellings near his, and under the eye as it were of ſo exact and vigilant a ſuperior. 'Twas from the ſame ſpirit of religion that they forbid the wearing of too pompous habits, ſo oppoſite to that modeſty and ſimplicity which ſhines with ſo much luſtre in a religious; and ſo far did they carry the ſeverity of this regulation againſt every thing that had the leaſt air of a vain and oſtentatious diſtinction, as to forbid all ſuch commanders as were grand croſſes to wear it out of Malta; and they were not allow'd to adorn themſelves with it, but on that day only when they ſet out from their reſpective countries and commanderies, to return to the capital of the order.

VILLIERS DE L'ISLE ADAM.

FROM theſe particular regulations, they proceeded to the moſt important affairs of government. The chapter in a body had the treaty made with the emperor, relating to the eſtabliſhment of the order in the iſland of Malta, repreſented to them, and confirm'd it by a ſolemn act. They admit the appeals from the common council to a full council, that is to ſay, into which they admitted, beſides the great croſſes, two of the moſt antient knights of each language; but it was agreed that the appeal from this laſt council ſhould have no ſuſpenſive effect, and that the ſentences which ſhould be pronounc'd from this tribunal, ſhould be executed but by patent only, notwithſtanding the appeal to the general chapter.

AS the order was engag'd in very great expences; as it maintain'd ſix or ſeven gallies, without reckoning the high-built ſhips and brigantines; as it kept forces in the iſlands of Malta, of Goza and Tripoli in its pay; as they were oblig'd to ſupport the people who were come with them from Rhodes, and to build a city and an infirmary; the chapter thought proper to augment the reſponſions upon the commanderies of the order: and they beſought the grand maſter, whom they knew to be entirely diſintereſted, to continue the care he took of the adminiſtration of the revenue.

THE chapter ended with this laſt regulation, the aſſembly of which would have been very advantageous to the order, had not a diſorder broke out, towards the concluſion of it, or a little after, in which ſome of the languages, engaging themſelves, came to blows, and rais'd a tumult and a ſcandal, which gave the higheſt uneaſineſs to the grand maſter and to the whole body of the order.

THE ſubject of this quarrel aroſe from a private diſpute which happen'd between a Florentine gentleman, a layman, one of the prior of Rome's domeſticks, and a young French knight, nephew to the commander Servier, of the language of Provence. They fought, and the French knight was ſlain: the uncle of the deceas'd, who pretended that the Florentine had us'd foul play in the duel, put himſelf at the head of his friends, and went in ſearch of him; when having met him, attended in like manner with ſome other gentlemen of the prior's dependants, they fell upon them, wounded ſeveral, and oblig'd them to fly for their lives, and take ſanctuary in the palace of their patron.

THIS nobleman, who was immenſely rich, a kinſman, and, as others ſay, nephew to the pope, and general of his gallies and thoſe of the order, had no leſs than threeſcore perſons, who were either lay gentlemen or Italian knights, in his ſervice. Theſe immediately arm'd themſelves, and ruſh'd out to revenge their countryman; and without making any diſtinction

Villiers de L'Isle Adam.

between the languages of France, fell with the utmoſt fury upon all ſuch Frenchmen as they met; they kill'd ſome, wounded ſeveral others, and rais'd a private quarrel to an open and declar'd war between the two nations. The knights of the languages of Auvergne, and of France, ſurpriz'd and enrag'd at ſuch an inſult, join'd themſelves to thoſe of Provence. The whole nation met, and united themſelves at the houſe of the chevalier de Bleville, in order to take vengeance for that outrage. But the aſſembly, before they carried their reſentments to a greater height, ſent deputies to the grand maſter to ſue for juſtice from his hands. Accordingly the grand maſter inform'd the prior of Rome of their complaints, and order'd him at the ſame time to puniſh the guilty.

Salviati, proud of his being related to the reigning pontif, and who look'd upon himſelf as another grand maſter, contented himſelf with putting the moſt criminal of his gentlemen under an arreſt on board his admiral-galley; and ſent word to the injur'd languages, to acquaint them that he would do them juſtice, after he had enquir'd into the affair; thinking this ſufficient ſatisfaction. This haughty manner of proceeding, ſo oppoſite to the genius of ſo noble a republick, the ſeveral members of which, thought themſelves upon the ſame level, rais'd again the reſentments of the French knights. The prior's anſwer appear'd to them to be no more than a mere ſham, and purpoſely calculated to elude their juſt complaints; and they did not ſo much conſider the ſeizing of the criminals as a confinement, as a means which that prior made uſe of to ſcreen them from the authority of the laws, the juriſdiction of the council, and the judges of the order. Inſomuch, that without conſulting either themſelves, the order, or the duties of true religious, they ruſh out well arm'd, throw themſelves into the prior's galley, make themſelves maſters of it, and in their fury and reſentment ſtab four of ſuch of the prior's gentlemen who were under an arreſt, who had either kill'd or wounded their companions; and proud of the ſhameful honour of a revenge, ſo unworthy of their profeſſion, they, after this bloody execution, come from on board the admiral-galley, as it were in triumph, and retire to their reſpective inns.

The prior, exaſperated at the maſſacre of his gentlemen, calls all the knights of the language of Italy about him, and by his emiſſaries gains over to his intereſt the two languages of Spain, viz. Arragon and Caſtile, who declare in his favour, and come arm'd to his aſſiſtance. The French, who were ſtill in a body, hearing of this confederacy, iſſue out afreſh from their inns, and advance up to the prior's houſe in ſearch of their enemies; theſe ply them with their musket-ſhot, and were anſwer'd by as brisk a fire. A diſorder like this had never happen'd in the order ever ſince its foundation, there was a dreadful tumult in that quarter of the city; in vain the grand maſter order'd them to retire, no command was obey'd, no obedience was ſhewn, diſcord reign'd in each quarter of the city: Each party obey'd no orders, but ſuch as fury, or the tranſports of a mad paſſion inſpir'd. They continued to fire on all ſides, and the prior having ſent for ſome pieces of artillery from on board his gallies, the French on their ſide brought a cannon, which they level'd againſt his palace-gate, in order to beat it to pieces: the night, which was coming on, heightned the diſorder and confuſion. The grand maſter, vex'd to the ſoul, to ſee his knights fighting againſt one another, was for going out, and trying whether his preſence might not have the power to check the mutineers. But the council, fearing leſt this venerable old man in the darkneſs of the night, and in the midſt of ſo dreadful a tumult, ſhould happen to be wounded, conjur'd him to keep in his palace, and ſent in his ſtead, and at the head of the garriſon,

riſon of the caſtle, the bailif of Manoſque, an antient knight, who was reverenced by both parties, and that more for his wiſdom than his dignity. This nobleman, artfully intermixing juſt reproaches with the ſofteſt and moſt engaging expreſſions, brought both parties to hear him; after which, he oblig'd them both to lay down their arms. They all now diſpers'd ſeverally, the night calm'd their fury and animoſity, and ſhame and repentance roſe with the dawn: But the grand maſter did not think proper to ſuffer the authors of a tumult that gave ſo ill a precedent, to go unpuniſh'd; accordingly he depriv'd twelve of the habit; and, if Boſio is to be credited, they threw into the ſea ſome of the moſt headſtrong and ſtubborn, who refus'd to own their crime, and were capable at the ſame time of perpetrating freſh ones, and renewing the ſedition. VILLIERS DE L'ISLE ADAM.

HOW juſt ſoever this chaſtiſement might be, the grand maſter was as much concern'd at the puniſhment he had been oblig'd to inflict, as at the crime. This threw him into a fit of ſickneſs, when he bewail'd himſelf, as of the greateſt misfortune that had ever befel him, for having ſurviv'd the loſs of Rhodes, only to be a melancholy witneſs of the violence and rebellion of his religious. The fear of worſe ſtill to come, the pride and haughtineſs of his knights, diſguis'd under the name of courage, and the luxury and effeminacy of others, the unhappy fruits of the moſt criminal paſſions, which, in ſpite of his example, and the ſeverity of his diſcipline, had already crept into the order: all theſe ſeveral circumſtances united, threw this great man into a deep melancholy; he now only languiſh'd away the poor remains of life; and the melancholy news he continually receiv'd from England, the conſequences of which he foreſaw would be fatal to the order, brought him inſenſibly to his grave.

HENRY VIII. as was already obſerv'd in the 9th book, was then reigning in that iſland; this prince had married Catherine of Arragon, the widow of his brother Arthur prince of Wales, having obtain'd a diſpenſation from pope Julius II. to that purpoſe, and had now liv'd eighteen years with the queen his wife in the ſweeteſt union and moſt perfect harmony; when an inordinate paſſion for a young Engliſh lady, raiſed ſome ſcruples in his mind with reſpect to the validity of his marriage; and as if, in the midſt of the tranſports of his paſſion, his conſcience had been touch'd, he at leaſt made uſe of it as a handle to juſtify his divorce with the queen. 1534.

THIS princeſs, who had very few charms, and the too dangerous ones of Anna Bullen, eaſily perſuaded him that his diſpenſation was not valid; he was a king, and as ſuch, did not want either ſervile courtiers, or mercenary learned men, who flatter'd him in his error.

THE affair was carried to Rome, and at the pope's tribunal: the ſteady refuſal of Clement VII. to approve the pretences for his divorce, made this imperious and paſſionate prince rebel againſt the authority of the holy ſee. As he found he ſhould never obtain the favour he ſo earneſtly ſued for, he reſolv'd to do without it, and he imagin'd that he ſhould ſooneſt effect it by aboliſhing the authority of the pontifs in his dominions. He went farther; for in concert with the parliament, which he had cunningly made a party in this affair, he inveſted himſelf with that ſpiritual power, and was not aſham'd to make him be declar'd the ſupreme head of the church of England by act of parliament, to free himſelf from the obligation of ſubmitting to the judgment of the viſible head of the univerſal church, which refuſed to diſunite what God had join'd together.

HENRY,

VILLIERS DE L'ISLE ADAM.

HENRY, once ſo wiſe and underſtanding a prince, but now hurried away by the tranſports of his paſſion, perſecuted with the utmoſt cruelty all ſuch of his ſubjects as refuſed to adore the vain phantom of his ſupremacy. Prelates, eccleſiaſticks, religious, laymen, all loſt their lives for refuſing to ſubſcribe to the double divorce he had juſt made, with the catholick church, and Catherine of Arragon, his lawful wife. The crime of high-treaſon, which under evil princes is often the crime of the innocent, ſupply'd all thoſe pretences which were wanting to bring them to deſtruction. The parliament, which Henry had artfully prevail'd upon to be the miniſter of his paſſions, proſcrib'd the illuſtrious Pool, a man more diſtinguiſh'd by his piety and his profound erudition, than by his royal extraction, which he drew from the duke of Clarence, brother to Edward IV.

THE king of England had eagerly ſought his approbation, and would fain have oblig'd him to write in favour of his errors: but he was not to be mov'd either by the promiſes or menaces of this prince; he repreſented to him with the greateſt ſteadineſs and intrepidity, the injuſtice of his new pretenſions. This prince, who would fain have had the reputation of being a lover of truth, and the ſatisfaction of never hearing it, could not pardon him this liberty. Pool, that he might not be expos'd to his reſentments, withdrew to Rome; when the pope took him under his protection, and honour'd the ſacred college, by raiſing him to the dignity of a cardinal.

HENRY imputed this eminent title to him as a crime; he ſet a price upon his head, and 'tis pretended that he would infallibly have been aſſaſſinated by certain banditti, whom the king of England had hir'd for that purpoſe; had not the pope, who rever'd the ſhining qualities of the Engliſh cardinal, given him guards to prevent any ſuch attempt. Pool's diſgrace was fatal to his whole houſe: Margaret Plantagenet, counteſs of Salisbury, his mother; Henry Pool, lord Montacute, his brother; Henry Courtney, marquiſs of Exeter, his couſin, being accus'd of holding a correſpondence with the new cardinal, loſt their lives upon a ſcaffold. The king, ever extreme in his revenge, made young Courtney, who was ſon to Henry, feel the effects of it. He, indeed, was aſham'd to put a young child to death, but then he threw him into the tower, where he buried him in priſon, for fear he ſhould one day attempt to revenge his father's death.

IN the midſt of all theſe executions, the proteſtants, tho' they diſown'd the authority of the ſee of Rome, did not meet with a better treatment. Henry, who was an enemy to every kind of novelty that was not of his own creation, from an unparallel'd and whimſical kind of cruelty, burnt all ſuch hereticks, and hang'd all ſuch catholicks, as dared to adhere publickly to the holy ſee. The major part of the courtiers being doubtful of the prince's religion, had none themſelves but his will. Both catholicks as well as proteſtants, conceal'd their religion as a crime; ſo that nothing but a rebellion againſt the ſee of Rome could be openly diſcover'd with impunity. This was the idol of the court, and the only means of maintaining one's ſelf in it. The king, to revenge himſelf upon the religious, who perſever'd in the obedience that was due to the holy ſee, gave up their poſſeſſions as a prey to his courtiers: but theſe very poſſeſſions, which had been ſo very unjuſtly acquir'd, plung'd them inſenſibly from ſchiſm into hereſy. Many, in the reign of Edward his ſon, in order to obviate the making of ſo neceſſary a reſtitution, embraced the opinions

of

FERDINANDVS II. ROMANORVM IMPERATOR SEMPER AVGVSTVS

of Luther and Calvin, and at laſt the moſt uſeful opinion appear'd to them the trueſt and moſt genuine. VILLIERS DE L'ISLE ADAM.

THE commanders and knights of Malta, devoted in a particular manner to the ſee of Rome, and who acknowledg'd the pope to be their firſt ſuperior, were not exempt from this perſecution. But as this order, being partly compos'd of the prime nobility, was powerful in the kingdom, and that the prior of St. John of London had even a ſeat in parliament, in quality of firſt baron of England; he ſuſpended the proſcribing of them, and the entire ſuppreſſion of the order, till ſuch time as he had got it authoriz'd, which he afterwards did by act of parliament. In the mean time, there was ſcarce one indirect perſecution but he made them ſuffer, the greateſt part of them being arreſted upon various pretences, or at leaſt they ſeiz'd upon the revenues of their commanderies. Such as could eſcape the malice and cruelty of his miniſters, and who foreſaw the fatal conſequences of the ſchiſm, abandon'd all their poſſeſſions, and withdrew to Malta, where they came without any certain fund for their ſubſiſtence. The grand maſter, like a good father, ſupplied all their wants with the moſt extenſive charity, and endeavour'd to adminiſter conſolation to them, of which he himſelf ſtood in as great need. A Chriſtian king's thus perſecuting an order, which had deſerv'd ſo well of all Chriſtendom, compleated the meaſure of that ſeries of misfortunes he had labour'd under during his grand maſterſhip: Being no longer able to bear up under them, he fell ſick, when a violent fever ſoon conſumed the little remains of life he had left, and accordingly he expired in the arms of his knights, who were ſo dear to him, on the 21ſt of Auguſt. Thus died a prince ſo highly deſerving for his uncommon bravery, for his heroic conſtancy, and for the wiſdom and mildneſs of his government; virtues which he poſſeſs'd in a moſt eminent degree, and which they afterwards endeavour'd to repreſent by theſe few words, which were engraven on his monument: 1534. Auguſt 21.

HERE LIES VIRTUE
VICTORIOUS OVER FORTUNE.

BROTHER Peter du Pont, of an illuſtrious houſe of the county of Aſt, deſcended of the antient lords of Lombriac, and of Caſal-Gros in Piedmont, and bailif of Santa Euphemia in Calabria, ſucceeded Villiers de l'Iſle Adam. He was at that time in his bailiwick, and his merit and virtues were his only recommendation: He was an antient knight, of very grave and ſevere morals, a ſtrict obſerver of regular diſcipline; and his election is a manifeſt proof, that if, through the calamity of the times, the ſtatutes might have been executed with leſs exactneſs than formerly, yet nevertheleſs in affairs of moment, and particularly in the election of grand maſters, all the knights at that time conſulted only their conſcience, and that merit only carried all their voices. PETER DU PONT. 1534. Boſio, l. 7.

THOMAS BOSIO, the biſhop of Malta elect, was ſent by the council to the grand maſter, to carry him the inſtrument of his election. No ſooner was the news brought to him, but he burſt into tears, and would willingly have been excuſed from accepting of ſo great a dignity; but an unhappy piece of news, which he receiv'd by a freſh expreſs, determin'd him at once, and haſtned his departure. They had ſince diſpatch'd the chevalier Geſvalle, to give him advice of the revolutions that had juſt happen'd in Africa, and in the kingdom of Tunis, which Barbaroſſa had juſt ſeiz'd upon, and that this formidable corſair threatned Tripoli with a ſiege. The new grand maſter went immediately on board, and came to

PETER DU PONT.

Malta the 10th of November: his firſt cares were to ſend a powerful ſuccour to Tripoli; but altho' they ſhould have tranſported thither all the forces of the order, how brave and intrepid ſoever the knights might be, they would not have been capable, with four or five gallies only, to make head againſt Barbaroſſa, who was maſter of two ſuch powerful ſtates as Algiers and Tunis, and who moreover in quality of Baſha of the ſea, and grand admiral of Solyman, had an hundred gallies, and upwards of two hundred veſſels of different bulk under his command. He was brother to Horruc, or Horace Barbaroſſa, both of them famous for their bravery and fortune.

Boſio, l. 6.

THESE two corſairs, tho' both born among the dregs of the people in the city of Mitylene, were not nevertheleſs of an obſcure birth. From their youth, and as ſoon as they were able to bear arms, they gave ſome marks of their courage and ambition, and ſcour'd together the ſeas, with only a ſingle brigantine, which was all their fortune.

AN intrepid bravery, a happy ſucceſs in their attempts, and a number of conſiderable prizes, increas'd their reputation and ſtrength. They either bought, or got ſhips and gallies built, made up a little fleet, and gain'd over other pirates to their ſtandards, who acknowledg'd them for their leaders and generals. Neither ambition nor riches could diſunite the two brothers: Horruc, who was the elder, had indeed the principal command, but Airadin had as much authority in his abſence; they were equally brave, equally cruel, reſolute corſairs, and call'd themſelves friends of the ſea, and enemies to all thoſe who ſail'd on that element; they fell upon Muſulmen and Chriſtians, without diſtinction; and by carrying on the trade of thieves and corſairs, learn'd inſenſibly that of conquerors.

THERE was now nothing wanting to compleat their fortune, but their being maſters of a port, to carry their prizes into; when the war that broke out between Selim Eutemi, prince of Algiers, and his brother, gave them an opportunity of gratifying themſelves in what they wanted, by declaring for one of thoſe princes, and afterwards cruſhing both. For Horruc being receiv'd in Algiers, in quality of an ally, made himſelf maſter of it; when getting Eutemi ſtrangled, who had call'd him to his aſſiſtance, his troops proclaim'd him king of Algiers; and, in order to eſtabliſh his conqueſt by a powerful protection, he paid homage for it to Solyman, emperor of the Turks, and made himſelf tributary to him. He afterwards took the cities of Circella and Bugia, won the kingdom of Tremezen, of which Algiers had formerly been a part; and gain'd ſeveral advantages over the Spaniards, who had undertaken the defence of the king of Tremezen their vaſſal. But as the fate of arms is doubtful and uncertain, he was beſieg'd in the capital of his kingdom; when, after a ſtubborn defence, the artillery of the Spaniards having reduced the fortifications of that place to aſhes, being unable to hold out any longer, or reſolve with himſelf to capitulate, he endeavour'd to eſcape with his treaſures by a ſubterraneous paſſage, that ran as far as the plains. The marquiſs of Gomara, governor of Oran, who commanded at the ſiege, having notice of his flight, purſued him very cloſe.

BARBAROSSA, in order to retard the purſuit of the Spaniards, and to gain time to reach the deſarts, ſcatter'd at certain diſtances as he fled, gold, ſilver, and rich ſtuffs. But nothing was able to ſuſpend the purſuit of the Chriſtians, who fell upon him at the brink of the river Huexda, ſo that he was now oblig'd to fight: Barbaroſſa ſtood his ground; the deſpair he was in, of eſcaping out of the hands of his enemies, heighten'd his courage, and the ſight of inevitable danger baniſh'd all fear from his breaſt. He ruſhes with

with fury into the midſt of the Chriſtians, and kills ſeveral officers with his own hand; but after all, as the odds were very great, the greater number prevail'd, and Barbaroſſa being ſurrounded on all ſides, fell with 1500 men who had accompanied him in his retreat, who were all cut to pieces. His brother Airadin, with the name of Barbaroſſa, took upon himſelf the title of king of Algiers, and afterwards aſſociated with two famous pirates, who were his lieutenants. The one of them nam'd Airadin, a native of Caramania, and who for his fury and cruelty was call'd *Devil-driver*; the other corſair, a renegado Jew of Smyrna, was known by the name of *Sinan*. Theſe three corſairs were the terror of all the Chriſtian coaſts, and ſubjected as it were the Mediterranean under their empire. *Devil-driver* not contented with the prizes he daily made at ſea, was deſirous, after the example of Barbaroſſa, and perhaps to withdraw himſelf from his authority, to ſettle himſelf in an independent ſtate. Accordingly he ſurpriz'd Tagiora, of which mention has been made in the beginning of this book, made himſelf maſter of it, advanc'd with his ſquadron into the port, and had the vanity to get himſelf to be proclaimed king. PETER DU PONT.

BUT in order to appear to the world ſtill aſſociated with Barbaroſſa, at the ſame time that he gave him notice of his new conqueſt, he paid homage to him for it, and proteſted that he would ever adhere inviolably to his intereſts. Barbaroſſa, tho' offended with the ambition of his lieutenant, nevertheleſs thought it the wiſeſt part to diſſemble an injury which he could not revenge without weakning himſelf. He therefore receiv'd Airadin's homage, congratulated him upon his conqueſt; when this corſair finding every thing was ſecure with reſpect to Algiers, made inroads into the territory of Tripoli. A war now broke out between the knights and this new prince, who took from them two brigantines belonging to the order; oblig'd thoſe of Gienzor, his neighbours, to break the alliance and the treaty which they had made with Tripoli; and to keep the knights inveſted as it were in that place, he, in ſpight of all their oppoſition, rais'd at the diſtance of a cannon-ſhot a tower or caſtle, ſince call'd the tower of Alcaide, where nothing could come in or go out of the port of Tripoli, but it was immediately diſcover'd. 1532 Boſ. l. 6.

MULEY HASCEN, a Mooriſh prince, king of Tunis, who dreaded the ambition and neighbourhood of the Turk, made a particular alliance with the governor of Tripoli againſt him, and reſolv'd to drive this corſair from his new conqueſt before he could have time to ſtrengthen himſelf in it. In this view, he rais'd a conſiderable body of forces, moſt of whom were Arabian peaſants; when the knights furniſhing him with a train of artillery, he beſieg'd Tagiora. But whether it was owing to the valour and bravery of Airadin, or the unskilfulneſs of Haſcen's generals, that prince was oblig'd to raiſe the ſiege, and to employ afterwards in his own defence thoſe very forces which he had rais'd only to attack his enemies. Boſ. l. 6.

HASCEN, of whom mention is now made, was ſon to Muley Mahomet, who had had thirty four children by ſeveral wives. Altho' Muley was the laſt, as is pretended, or at leaſt one of the youngeſt, his mother, who was probably the favourite ſultaneſs, had ſo great an aſcendant over Mahomet, as to obtain a declaration from him in favour of her ſon, by which he appointed him his ſucceſſor. This ambitious woman, to prevent his changing his reſolution, got him immediately poiſon'd. This crime was the firſt ſtep by which Haſcen aſcended to the throne; and in order to maintain himſelf in it, he either murder'd or put out the eyes of the greateſt part of his brothers or nephews. Araſchid, who was one of the eldeſt of his brothers, eſcap'd him; this prince fled to Algiers for refuge, and implor'd Boſ. l. 5. 1531

PETER DU PONT.

implor'd the protection of Barbaroſſa the corſair; who hoping to make an advantage of their diviſions, gave him a favourable reception: He even promis'd him a powerful ſuccour, but at the ſame time gave him to underſtand, that as he was the grand ſeignior's officer as well as vaſſal, he could not engage in that enterprize without his leave; but that if he would agree to go with him to Conſtantinople, he did not doubt but that that great Prince and the whole Divan would approve of a war ſo juſt in it ſelf, and the ſeveral advantages of which, as well as the eaſe with which it might be carried on, he promis'd to repreſent to his Highneſs.

THE Mooriſh prince, who was now at his laſt ſhifts, gave himſelf up entirely to his counſels. Barbaroſſa, who had his private views, carried him to Conſtantinople; where being arriv'd, the perfidious corſair, in a ſecret audience which he obtain'd of the grand ſeignior, repreſented to him, that it would be an eaſy matter for him, by the help of the party, and the intelligence which Araſchid held in Tunis, to ſeize upon that city and the whole kingdom, and to annex it afterwards to his empire. Solyman, greedy of glory, and to extend the bounds of his empire, was pleaſed with his reaſons: accordingly, he iſſued out orders for the fitting out an extraordinary armament in all his ports; ſo that it was not long before they put to ſea ninety gallies, and upwards of two hundred veſſels laden with ammunition and land forces. The grand ſeignior ſhew'd Araſchid the utmoſt kindneſs, who, at the ſight of ſo formidable an army, flatter'd himſelf that he ſhould re-enter Tunis, as it were, in triumph. But when they were juſt going to embark, Solyman had him arreſted in the ſeraglio; and the whole was executed with ſo much ſecrecy, that when they ſet ſail, the whole fleet imagin'd that this unfortunate prince was on board the admiral, and in the general's galley.

THIS corſair had no ſooner ſet ſail from Conſtantinople, but the better to conceal his deſigns from the king of Tunis, he ſtood for the coaſt of Italy, ravaged the coaſts of Apulia and Calabria, ſpread the terror of his arms in Naples and Gayeta; and after having ranſack'd the towns and villages, made ſlaves of a numberleſs multitude of the inhabitants, and left the moſt dreadful marks of his fury in all places, he went through the Pharo of Meſſina, made the ſame cruel havock along the coaſts of Sicily, drew near to cape Paſſaro, as if he had intended to make a deſcent there, and afterwards turn'd ſhort towards Africa; when he landed near Goletta, and gave out that he brought back Araſchid. Then, in order to procure the favour of the garriſon of the fort, he ſaluted it with a diſcharge of his artillery, but without ball; and having ſent an officer into the place, to demand of the governor for whom he held it; "We are (reply'd the aga) the ſervants of events; and we ſhall keep the "place for that party in whoſe favour fortune ſhall declare herſelf, and "for that prince, of the ſeveral competitors, whom ſhe ſhall make king "of Tunis."

BARBAROSSA, who was not ignorant of the importance of this place, it being the key of the kingdom, diſpatch'd a meſſenger to repreſent to him, that the grand ſeignior had ſent him to place the lawful heir upon the throne of Tunis; that he had orders to attack and cut to pieces all ſuch as ſhould oppoſe him in it; that he might ſatisfy himſelf with his own eyes how formidable that prince was, and whether he was able to make head againſt it. The perſon who was intruſted with this negociation, manag'd it ſo artfully, and knew ſo well how to intermix promiſes with his threats, that the governour, perhaps brib'd alſo by conſiderable ſums of money, deliver'd up the place to the corſair; who, leaving a ſtrong garriſon

riſon in it, advanced up into the ports of Tunis. This city, the capital of a kingdom of the ſame name, is ſituated on the coaſt of Barbary to the north of Africa, between Tripoli and Algiers, at the point of the gulph of Goletta, and two miles from the Mediterranean, from whence one might diſcover the ruins of the famous Carthage. PETER DU PONT.

THE city of Tunis was ſaid to have conſiſted at that time of upwards of twenty thouſand houſes, and was peopled in proportion; but then it was barely wall'd without any fortifications: and as it was commanded from ſeveral places on the weſt ſide, its whole ſtrength lay only in the caſtle, and the number of its inhabitants.

UPON the approach of Barbaroſſa's army, and the reports they ſpread of prince Araſchid's being at the head of the Turks, the people, who are ever greedy, and often ruin'd by the change of maſters, roſe and took up arms. Haſcen, who was afraid they would abandon him, came out of the caſtle, endeavour'd to quell the ſedition, and reminded the mutineers of the fidelity which they had ſworn to him; and in order to draw them over to him, ſtoop'd ſo low as to make even the moſt groveling intreaties. But whether it were from an abhorrence of his government, or out of compaſſion for Araſchid, becauſe he was unhappy, the people rejected with loud cries, and even contempt, all the remonſtrances and intreaties the king could make; ſo that this prince, fearing they ſhould attempt to murder him, or deliver him up to his enemy, immediately left the city, without ſo much as once going back into the caſtle, or carrying off his treaſures with him.

MARMOL, in his deſcription of Africa, relates, that that prince had own'd to him, that in the great confuſion, the approach of his enemies, and the revolt of his ſubjects, had thrown him into; he, when he went down from the caſtle into the city, had forgot a red velvet purſe, wherein were two hundred diamonds of an extraordinary ſize, and of an ineſtimable value. Hiſtory of the kingdom of Tunis.

HE had no ſooner left Tunis, but the inhabitants open'd the gates to his enemies, when immediately Barbaroſſa enter'd into it at the head of nine thouſand Turks, and made himſelf maſter of the caſtle and the principal poſts of the city. The inhabitants had receiv'd him at firſt with the higheſt teſtimonies of joy; but when they ſaw Araſchid did not appear, they began to miſtruſt the corſair, notwithſtanding his telling them that he was confin'd on board his galley by ſickneſs: when the fraud being at laſt diſcover'd, the inhabitants, inſtead of taking an oath of fidelity to Solyman, as he required they ſhould do, openly deteſting the corſair's treachery, took up arms, and fell upon his troops in order to force him to quit the city. But they had to deal with a captain, who, being a perfect maſter of the arts of war, had foreſeen this revolution. Barbaroſſa, to keep in the people, commanded the artillery of the caſtle, of which he was maſter, to be ſet a roaring; and his ſoldiers made ſo furious a diſcharge of their muskets upon the inhabitants, that they, in order to put a ſtop to the maſſacre, were forced to acknowledge the grand ſeignior for their ſovereign, and Barbaroſſa for his viceroy. 1535.

THIS corſair, as skilful as he was valiant, after having employ'd his arms with ſo much ſucceſs to keep the people in ſubjection, endeavour'd to gain over the principal inhabitants by gentleneſs, and the moſt engaging affability. He, by their means made an alliance with the Arabian peaſants, ſeiz'd upon moſt of the cities that were higher up in the country, put garriſons into them; when, going about to widen a canal to make Tunis a port, and to put it in a condition to receive ſhips of the greateſt burthen, he employ'd the

PETER DU PONT.

Chriſtian ſlaves, of whom he had more than twenty thouſand in that city, for that purpoſe, who open'd the canal of Goletta, which runs from the ſea into the lake on which the city of Tunis is ſituated.

SUCH was the ſtate and condition of the cøaſts of Africa, and the provinces bordering upon Tripoli, when the grand maſter arriv'd at Malta. This prince juſtly conſider'd, that it would be impoſſible for the knights to maintain themſelves in Tripoli, without the aſſiſtance of forces, and a power ſuperior to that of the order. Charles V. was the only ſovereign in Europe, whom this enterprize would any way concern, nor was any other able to oppoſe it; he had juſt reaſon to fear leſt this formidable corſair, after ſo many conqueſts, ſhould endeavour to ſeize upon the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, which would afterwards have given him the poſſeſſion of Malta. So that the grand maſter, with the advice of the council, ſent the commander Ponce of Leon, a grand croſs, to the emperor, in quality of his embaſſador, to ſollicit him to ſend ſuch an army into Africa, as might be capable of maintaining the knights in Tripoli, and of putting a ſtop to the ſurprizing progreſs of Barbaroſſa.

THE emperor receiv'd at the ſame time, and upon the ſame ſubject, another embaſſy from Muley Haſcen, at the head of which was a renegado Genoeſe, named Ximaa, who was the captain of his guards: This renegado ſeeing his maſter dethroned, and without any hopes left of being able to recover his crown, adviſed him to have recourſe to Charles V. a prince to whom, he ſaid, Barbaroſſa was odious, and who would think it very honourable for him to reſtore a monarch to his kingdom, who had been ſo unjuſtly depriv'd of it.

HASCEN entruſted the execution of this project to him who was the author of it; accordingly the Genoeſe went to Madrid, and obtain'd an audience of the emperor, who fearing leſt ſome attempt ſhould be made upon his kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, gave a favourable hearing to both embaſſadors. The affair was propos'd in council, and after its being exa-
1535. min'd before the emperor, by his miniſters and his moſt able generals, it was
Boſ. l. 7. reſolv'd that the emperor ſhould carry his arms into Africa, as well to ſecure the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily againſt any invaſion that the king of Algiers might make, as the paſſage of the Spaniſh ſeas into Italy, where not ſo much as a trading or paſſage-veſſel, thro' fear of the corſairs, durſt appear, without running the risk of being taken.

CHARLES V. ſeem'd to be well ſatisfy'd with this reſolution; but before he employ'd force, this prince, who was the greateſt politician of his age, and who often drew greater advantages from his ſecret negotiations than his arms, endeavour'd to bribe Barbaroſſa, and to draw him off from Solyman. Accordingly he intruſted another Genoeſe, Lewis Preſandes by name, with the whole management of this intrigue, whom the emperor furniſhing privately with a trading-veſſel, he went with it to Tunis, under a pretence of traffick, carrying at the ſame time credentials, which inveſted him with the character of an embaſſador. After having got himſelf introduc'd to Barbaroſſa upon another pretence, he ſhew'd him his credentials, and purſuant to his inſtructions, propos'd to him the concluding of a private alliance with Charles V. and at the ſame time offer'd him, in the name of that prince, to aſſiſt him, in order to make him abſolute monarch of all Africa, provided he would engage himſelf to hold afterwards ſo glorious a monarchy, and render it tributary to the crown of Spain. By a ſecond inſtruction, directly oppoſite to the firſt, this agent had orders to confer, as ſecretly as poſſible, with certain inhabitants of Tunis, whoſe names had been given him, and whom Haſcen's embaſſadors had

ſaid

ſaid to be inclin'd to favour his maſter's intereſt, to ſound them, to aſſure them of the ſpeedy return of that prince at the head of an army, and to exhort them to take up arms in his favour, as ſoon as he ſhould appear at the gates of their city.

BUT as this miniſter was for carrying on two negotiations of ſo different a nature at the ſame time, he was ſoon ſuſpected; the whole intrigue was diſcover'd, and Barbaroſſa, without regarding the right of nations, caus'd the embaſſador to be ſtrangled. The emperor ſeeing it would be impoſſible for him to ſucceed by the way of negotiation, reſolv'd to ſee what open force could do; accordingly he ſent back Haſcen's embaſſador to his maſter, to aſſure him that he himſelf would go at the head of a powerful army, in order to reſtore him to his throne; and at the ſame time he writ to the grand maſter by an expreſs, to give him notice of his deſign, and to invite the knights to aſſociate with him in an enterprize, which might be of great advantage to them, with reſpect to Tripoli.

THE grand maſter no ſooner receiv'd his letter, but he communicated it to the council, when it was reſolv'd, that the order ſhould furniſh as many ſhips for that expedition as it could poſſibly allow. Accordingly the knights put to ſea four of the largeſt and beſt equipp'd gallies, with 18 brigantines, all well arm'd; not to mention the great carrack, which alone was more formidable, and did more ſervice in this expedition than a whole ſquadron. A conſiderable number of knights went on board theſe different ſhips, and each knight carried two brave ſoldiers along with him inſtead of ſervants. The commander Aurelio Botigella, an antient ſea-officer, was named for general of this ſeparate fleet, and Anthony de Grolée, titular bailif of Lango, was to command the carrack and the land-forces.

BARBAROSSA, whom the deſigns of the Chriſtian princes could not poſſibly eſcape, provided himſelf with arms, ammunition, and proviſions, ſummon'd all the corſairs of the Levant about him, drew from Algiers as many forces as were there, and diſpatch'd ſeveral embaſſadors to all the petty kings of Africa, to implore their aſſiſtance, and to repreſent to them that the loſs of Tunis would infallibly draw after it that of all Barbary. His money did more ſervice than the eloquence of his negotiators; and ſending ſome conſiderable ſums to be diſtributed among the chiefs of the Arabians, he by that means obtain'd from them 15000 men, all horſemen, who not valuing whom they fought for, expos'd their lives for a meer trifle, and made a mercenary trade of war. As for Charles V. he had got together a powerful fleet, conſiſting of near 300 ſail, with 25000 infantry, and 2000 horſe on board, not to mention a conſiderable number of volunteers of different nations, and of the firſt houſes of Europe, who were deſirous of ſignalizing themſelves in the preſence of ſo great an emperor.

THE general rendezvous was in the port of Cagliari, a city of Sardinia, not above ſixty leagues diſtant from the coaſts of Africa. The emperor having receiv'd the reinforcement of the pope and the order of Malta, ſet out from thence on the 13th of June, and arriv'd happily at 1536.
Porto-Farina, antiently call'd Utica, a city famous in the Roman hiſtory for the death of the younger Cato. 'Tis pretended, that Barbaroſſa, hearing that the emperor commanded his army in perſon, ſaid to the officers who were about him; "If this prince, who has hitherto ſeldom "made war but by his lieutenants, ſhould acquire in this campaign the "only honour that is now wanting to compleat his glory, we muſt re"ſolve with ourſelves to loſe that which we have acquir'd with the price "of our blood."

THIS

PETER DU PONT. Sagredo, t. 2 & 3.

THIS pirate, who naturally imagin'd that the Chriſtians would begin their enterprize by attacking the fort of Goletta, had, for that reaſon, thrown into it 6000 of the braveſt Turks in his whole army: theſe were commanded by Airadin and Sinan the Jew, the two famous corſairs above mention'd, and in whom Barbaroſſa had repoſed the utmoſt confidence. He, at the ſame time, ſent the eunuch Azanaga, another of his generals, with 30000 Moors or Arabians, but all of them bow-men or arquebuſiers, and the moſt part on horſe-back, in order to harraſs the Chriſtians continually: and as he ſcrupled the fidelity of the Tuniſians, he ſhut himſelf up in that place with the flower of his troops.

THE emperor landed his army without oppoſition within cannon-ſhot of the fort of Goletta; it was no more than a large ſquare tower, but well flank'd, and ſituated about twelve miles from Tunis, at the mouth of the canal, by which the ſea enters into the baſon, on the ſide of which Tunis is built. This canal is about the length of a croſs-bow ſhot, but ſo narrow, that a galley can't paſs thro' it but by ſtrength of oars. Barbaroſſa had built a bridge over this canal; and on a neck of land that lies between the ſea and the tower of Goletta, he raiſed a rampart that diſcover'd all the coaſt, and defended thoſe gallies which he had poſted out of the canal.

THE emperor's generals pitch'd upon that ſpot of ground which they thought the moſt convenient for their encampment, and ſurrounded it with good lines that were wide and deep, and ſtrengthned at certain diſtances with redoubts. The garriſon of Goletta, in order to interrupt theſe works, made frequent ſallies, in which 300 Spaniards and 400 Italians were cut to pieces; at the ſame time that the Mooriſh and Arabian horſe were continually harraſſing the Chriſtian army, and came to skirmiſh to the very head of their camp. But the fortifications that belong'd to it being finiſh'd, they began to raiſe batteries, both againſt the fort, and on that ſide towards the open country; the fire whereof was ſo dreadful, and at the ſame time without the leaſt intermiſſion, that the Turks of the garriſon, as well as the Moors and Arabians, who kept the field, did not dare to come near the emperor's camp again.

THIS prince, who juſtly ſuppoſed that after the taking of this fortreſs, that of Tunis would fall of courſe, reſolv'd, as ſoon as the breaches ſhould be wide enough, to attempt a ſtorm: they batter'd the place at the ſame time both by ſea and land.

DORIA, who commanded the fleet, brought up his gallies by turns, and after one range had fir'd, another advanc'd in its place, and made its diſcharge. The great carrack of the order was poſted as at the ſiege of Coron, behind all the gallies; but it was ſo high-built, that it eaſily fir'd over them all, and it made ſo dreadful and uninterrupted a fire, that it diſmounted all the cannon of the tower. The commander, Botigella, prior of Piſa, obſerving that the chief officer over the ſlaves in the gallies of the order, for fear of running a-ground, had given orders to raiſe the oars out of the water, went to him ſword in hand, and commanding him to make the crew ply their oars; "Wretch (ſays he to him) muſt we be "prevented from performing a brave exploit, for the ſake only of pre-"ſerving the hulls of two or three gallies?" The chevalier de Converſa, an able engineer, diſtinguiſh'd himſelf by an action that was ſtill more daring; for he armed a long bark with great guns, fill'd it with musketeers, and afterwards drove it up to the foot of the tower, from whence he fir'd upon all ſuch Turks as preſented themſelves upon the breach; and, whilſt he was charging again on one ſide, he dextrouſly turn'd his bark about,

about, and presented the other, which immediately fir'd. By thus working of the ship, he kill'd a great number of the infidels, who fir'd upon him from the artillery of the tower that was just by, but without making any execution: in fine, after having fir'd continually on all sides from midnight to noon, the emperor, before the Turks had time to repair the breaches, and make intrenchments, commanded a general storm to be attempted. The knights, agreeable to their prerogative, and the possession they enjoy'd of being always at the head of the attacks, were commanded to march at the head of that which was to be given on the side towards the sea. The commander de Grolée, otherwise nam'd the bailif Passim, who commanded the land-forces, put them on board barks and flat vessels; but as they drew near the shore, these boats run upon a sand. The chevalier Copier, of the house of d'Hieres in Dauphine, who carried the standard of the order, was the first who leap'd into the water with his ensign. He was follow'd by all the knights, who, plunging in above the waist, advanc'd boldly sword in hand, got to the shore, and, in spite of a shower of musket-shot, advanc'd to the storm. The Spaniards, sustain'd by the Italians and Germans, attack'd another place; and in these different attacks, the Christians, in spite of the courageous defence of the Turks, forced the breaches, got to the bulwarks, and the top of the tower, and made themselves masters of it. But this victory cost the order many of its bravest knights, and scarce one of them return'd back without wounds. As this tower had no outworks, they were immediately in the body of the place; and as the artillery had ruin'd all its fortifications, the Christians, after having fought an hour, got possession of it. PETER DU PONT.

AIRADIN and Sinan the Jew, seeing it would be in vain for them to resist, threw themselves into the bason, with the garrison; they march'd along the flats by a way which had been mark'd out with stakes, arrived at Tunis, while others stopp'd at Arradez, a little city in the road from Goletta to Tunis. The Christians pursu'd, and kill'd great numbers of them; and the emperor enter'd into Goletta, follow'd by king Hascen, when turning to that prince; "Here (says he to him) is the gate open'd for you, thro' "which you will return into your dominions." 'Tis pretended that they met in the port of this place with eighty seven gallies, galiots, and other rowing vessels, all of them arm'd; besides upwards of three hundred pieces of cannon, most of them brass, a numberless multitude of muskets, cross-bows, pikes, and swords. Barbarossa had made this fort his arsenal, whither he used to carry all his prizes and his booty, and till now had always thought it impregnable. July 1535.

THE emperor, after having allow'd his troops some time to repose themselves after their toil, gave orders for their marching towards Tunis. Notwithstanding that Barbarossa was very sensible of the weakness of the place, and moreover very doubtful of the fidelity of the Tunisians, and more so of the bravery of the Arabians; nevertheless, as he was a man of prodigious courage, he resolv'd to attempt the fate of arms, to advance forwards to meet the Christians, and rather give them battle, than shut himself up in a place that was but weak. But before he took the field, he held a great council of war; when having summon'd the chiefs of his army, as well Turks, Moors, as Arabians, he represented to them the small number of forces the emperor had in comparison of his; that the bravest of the Christians had lost their lives at the siege of Goletta; that the excessive heats of the country, to which the European soldiers were not accustom'd, had thrown great numbers of them into a sick and languishing condition; that they were in want of water, insomuch that the

PETER DU PONT.

greateſt part of them died with thirſt. He added, that the emperor's camp abounded with immenſe riches; that the ſums they would get for the ranſom of the priſoners they ſhould make, would be full as conſiderable; "In fine (ſaid he to them) I promiſe you victory, if you are "deſirous of conquering; and the defeat of your enemies will ſecure to "you an abundant fortune, your own ſafety, and that of your wives "and children."

THE anſwer they made him conſiſted only in proteſtations of an inviolable fidelity; notwithſtanding which, he yet diſcover'd in moſt of their countenances, a certain air of inquietude and an impreſſion of fear, which gave him no ſmall uneaſineſs: and as moreover he was well acquainted with the fickle and wavering temper of the Africans, he held during the night-time a ſecret council compos'd only of ſuch Turks as adhered to his fate and fortune. He declar'd to them, that he was unhappily engag'd in a place where he had three kinds of enemies, whom he had equally reaſon to diſtruſt; that the Moors ſuffer'd impatiently the Turkiſh government, and would be glad to ſee them all cut to pieces; that the Arabians, who were fitter to make inroads, than boldly to ſtand their ground in an engagement, would, at the ſight of the leaſt danger, immediately give way; and that there were actually twenty two thouſand Chriſtian ſlaves impriſon'd in Tunis, who would not fail to facilitate the entry of the emperor's forces, if they ſhould meet with an opportunity for that purpoſe; that notwithſtanding their being ſhut up every night in the caſtle, yet it would be in the power of one traitor or renegado only, to open the gates of it, and render them maſters of the city, during the time that they ſhould be engag'd with the Chriſtians: but that he, in order to rid himſelf of that uneaſineſs, was reſolv'd before he left that place, to cut all thoſe ſlaves to pieces, without ſparing ſo much as one. *Devil-driver* gave aloud his approbation of ſo inhuman a reſolution, and maintain'd that if they ſpar'd the ſlaves, they would make them one day repent of their falſe pity; and that in ſuch a conjuncture, the preſerving of an enemy, who might afterwards deſtroy them, would be acting in contradiction to all the maxims of policy. But Sinan the Jew, to whom part of theſe ſlaves belong'd, and who made up the bulk of his poſſeſſions, oppos'd this reſolution. He repreſented to Barbaroſſa, that ſo barbarous an action would draw upon them the odium of all nations; that he by that means would alienate the affections of the Tuniſians, who had either bought or taken the greateſt part of thoſe Chriſtians; that he himſelf would loſe the ranſom of the moſt conſiderable, who were his property; that after all, they might whenever they pleas'd find an opportunity of making uſe of ſo cruel a precaution; that they ſhould reſerve that execution till ſuch time as they ſhould be brought to their laſt ſhifts: whereas, if they ſhould happen to beat the emperor's forces, the loſs they ſhould ſuſtain by the over-haſty death of their ſlaves, would poiſon the joy that attends upon victory.

1535. Boſ. t. 5. l. 8.

THO' Barbaroſſa had not uſed to prefer moderation to violence, yet avarice in this occaſion got the better of his natural cruelty, and accordingly he conſented to ſuſpend the putting of the ſlaves to death; but in order not to be diſappointed in reeking his vengeance upon them in caſe he ſhould be overcome, he loaded them with freſh irons, gave orders that they ſhould not be ſuffer'd to ſtir out of the dungeon or priſon where they were ſhut up; and lodg'd ſeveral barrels of powder under it, to blow it up into the air upon his orders. After this, he march'd out at the head of his troops to meet the emperor, and encamp'd in a plain at a league's diſtance from Tunis, when both armies ſoon came up with one another. The

Spaniſh

Spaniſh hiſtorians, to heighten the glory of Charles V. pretend that Barbaroſſa's army conſiſted of no leſs than 90000 men. The reader may judge whether this be fact by the iſſue of the battle, if we may give this name to a rout, in which, by the confeſſion of thoſe very writers, the Chriſtians loſt but eighteen ſoldiers, and the infidels about 300. Be that as it will, the Arabians advanc'd at firſt to fight with intrepidity enough, and came on to the charge with great ſhouts. But no ſooner had they heard the roaring of the artillery, and ſtood the firſt fire from the muskets, but theſe troops which had been us'd to fight only in wheeling about, immediately gave way, took to their heels, and diſappear'd in an inſtant: and that which threw Barbaroſſa into the utmoſt conſternation, was, that they drew the Moors and Tuniſians along with them in their flight, who flock'd into the city with greater eagerneſs than they had gone out of it. The Arabian chiefs, as a handle that might be of ſervice to them in making their court to Haſcen, afterwards boaſted their having kept them in and prevented their fighting. Barbaroſſa commanded a retreat to be ſounded; and after having rallied them, did not once reproach them, and only told them that they ſhould engage the Chriſtians on the morrow.

Peter du Pont.

But he was very far from having any ſuch deſign. As he was ſurrounded on all ſides with open or ſecret enemies, the only reaſon of his keeping up ſo many troops, was in order to ſecure his retreat. He even conceal'd this reſolution with the utmoſt care, from the Turks who appear'd to be his moſt faithful friends; but the eagerneſs his people diſcover'd to draw his treaſures out of the caſtle, gave occaſion to ſome ſuſpicion, and the order he afterwards gave to ſet fire to the powder that was lodg'd under the priſon of the ſlaves, made them no longer doubt of his reſolves: but the ordinary miniſters of his cruelty, had it not in their power to execute ſo horrid a ſcene of cruelty. There was at that time among the ſlaves, a knight of the order, commander of Turin, brother Paul Simeoni by name, whom Barbaroſſa could never be prevail'd upon to releaſe, whatever ranſom the order could offer. He has been already mention'd, when we ſpake of the iſland of Ero, which this knight, being but eighteen years old, defended with ſo much bravery againſt all the enterprizes and attacks of the infidels. Simeoni in this laſt conjuncture bribed two renegadoes, who were the ſlaves goalers, who being furniſh'd by their aſſiſtance with hammers and files, he knock'd off his chains, and help'd to break thoſe of his companions. They afterwards broke into the armory of the caſtle, arm'd themſelves with every thing that firſt came to hand, cut to pieces all ſuch of the Turkiſh ſoldiers as had remain'd in the caſtle, made themſelves maſters of it; and after having barricaded the gates of it, and ſet a ſtrong guard in the principal places, the knight who was at the head of the enterprize went up to the top of the caſtle, and diſplay'd a white flag to give the Chriſtian army notice to come to their aſſiſtance. Barbaroſſa being told that a great noiſe had been heard in the caſtle, ran thither, crying out that they ſhould open the gates to him; but was anſwer'd only by the fire of their musket-ſhot, and a ſhower of ſtones which the ſlaves threw at him. Upon which he cry'd out in the utmoſt tranſports of fury: "All "is loſt, ſince thoſe dogs are maſters of the caſtle and of my treaſures." When he immediately ran out of the city with *Devil-driver*, and as many Turks as he could get together, and before the emperor could have notice of this revolution, he fled, and got to the city of Bon, built near the antient Hippo, a city famous for being the epiſcopal ſeat of St. Auſtin, one of the four firſt fathers of the church, and its oracle next to St Paul, in all thoſe things that relate to celeſtial grace.

Boſio, l. 8. t. 3. p. 152.

Franciſco de Medallino, and Vincent de Cattaro Giaffraga.

Hormiſd. Epiſt. ad Poff.

SIMEONI

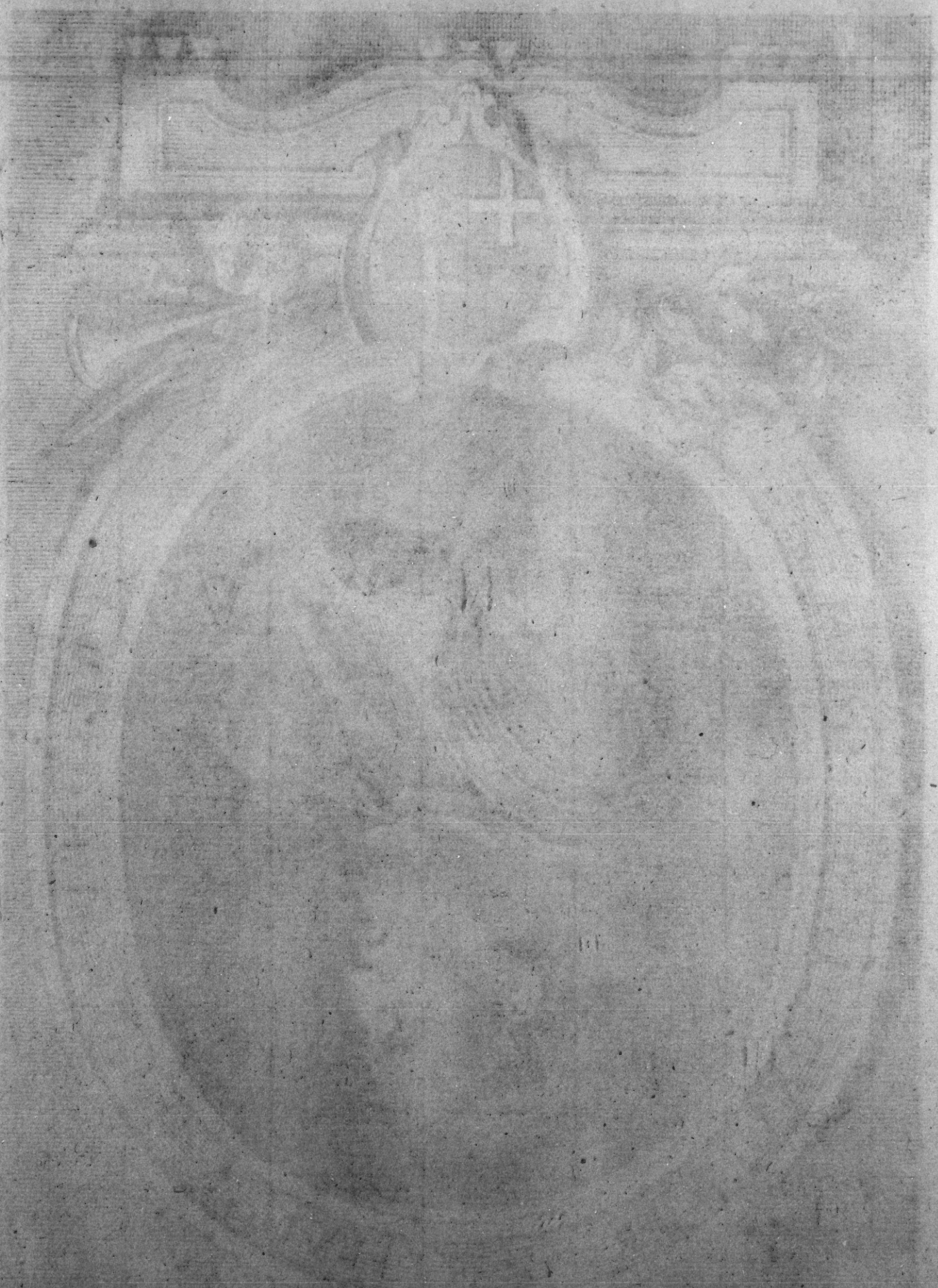
PETER DU PONT.

SIMEONI having notice of the flight of the corſairs, ſent advice of it to the emperor, who immediately advanc'd forward: The firſt object that preſented itſelf before him, at his entrance into that place, was this knight at the head of 6000 of his companions in ſlavery. Charles V. embracing him, cry'd out, "Brother knight, bleſſed be for ever the coura-"geous reſolution which has made you break your chains, has facilitated "my conqueſt, and heightned the glory of your order." Simeoni, loaded with honour, went on board the gallies of Malta, where he ſaluted the general and his brethren. But the emperor's forces and the ſlaves diſpers'd themſelves up and down the city, where they committed the moſt unheard of exceſſes of all kinds, that one would have thought the Chriſtians had had a mind to go beyond the moſt barbarous nations, in cruelty and laſciviouſneſs. The unhappy inhabitants of both ſexes, ſuffer'd in their perſons, and in thoſe who were deareſt to them, racks and various kinds of torture, to force them to diſcover their hidden treaſures to their cruel conquerors; and when they had extorted all they could from them, they afterwards maſſacred them in cold blood. The young maidens were expos'd to an infamy ſtill more odious and inſupportable than the moſt cruel puniſhments; and when the ſoldier was weary with butchering, or glutting his brutiſh luſt, without any reſpect to age, ſex, or birth, he loaded with chains all ſuch as fell into his hands. Young women of the greateſt beauty were torn from the arms of their mothers; and the officers kept them as their own booty, to make them adminiſter to their moſt infamous pleaſures.

Boſ. t. 3. l. 8. AMONG theſe unfortunate ſlaves, was a young lady of exquiſite beauty, of one of the nobleſt houſes in the city, whoſe name was Ayſa; ſhe fell to the lot of a Spaniſh officer, who carried her into the camp, and put her in his tent. Muley Haſcen meeting her, tied in a manner altogether unworthy her noble birth, being mov'd to compaſſion, and perhaps with a ſenſation of a ſtronger nature, ſtopped her, and offer'd to purchaſe her of her maſter. But the Mooriſh lady, who was naturally proud, overcome with rage and grief, ſpit in his face; and cry'd out at the ſame time, "Be gone, thou wicked and perfidious Haſcen, who to recover a "kingdom thou hadſt no right to, haſt ſcandalouſly betray'd thy country "and thy nation." But this prince, on whom all this uſage could make no impreſſion, going on to offer the officer very conſiderable ſums for her ranſom; Ayſa, tranſported with fury, continued to cry out, "Be gone, "I tell thee, I will not have a tyrant for my deliverer."

WE are told, that above an hundred thouſand perſons were either kill'd or made ſlaves; many fell a ſacrifice to the fury of the ſoldiers; others, who thought to fly to the ſands and the neighbouring deſarts, were ſuffocated by the exceſſive heat of thoſe burning climates, and died of thirſt; and the number of priſoners of both ſexes, was computed to be upwards of forty thouſand. The emperor being maſter of Tunis, reſtor'd Muley Haſcen to his throne; but upon condition that he ſhould hold it of the crown of Spain: and as a pledge of his fidelity, he kept the fort of Goletta in his own hands, whoſe fortifications he repair'd. By this treaty, he obliged the Mooriſh prince to pay the garriſon of it, and to ſend thither prince Mahomet, one of his children, with ſome other lords of his court, in quality of hoſtages. After this, the emperor began to prepare to ſet out for Europe; but before he imbark'd, the 25th of July being the day that the church celebrates the feaſt of St. James, patron of Spain, this prince ſolemniz'd the commemoration of it in his camp. After he had heard maſs there, which was ſung to muſic, he din'd on board the great gallion of

Malta,



FERDINANDVS III. ROMANORVM IMPERATOR SEMPER AVGVSTVS
Carr Sculp

Malta, call'd Caracca, where he was waited upon by the knights with the greateſt magnificence. The emperor's deſign, after he had ſet ſail, was to paſs by Mehedia, a city of Africa, in order to make himſelf maſter of it; but there aroſe a violent tempeſt, which ſcatter'd his ſhips and gallies: but at laſt this victorious fleet, after having paſs'd through a great variety of dangers, came to Trepano in Sicily. PETER DU PONT.

THE grand maſter ſent a ſplendid embaſſy to this city, to congratulate him upon the happy ſucceſs of his arms. This prince anſwer'd in the moſt obliging manner, that he ow'd the beſt part of it to the valour and courage of the knights; and that the order might be always engag'd to adhere to his intereſts, he beſtow'd very rich preſents on the principal knights who had attended him in this expedition; and, by a freſh reſcript or grant, ordain'd, that the grand maſter and the council ſhould draw from Sicily, cuſtom-free, all the ammunition and proviſions they ſhould want. By another edict and a peculiar privilege, he delar'd, that no knight, under any pretence whatever, ſhould enjoy in the whole extent of his dominions, any poſſeſſions belonging to the order, without the expreſs permiſſion of the grand maſter and council, and unleſs the originals of thoſe grants had been ſeen by his majeſty or his miniſters, and regiſtred in his council of ſtate.

THE ſquadron of the order return'd happily into the ports of Malta; but the joy of the knights was a little time after allay'd by the death of the grand maſter, who had hardly enjoy'd that great dignity a year. The order loſt in him a worthy head, and a true religious; he, during his adminiſtration, had forbid the knights, under very ſevere penalties, indulging themſelves in the cuſtom, or rather the abuſe which they had brought from Italy, of masking themſelves during the carnival; and he ſubſtituted, inſtead of theſe bacchanals, tilts and tournaments, and ſeveral other military exerciſes, which he made them conſider as recreations much more ſuitable to warriors.

'TWAS from the ſame ſtrictneſs of diſcipline, and exact obſervance of the ſtatutes, that he refus'd, in ſpight of all the inſtances the pope could make, to nominate to a vacant commandery a young knight, in prejudice of his ſeniors. He told this pontif by letter, that upon his acceſſion to the grand maſterſhip, he had taken the moſt ſolemn oaths, as well as all his predeceſſors, to obſerve the ſtatutes of the order, and that he beſought his holineſs to diſpenſe with his violating ſo ſacred an obligation, which he had contracted at the foot of the altars, and on the holy goſpels.

DIDIER DE ST. JAILLE, prior of Toulouſe, one of the moſt generous defenders of Rhodes, of whom mention has been made in the relation of that ſiege, ſucceeded Peter du Pont; he, in like manner as his predeceſſor, was elected in his abſence. The chevalier de Bourbon ſucceeded at the ſame time, by the death of brother Peter de Cluis, to the grand priory of France. The firſt uſe the new prior made of the riches annex'd to his priory, was to give orders for the making of a ſumptuous piece of tapeſtry; in which, on a ground of ſilk heightned with gold, was ſeen the pictures of all the grand maſters, drawn to the life, and after excellent originals, which had been brought from Rhodes: and as ſoon as ſo rich and curious a piece of furniture was finiſh'd, he ſent it to Malta, and conſecrated it to adorn the principal church in that iſland. DIDIER DE ST. JAILLE. 1536. 12 Novemb. Boſio, l. 8.

THESE marks of the liberality and diſintereſtedneſs of the knights, were not at that time uncommon in the order. The greateſt part of the commanders, particularly ſuch as were inveſted with the principal dignities

DIDIER DE ST. JAILLE.

of the order, uſed generouſly to conſecrate all the revenues of them in fitting out armaments againſt the infidels. The greateſt part of them ſought rather for the glory than the profit which might accrue to them from their prizes; and we may affirm, that there were in all times more knights out at ſea than on ſhore, and reſiding on their commanderies. They were often ſeen returning into the port of Malta, dragging after them the veſſels and gallies of the infidels, out of which they immediately deliver'd the Chriſtian ſlaves of different nations; and theſe Chriſtians, after the recovery of their liberty, carried back into their reſpective countries, the teſtimony and remembrance of the zeal and valour of the knights.

AMONG theſe illuſtrious perſonages, each of whom would merit a particular hiſtory, was reckon'd Botigella, prior of Piſa, and general of the gallies; George Schilling, grand bailif of Germany; Grolée, bailif of Lango; James Pelloquin, the grand maſter's lieutenant; Leo Strozzi, prior of Capua; Chateau-Renaud, marſhal of the order; the commander Pariſot de la Valette; and a great many others, whoſe names are mention'd in the memoirs of the order.

BUT no one at that time had render'd himſelf more formidable to the corſairs than the prior of Piſa, who was continually out at ſea. Not a ſingle corſair durſt come near the coaſts of Sicily and Malta, but he was immediately ſnapt up; and ſo great was the number of prizes he made that year, that the corſairs gave out, he had a familiar demon in the ſhape of a dog on board his galley, who gave him notice of the day of their departure from the coaſts of Africa, and the places where he might meet with them. Time had ſcarce ever produced a general, in whom was united ſo perfect a knowledge in ſea-affairs, with ſo intrepid a bravery: he fell upon all he met, whether weak or ſtrong; and, without having any regard to any repriſals that might be made, hang'd all ſuch renegadoes as fell into his hands; and being ſevere in command, he requir'd the ſame bravery in his knights, of which he gave them an example: nor was he leſs ſtrict in the obſervance of military diſcipline; and, after an expedition, in which he had made very conſiderable prizes, certain knights having made bold with ſome of the plunder, he had them put under an arreſt, and confin'd them for a long time, as uſurpers of the property of the order. He was but juſt return'd into the port of Tripoli, when they diſcover'd about dusk, and from the top of the tower, three large galiots ſteering towards the iſland of Gerbes; upon which, the captains of the gallies immediately deſir'd leave to go out of the port, and give them battle: "Don't you perceive, (reply'd that able ſeaman) that if they "ſhould happen to ſee you, the night, which is coming on, will favour "their eſcape before you can have time to come up with them? Let them "continue their courſe at this time, but they ſhall not be got to ſuch a "diſtance, but I will be up with them by day-break." And indeed, no ſooner was night come, but he ſail'd out of the port with three gallies, and ſtood for Gerbes, as well as the darkneſs would allow. It was ſcarce day-break, when he diſcover'd thoſe gallies, who were ſailing in company; upon which, he immediately began to give them chace. The corſairs ſeeing themſelves purſu'd, ſeparated; and one of the galiots endeavour'd to gain the coaſts of Barbary: but a galley, call'd the *Cornue* or the *Horn'd Galley*, intercepting it in its courſe, was ſoon up with it; when the knight, with ſabre in hand, attempted to board her. Immediately the Turks, who were in great numbers in that ſhip, threw themſelves

DIDIER DE ST. JAILLE.

ſelves on that ſide, which the knights were for attacking: their too eager haſte, and the great number of men, who were all got to one ſide, occaſion'd their deſtruction; for the galiot being over-ſet, ſunk to the bottom, in the ſight, and to the great regret of the knights, who were more afflicted for the death of the Chriſtian ſlaves that were drown'd on that occaſion, than the loſs of a prize, which could not poſſibly have eſcap'd them. The ſecond galiot met with almoſt the ſame fate, which the knights endeavour'd to board; and as it was mann'd with a great number of Turks, they did not avoid fighting, but turn'd the prow againſt the galley of the order. On both ſides a numberleſs multitude of furious diſcharges were made, which diſabled a great number of Chriſtians and Turks. The pilot of the infidels being more dextrous than that of the order, preſented a broad-ſide, and after having diſcharg'd a freſh volley of arrows, ſtood off to ſea: but general Botigella, who had reſerv'd himſelf to ſuccour that galley which ſhould be the moſt vigorouſly attack'd, oppos'd the going off of the galiot, and came up with it prow againſt prow. The combat was now renew'd with recruited fury; the *Courſier*, or great gun, and the muskets, made a furious diſcharge on both ſides; the battle was maintain'd for a long time with equal advantage; victory ſhifted ſides alternately more than once. The corſairs, who were ſeamen that had been brought up in the midſt of fire, and the fury of arms, fought with intrepid fury; they more than once flatter'd themſelves with the hopes of forcing the wale of the galley, and obliging the knights, who defended it, to give way: but they were oppos'd with a ſett of intrepid men, who had ever been fearleſs of danger. This courageous body of ſoldiers, threw themſelves, ſword in hand, into the galiot, at the ſame time that the ſoldiers of the *Cornue*, or horn'd galley, forced another part, and join'd the ſoldiers of the admiral-galley. 'Twas now not ſo much a combat, as a general maſſacre; the Chriſtian ſoldiers gave no quarter, but hurried on by a thirſt after booty, ſo great a number of them flung themſelves into the ſhip, that whether it were the prodigious weight of thoſe who enter'd it, and who were all on one ſide, or that it had ſprung a leak during the engagement, it ſunk to the bottom; when the victorious, confounded with the vanquiſh'd, met with a like fate, and periſh'd even in the midſt of victory.

THE largeſt of the galiots, commanded by Scander, a famous corſair, and by another rais, or captain, did his utmoſt to reach Zoara, thirteen miles diſtant eaſtward from the iſland of Zerbe, or Gelſey. But the chevalier Pariſot de la Valette, captain of one of the gallies, and the worthy companion of Botigella, purſu'd him ſo cloſe, that the Turks could not avoid fighting. This new engagement was as bloody as the former: Scander fought like a Man who had ever been fearleſs of death, and who did not value being cut to pieces, provided he came off but with victory. The commander de la Valette, at the head of the knights of his galley, and expoſed to the arrows of the enemy, receiv'd two wounds with an arrow during the heat of the engagement, which prevented his perceiving it; but ſome time after a musket-ball ſhatter'd his leg to pieces, and threw him upon the deck. Notwithſtanding his diſtreſs, and his being half dead, he yet did not abate any thing of his uſual courage, and his ardent thirſt of victory. The knights and ſoldiers, animated by his cries, puſh'd the infidels with ſo much intrepidity, that they forced their way into their ſhips: here they were forced to come to a ſecond engagement; the Turks had rallied themſelves about the maſts, and they began to

fall

DIDIER DE ST. JAILLE.

fall on afreſh. Theſe Barbarians being mad through deſpair, and animated by the example of their officers, fought with incredible fury; and tho' reduc'd to a ſmall number, they yet forc'd the Chriſtians to abandon their ſhip, and after having diſingag'd themſelves from the cramp-irons, with which they had been faſtned to the gallies, they, in ſpight of all the efforts of the knights, ſtood off to ſea, and ſteer'd towards Zoara: But they were got pretty near it, when the knights, who ſail'd after their prey, came up with them. The fight was now renew'd, which was now the third time of engaging; but they were no more upon an equal foot, for the Turks had loſt the greateſt part of their ſoldiers and ſailors; there ſcarce remain'd ſufficient to manage the ſhip, and the few that ſurviv'd, ſeeing the ſhore at hand, threw themſelves into the ſea, in order to reach it. But as a great number of them were wounded, the major part of them were drown'd, among whom were two rais or captains. Immediately the knights made themſelves maſters of the galliot, whence they deliver'd 200 Chriſtians; the Turks were chain'd down, and the renegadoes hang'd. After which, Botigella return'd with triumph into the port of Tripoli with his prize.

THIS ſucceſs, and the continual war which the knights maintain'd againſt the African Turks, both by ſea and land, determin'd theſe Barbarians to drive them, if poſſible, out of Tripoli. The pirate Airadin, lord of Tagiora, being chiefly intereſted in this war, took upon himſelf the execution of this enterprize, and accordingly got together as many forces as he could from Tagiora, Gienzor, and d'Almaya, the rendezvous being at the tower of the Alcayd. He ſet out in the night-time, and at day-break attempted a ſcalado at thoſe parts of the wall of Tripoli, which he thought leaſt defended. He hoped to ſurprize the knights: but George Schilling, grand bailif of Germany, who commanded in Tripoli, having advice ſent him by his ſpies, which he kept in Tagiora, was under arms with the whole garriſon; and no ſooner did the Turks appear, but they were briskly ply'd with fire-works, boiling oil, and ſtones; at the ſame time that the artillery, and the musketeers of the place, fir'd inceſſantly on thoſe who were furtheſt off, and who ſuſtain'd thoſe who were at the head of the attack. Altho' Airadin ſaw plainly that he was diſcover'd, he yet fought on with the ſame bravery and reſolution. His troops, after his example, made the moſt ſurprizing efforts to get to the top of the wall; but it was lined with a good number of intrepid knights, who were fearleſs of death and wounds; many died by the arrows and musket-ſhot of the infidels. The Barbarians loſt a greater number of men, but their places were immediately fill'd up by the great number of forces they had brought along with them for this expedition; whereas the knights, on the contrary, who at that time were no more than forty in number, with a weak garriſon, drew no ſuccour, but from their courage, which even ſeem'd to increaſe, in proportion as their forces diminiſh'd. The grand bailif in particular run up and down to thoſe places, where the attack was warmeſt, and was ſeen at all of them almoſt at the ſame time. Airadin, for his part, did not omit one of the duties of a worthy commander, and, more by his example than his words, drew on his ſoldiers, and did his utmoſt to get to the top of the wall; but this general having been knock'd off his ladder by a ball, his ſoldiers found it a very difficult matter to get him out of the ditch into which he was fallen. The Turks thinking him dead, loſt all their courage; they all made off, and left at the foot of the walls, a great number of ſoldiers, who had been kill'd there.

THE

THE grand bailif, after their retreat, diſpatch'd a brigantine to Malta, to give the grand maſter's lieutenant and the council advice of the enterprize of Airadin; by his letter he repreſented to them, that as Tripoli was without baſtions and bulwarks, it would have been impoſſible for it to have held out againſt an army that ſhould have beſieg'd it in form; that they were even daily expos'd to be ſurpriz'd in the ſame manner, and that in order to prevent it, and to drive the infidels from its neighbourhood, it would be neceſſary for them to raze the tower of the Alcayd, which held the place inveſted and block'd up on that ſide, and hindred the Chriſtians from trading with the Moors and Arabians, the inhabitants of the country, who were as great enemies to the Turks and corſairs as the knights. DIDIER DE ST. JAILLE.

THE council approv'd this enterprize, and appointed the commander Botigella, prior of Piſa, and general of the gallies, to head it. Accordingly he immediately put to ſea with 500 knights and about 700 ſoldiers, which the order kept in conſtant pay at Malta; and the bailif Schilling, governor of Tripoli, treated at the ſame time with ſome *Cheques* or Arabian lords, who, in conſideration of a certain ſum agreed upon between them, furniſh'd him a body of horſe. Botigella having landed his forces at Tripoli, took thither what artillery he thought he ſhould ſtand in need of, and had it drawn by his ſlaves and his crew of his gallies, almoſt up to the tower he intended to beſiege; when, without ſtaying to open the trenches, he firſt rais'd his batteries, and contented himſelf with covering them with gabions. Airadin, at the noiſe of this attack, ran thither from Tagiora with what forces he had about him; but when he was got to the town of Adabus, which was not above three miles diſtant from the tower, he found himſelf ſtopp'd by the knights who were at the head of the Arabian horſe. Airadin, not finding himſelf ſtrong enough to attack a body that was lin'd with 150 knights, contented himſelf with making a few light skirmiſhes, which gave opportunity to about ſixty Turks to throw themſelves into the place. But notwithſtanding this ſuccour, general Botigella batter'd it continually; but perceiving that his artillery did not make as quick execution as he could have wiſh'd, he ſent for the wales or bends from his gallies, which he employ'd as *mantlets*, or a moveable pent-houſe; and being cover'd by this fence, he brought up the miners to the foot of the wall, which he blew up. Immediately the knights advanc'd up to the breach, which they found undefended, for the greateſt part of the corſairs had been buried under the ruins of the mine. Such as had eſcap'd, ſtill ſtunn'd with the noiſe, ſeeing the knights maſters of the breach and with their drawn ſwords, threw down their arms. Botigella immediately raze'd the tower; and whilſt the crew of the galley and other ſlaves were employ'd at this work, he advanc'd at the head of his little army towards Adabus, where Airadin was intrench'd. He drove him from thence, abandon'd the plunder of this town to the Arabians; and after having left in Tripoli a ſufficient body of troops to reinforce the garriſon, he re-imbark'd, to return to Malta. In his courſe he met a great galeon that was coming from Egypt, freighted with rich merchandize, commanded by a famous Turkiſh captain call'd Ardor. Botigella made directly towards him with his gallies, came up with him, and in ſpite of all the fire of his cannon, the knights attempted to board him, leap'd into the Turkiſh veſſel with their drawn ſabres, and made themſelves maſters of it. Two hundred Turks were made priſoners and ſlaves on

DIDIER DE ST. JAILLE.

this occaſion, and the prize was valued at 160000 crowns; after which, the fortunate Botigella, who juſtly deſerved to be always ſo, return'd into the port of Malta. The commander, James de Pelloquin, the grand maſter's lieutenant, the greateſt part of the lords of the council, and as many knights as were on the iſland, were in the port to receive him at his landing. As they had been inform'd of the happy ſucceſs of his expedition, he was publickly prais'd, and congratulated upon that account; and all this illuſtrious body of ſoldiers led him, as it were, in triumph to the church of St. Laurence, where he went to return thanks to God for the happy ſucceſs of his arms.

THEY were ſtill full of thoſe firſt emotions of joy, which the happy return of general Botigella gave the convent, when various accidents threw them into a general conſternation. A young novice, who aſpir'd to the chaplainſhip of the order, robb'd the image of our lady of Philermos, which had been brought from Rhodes, of the pearls and precious ſtones with which it had been adorn'd. Some days after, an Engliſh knight, being diſtractedly in love with a Malteſe woman, in the tranſports of rage and jealouſy, ſtabb'd her with his own hand upon very ſlight ſuſpicions. The grand maſter's lieutenant had the thief and the murderer ſeiz'd, and after their being condemn'd by the ſecular judges of the iſland, they were carried at a mile diſtance from the port, when, being put into ſacks, they were thrown alive into the ſea.

TO theſe misfortunes ſucceeded another, that was a ſubject of no leſs affliction to the whole body of the order. The chevalier de Varennes Nagu, commander of Trebous, arriving at Malta on the 10th of October, brought thither the ſad news of the death of the grand maſter de St. Jaille, who having ſet out from his priory of Toulouſe in order to go to the convent, fell ſick at Montpellier, where he died on the 26th of September. The next day they met, to chuſe him a ſucceſſor. Every one imagin'd, that the commander Botigella, or the lord de Grolée, otherwiſe call'd the commander Paſſim, bailif of Lango, would be elected to that dignity; both of them being antient knights, who, by their ſervices, their brave actions, and a ſingular piety, had deſerv'd ſo well of the order, and of all Chriſtendom.

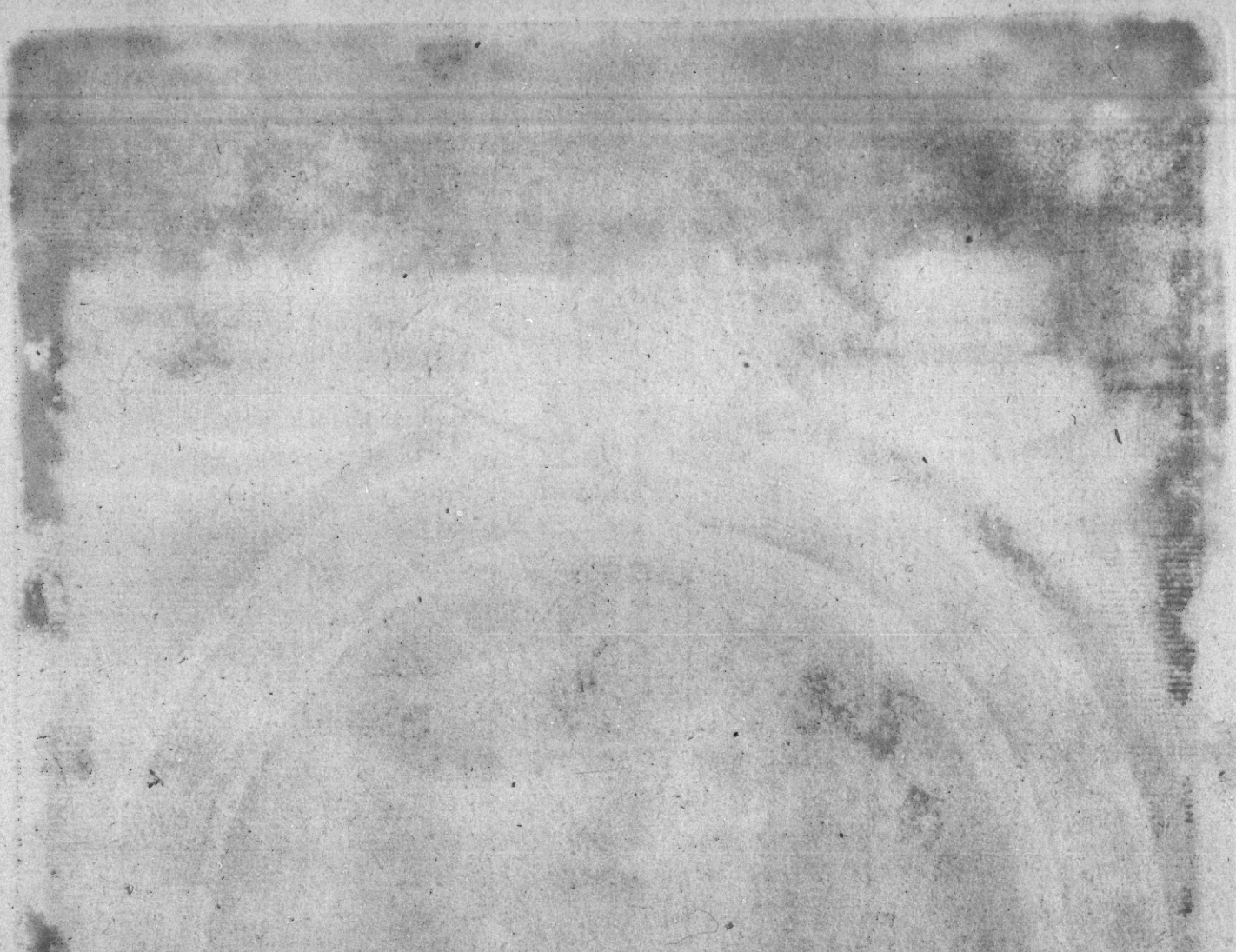
26 Septemb. 1536.

BUT a cabal, which was carried on by the chevalier Garcia Cortez, who happen'd to be at that time the electing knight, turn'd the majority of voices in favour of the commander JOHN D'OMEDES, of the language of Arragon, and bailif of Capſa. This bailif had promis'd him long time before to procure him his bailiwick, provided he ſhould come to the grand maſterſhip by his means. The cunning Spaniard, being a man of intrigue, and who ſaw that the promotion of his friend would pave the way to his own, made a merit, to the ſixteen electors, of a wound and the loſs of an eye, which d'Omedes had ſuſtain'd during the ſiege of Rhodes; probably alſo the ſubtile Spaniard, without inſiſting too much upon a wound, which is often an ambiguous mark of bravery, might have been artful enough to take advantage of the ſuperiority which the knights of his nation, by the help of the emperor's power, had at that time in the aſſemblies of the order. Be that as it will, no ſooner was the election of d'Omedes publiſh'd, but the greateſt part of the 360 knights, who compoſed the aſſembly, appear'd in the higheſt conſternation. The ill omens they preſag'd upon the government of the elect, were afterwards verified by an adminiſtration

JOHN D'OMEDES.

that

GERARD MALAPERT. ANO. 1536
HERBERT. JOHAN. DOCTOR



that was ſelf-intereſted, partial, and even extremely harſh and rigorous.

THE illuſtrious Botigella, ſo worthy of that high employment, was thrown aſide, and did not keep even that of commander, or general of the gallies, with which Leo Strozzi, prior of Capua, was afterwards inveſted; he was a young lord of one of the firſt houſes of Florence, a near relation to Catherine of Medicis, queen of France, and on whom pope Clement VII. his uncle, at the ſame time that he gave him the habit of the order, had beſtow'd that dignity, of which he was actually in poſſeſſion at the time of his being raiſed to the ſovereign pontificate.

THE young prior, who had been made a captain before he had been a ſoldier, had firſt fought under the famous Andrew Doria, the emperor's general: the firſt eſſay he made in his command, was at his being with four gallies of the order at the taking of twelve others commanded by a Turk, whoſe name was Ali Zelif, a great ſeaman, and commander of that ſquadron. Doria had 34 gallies, beſides thoſe of the order; and meeting the infidels in the channel of Corfu, he attack'd them with that confidence which he had juſtly entertain'd from the ſuperior number of his gallies: But he experienced on that occaſion, that nothing is ſuperior to a reſolute courage. Ali had a great number of janizaries on board his gallies, with orders to tranſport them into Dalmatia, where Solyman was getting together a body of forces. Theſe ſoldiers gave the moſt ſhining marks of bravery, and fought like men who were reſolv'd not to ſurvive their defeat. They levell'd the fury of their arms chiefly upon the knights, their antient and eternal enemies; and two Turkiſh gallies, one of which was the admiral, inveſted the admiral-gally of Malta. The firſt kept cloſe to the prow, and the other preſented the ſide, when a cruel and bloody combat enſued, the Turks attacking the knights very briskly; ſeveral of that order, and among the reſt, Conſtans Opert, one of the principal officers on board the admiral-galley, loſt their lives in the brave oppoſition they made againſt the Turks, who endeavour'd to throw themſelves into this galley. Fortune ſeem'd to favour them on that ſide; and they would perhaps have carried off the admiral-galley, had not the prior of Capua, in this danger, commanded a culverine to be levell'd againſt that galley, which lay ſidelong by it. This ſav'd the admiral; for the Turkiſh galley being ſtruck in her keel with that ſingle ſhot, was immediately fill'd with water, and ſunk to the bottom. The knights having thus got rid of an enemy on that ſide, turn'd all their force againſt the Turkiſh admiral-galley; the combat being upon a more equal foot, became at the ſame time more bloody. The knights and Turks, with the deſign of making themſelves maſters of the oppoſite admiral-galley, threw themſelves reciprocally upon each other's weapons. At length the knights ſeem'd to have gain'd ſome advantage over the infidels; they forced the janizaries, and threw themſelves in crouds, with their drawn ſabres, into their galley. The Turks, being recover'd from the prodigious ſurprize, which ſo violent an attack had thrown them into, renew'd the combat with recruited fury; the ſoldiers, tranſported with rage, would neither give nor take quarter; no ſooner one drop'd, but his place was immediately fill'd up by another. Tho' the knights had cut moſt of the Turks to pieces, they were not yet maſters of the galley, and the few infidels that ſurvived, fought leſs to ſave their own lives, than to take away thoſe of ſome knights. They all ſuffer'd themſelves

to

JOHN D'OMEDES. to be cut in pieces to the laſt man; and, what had been ſeldom ſeen in theſe kind of engagements, the prior took this galley, without making ſo much as a ſingle priſoner.

THE infidels who were in the other gallies, diſcover'd no leſs courage and intrepidity, notwithſtanding the great odds in the number of the ſhips; and tho' they were ſurrounded with 38 Chriſtian gallies, they yet fought with as much reſolution as thoſe of the admiral-galley. At laſt the Chriſtians forc'd victory to declare herſelf in their favour, but they bought it at a very dear price; and not to mention a great number of ſoldiers, they loſt in it Anthony Doria, one of the general officers, the chevalier Copez, and a great number of others of the ſame order, who were either wounded, or loſt their lives in this engagement.

THE emperor's general having notice that ten French gallies were ſet ſail from the port of Marſeilles, to carry an embaſſador of Francis I. to Conſtantinople, lay under cape Paſſaro, in order to ſurprize them. The general of the order, that he might obſerve an exact neutrality between theſe princes, drew off from the body of the fleet, employ'd this interval in ſcouring the coaſts of Calabria, gave chace to two great galiots, and a corſair foiſt, of which he made himſelf maſter; deliver'd 400 Chriſtians out of ſlavery, whom he carried into the port of Malta, with the priſoners he had made. The whole body of people ran to congratulate him upon the happy ſucceſs of his firſt arms, and drew the moſt happy preſages from thence; which he afterwards verified by the great actions he perform'd, both in the Ocean and in the Mediterranean. Scarce had this young general diſarm'd his ſhips, when he heard that Philip Strozzi his father had been taken priſoner in an engagement, by young Coſmo of Medicis, duke of Florence; that this prince had caus'd him to be carried into that city, loaded with irons, and that they were actually at that time proſecuting him as a criminal of ſtate, and a rebel. The prior of Capua, in the deepeſt affliction at this diſmal news, begg'd the council to diſmiſs him; which having obtain'd, he hired a brigantine at his own expence, and immediately ſet ſail for Italy.

FOR the better underſtanding of this hiſtorical incident, which will have a very great influence on all we have occaſion to mention hereafter concerning the prior, who was one of the greateſt captains of his age, the reader muſt recollect the ſeveral paſſages in the foregoing book relating to the war which the emperor Charles V. had made againſt pope Clement VII. of the houſe of Medicis. During this war, and the impriſonment of this pontif, the citizens of Florence had divided themſelves into two parties; the one, who adhered to the houſe of Medicis, was for raiſing it to the throne and abſolute monarchy; the other maintain'd the antient form of government, and was for maintaining their liberty, and a republican adminiſtration. As long as pope Clement and the emperor continued at variance, this prince had ſided publickly with the republicans; they relied entirely upon his protection, and the Medicis had been drove from Florence, as tyrants and enemies of the public liberty.

BUT the emperor, whoſe reſolutions varied with his intereſt, being reconcil'd with the pope, the confidence of the Florentines abated, and their liberty was very much endanger'd: by the treaty made between the pope and Charles V. the Medicis were to be reſtor'd in Florence, to all the dignities and poſſeſſions they had enjoy'd before their baniſhment; and by a ſecret article, the emperor had engag'd himſelf to

eſtabliſh

JOHN D'OMEDES.

eſtabliſh Alexander de Medicis, baſtard ſon of Laurence duke of Urbino; or, according to others, ſon to Clement himſelf, prince, and perpetual governor of that republick. Such was the ſubject of the ſiege, which the troops of the pope and emperor, in concert, had laid before that place; and after having made themſelves maſters of it, that they might not terrify the republican party, the emperor would have the new prince take upon him no more than barely the title of governor of the republick of Florence. But Alexander, who was too young to preſcribe bounds to his ambition, and ſeeing himſelf afterwards the emperor's ſon-in-law, by his marriage with Margaret of Auſtria, natural daughter of that prince, affected mightily the majeſty of kings, and govern'd this ſtate with an haughtineſs and independence, which render'd him odious not only to his fellow-citizens, but even to his very relations. Upon which, a dangerous conſpiracy was form'd againſt the life of this prince, at the head of which was Philip Strozzi, husband of Clariſſa of Medicis, and ſiſter to pope Leo X. and he had the art to engage in the ſame plot Laurence of Medicis, couſin to Alexander, his next heir, and even his favourite. Perhaps, beſides the motive and pretext of defending the public liberty, he might have had an eye to that great ſucceſſion, and was more an enemy to the prince than to the principality. Be that as it will, this perfidious wretch, who adminiſtred to all the pleaſures of duke Alexander, pretending he had appointed him a rendezvous with a Florentine lady at his houſe, got him thither, and ſtabb'd him. But inſtead of ſeizing upon the palace, and exciting the people by the hopes and the ſpecious bait of liberty, to take up arms in his favour, trouble, aſtoniſhment, and fear, ſucceeded to ſo cruel an action; he fled, and the partizans of the houſe of Medicis recovering from their ſurprize, and being unable to ſupport themſelves without a head, fill'd up the dignity of duke Alexander with Coſmo de Medicis, tho' of a diſtant branch, a youth ſcarce ſixteen, yet of a judgment vaſtly ſuperior to his years, and who, in ſo delicate a juncture, diſcover'd as much courage as ambition. He was ſon to John of Medicis, one of the moſt famous captains of Italy, and of Mary Salviati, a woman as much celebrated for her noble extraction, as for her wiſdom and conduct. This lady, ever ſince the death of John of Medicis, had liv'd in widow-hood with great auſterity; and ſhutting herſelf up in her houſe, had employ'd all her thoughts in the education of young Coſmo. Upon the firſt news ſhe had of their deſign to advance her ſon to the dignity which duke Alexander had enjoy'd, whether it were that a maternal tenderneſs inſpir'd her with fear, when ſhe thought of his filling up ſo dangerous a poſt; or that, as ſome hiſtorians have advanc'd, that generous woman preferr'd the liberty of her country to the aggrandizing of her ſon, ſhe employ'd her tears and intreaties to diſſuade him from accepting it. But Coſmo, either more reſolute, or more ambitious, without liſtning to her remonſtrances, abandon'd himſelf to the partizans of his houſe: by their credit, he was acknowledg'd for governor of the commonwealth in a public aſſembly. The emperor, having notice of the fatal death of his ſon-in-law, confirm'd this diſpoſition. Coſmo took the reins of government into his hands, and, tho' ſo young, conducted himſelf with ſo much prudence, that it would not be eaſy to determine whether he was moſt indebted to his skill, or his good-fortune, for the principality of Florence.

JOHN D'OMEDES.

STROZZI and the Partizans for a republican government, ſeeing the Medicis party prevail in the city, withdrew out of it, gave out ſecret commiſſions for the levying of forces, and to enable themſelves to return into it ſword in hand. They flatter'd themſelves that young Coſmo, buſied with the cares of his infant government, would not ſo ſoon be able to purſue them. But this prince, who had faithful ſpies in all their cabals, ſoon had notice of their armament; and in order that they might not have time to increaſe it, he went out of Florence at the head of his friends, and the ſtanding forces of the government; and ſtrengthned by the authority of the laws, of which he himſelf was the depoſitary, he march'd directly againſt the Strozzi, who were publickly proſcrib'd by the magiſtracy. Both parties met near Marono, a village not far from Florence, and ſoon engag'd; but 'twas rather a rout than a battle. The greateſt part of the conſpirators fearing to fall into the hands of their enemies, took to their heels. Strozzi, and a few faithful friends who were reſolv'd not to abandon him, ſtood their ground, and fought like deſperadoes, who were reſolv'd to be cut to pieces; but they were diſappointed in it. Coſmo, whom it ſo nearly concern'd to have the moſt exact account of the forces and the ſecret correſpondence of that party, had given orders that their lives ſhould be ſpar'd, in which he was obey'd, for they contented themſelves with ſurrounding them; when being diſarm'd, they were immediately put in irons, and were carried into the priſons in Florence; after which, they began to proſecute them.

'TWAS on ſuch diſmal news that the prior of Capua ſet out from Malta for Italy, to labour at the procuring of his father's liberty. But being arriv'd at Naples, he was inform'd that he had kill'd himſelf in priſon during his confinement; whether it were to avoid the ignominy of his execution, or, as ſome hiſtorians have given out, thro' fear leſt the violence of the rack and other kinds of torture ſhould extort from him the name of the ſecret partizans which he had in the city. This man, whom the heathens of antiquity would have ador'd, but whom the Chriſtians condemn, kill'd himſelf with a ſword which had been left in his chamber. The following verſe of Virgil was found upon the mantle-tree, which he had engrav'd with the point of his ſword:

Exoriare aliquis noſtris ex oſſibus ultor:

Riſe ſome avenger of our ------ blood.

Dryden's Virgil.

His children, faithful to their father's memory, devoted themſelves to revenge his death, but in a glorious manner, which the laws authoriz'd. As they conſider'd the emperor as no other than the ſubverter of the liberty of their country, and the indirect author of their father's death, they went over to the French, and ſerved in their armies. Peter Strozzi, the eldeſt, roſe by his valour to the dignity of marſhal; and the prior of Capua diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the ſea-ſervice, in which he commanded as general of the gallies. Nor was he leſs ſerviceable to his own order, as we ſhall find in the ſequel of this hiſtory; and would afterwards have been choſen grand maſter, had not they been apprehenſive that he, in order to gratify his particular reſentment, would have broken through the neutrality which the grand maſters and the body of the order had always profeſs'd to obſerve, with regard to Chriſtian princes.

DURING

JOHN D'OMEDES.

DURING his abſence and his ſtay in Italy, the chevalier Paul Simeoni, prior of Lombardy, who had contributed ſo much to the taking of Tunis, was made general of the gallies, and order'd ſoon after to go along with the marqueſs of Terra Nova, to the port of Suſa in Africa, which having revolted from Muley Haſcen, king of Tunis, that prince intended to beſiege it.

SUSA ſtood upon a rock near the ſea, at eight or nine leagues diſtance from Tunis, beyond Cap-bon. Its haven is ſecure, and, like the place, defended by an old caſtle, which is fortified and ſurrounded by ditches, with an eſplanade quite round. The Turks, ſince the emperor's return from the conqueſt of Tunis, had ſeized on moſt of the places which lay along the coaſt, and had ſhut up Muley Haſcen in his capital; who, in order to recover the entire poſſeſſion of his dominions, and to clear 'em of ſuch uſurpers, had applied to the order of St. John. In purſuance of which, he ſent an ambaſſador, Camugi by name, to Malta, to implore ſuccours from the knights. That miniſter, in order to engage them in this enterpriſe, repreſented to them that the corſairs had fortified Tachiora; that they had put a ſtrong garriſon in it, under the command of Morat Aga, one of the principal captains of Barbaroſſa; that they expected that general of the corſairs with a large fleet; and that the order would never be able to keep Tripoli, if they did not traverſe his deſigns. The grand maſter thought proper to ſend this advice to the emperor, who finding that the defence of Muley his Vaſſal, concern'd himſelf more nearly than it did the order, preſſed the grand maſter to join his forces to thoſe of Sicily, in order to clear the coaſt of Barbary of the Corſairs; and at the ſame time ordered his viceroy to furniſh Muley all the ſuccour he ſhould have occaſion for, to form the ſiege of Suſa.

THE grand maſter, and the viceroy, fitted out fourteen gallies, on board of which were a good number of knights and troops, in the ſervice of the order; to which the viceroy joined 3000 foot as his quota, under the command of the marqueſs of Terra Nova, a Sicilian nobleman, who was to be general of the land forces, whilſt the general of the gallies of the order kept out, and commanded at ſea.

THIS ſquadron, paſſing through the channel of Malta, came off the place where Muley had pitched his camp. The marqueſs of Terra Nova, and the knights landed their troops, and a train of artillery, which the king of Tunis wanted; they then opened the trenches, and planted batteries, which began to play upon the weakeſt part of the town, which they would infallibly have taken, had not the marqueſs been impos'd upon by a renegado, who had adviſ'd him to change the place of his battery. This renegado, feigning to have made his eſcape, and pretending to be greatly griev'd for his having quitted his religion and his country, threw himſelf at the marqueſs's feet, ſhedding a flood of tears at the ſame time, and begged him to pardon his deſertion and apoſtacy. The marqueſs, deceiv'd by theſe ſpecious marks of his repentance, promis'd him the utmoſt ſecurity in his army; and alſo that after the taking of Suſa, he would carry him back to Europe. He then began to enquire of the renegado about the condition of the place, to whom the traitor gave an account agreeable to what he had concerted before with the governor: he particularly told him, with an air of the utmoſt ſincerity, that the quarter which his cannon play'd upon was the ſtrongeſt part of the place, that the wall there was ſtrengthen'd with a rampart, and that tho' they might poſſibly ruin and beat it down, they yet would find deep intrenchments behind it, fortified with flanks and redans, and lined with a good number of muske-

JOHN D'OMEDES.

teers to keep off the aſſailants; and added moreover, that the governor, finding him engaged in attacking that place, had made his boaſts, that all the Chriſtians ſhould periſh in it. The marqueſs, to whom this account gave no ſmall uneaſineſs, ask'd him, which was the weakeſt poſt of the place: which being juſt what the renegado wanted, he ſhewed him the ſtrongeſt part; when the marqueſs, deceived by the advice of this inſidious wretch, changed his batteries, and made all his efforts againſt ſome towers, which flanked the caſtle; and which, as the renegado aſſur'd him, would be demoliſhed by his cannon in a moment: but they ſpent all the powder they had brought from Malta and Sicily, on making only a pretty narrow breach. However, as their ammunition failed, the marqueſs, who was not yet undeceiv'd, reſolv'd to attempt an aſſault. In purſuance of which, an hundred and thirty knights, and four hundred ſoldiers, in the ſervice of the order, mounted it firſt; who, though they could march only in files, one after another, they yet got to the top of the breach, where they intended to have made a lodgment; but they met with ſuch large and deep intrenchments before them, and were expoſed to ſuch vollies of ſhot from the muskets, and croſs-bows in the flanks, as obliged them to retire. They then propos'd to turn the attack and the batteries on another ſide, but were prevented by the want of powder. 'Twas with the utmoſt anguiſh, that the marqueſs ſaw himſelf under a neceſſity of raiſing the ſiege, who, before he re-imbarked, reſolved to vent his anger on the renegado; but that villain, pleas'd with the happy ſucceſs his artifice had met with, was fled back into the town, to receive the reward of his treachery and hypocriſy; and the knights, after having left a great number of their comrades and ſoldiers at the foot of the walls, and on the breach, returned deſponding to Malta, where they complained that the emperor had ſacrificed the forces of the order, under a general ſo very unfit to command over them.

THE commander Botigella ſeconded theſe juſt complaints, with his advice: he was juſt returned from his government of Tripoli, which being expired, Ferdinand de Bracamont, commander of Ecolca, was nominated his ſucceſſor; and Alonſo Cordan, a knight of great reputation, was to command the cavalry of the place. Botigella, on his return, took occaſion from the ill ſucceſs of the ſiege of Suſa, to repreſent to the grand maſter and council, that experience ought to have made them ſenſible, how impracticable it was for the Chriſtians, ever to make any fixed and durable conqueſts, on the coaſt of Africa, and among the Moors; and that, either from the averſion which a difference of religion is apt to inſpire, or from the natural inconſtancy of thoſe people, who were altogether as unfaithful to ſovereigns of their own nation, as they were to foreigners; that moſt of the cities along the coaſt of Africa, ſince the return of Charles V. had revolted more than once; that the wars which they maintain'd, and the ſquadrons which they fitted out to aſſiſt the emperor, drained the order of its beſt ſubjects, and coſt them immenſe ſums; that the ceſſion, which that prince had made, or, to ſpeak more properly, the burdenſome condition which he had laid upon them, of undertaking the defence of ſuch a place, which he had annexed to the conveyance of the iſle of Malta, ought to be conſidered as a fatal preſent to the order; and that the only remedy left, was to deliver it back immediately to that prince; or, in caſe of his inſiſting on the knights continuing ſtill there, to inſiſt that he himſelf ſhould put it in a ſtate of defence, and be at the expence of raiſing the fortifications, and other works neceſſary to enable it to ſuſtain a ſiege.

JOHN D'OMEDES.

WHAT deference ſoever the council might have for the opinion of Botigella, they yet thought proper, in ſo important an affair, to conſult ſuch knights as were beſt skilled in fortification, and particularly thoſe who had commanded in the place. Theſe all unanimouſly concluded that it was not tenable; and upon their report the council diſpatched the bailiff de Grolée to the emperor: he, after his arrival at his court, repreſented to him, that it would be impoſſible to keep Tripoli, unleſs they fortify'd it with walls of a neceſſary height and thickneſs; that ditches of a proper breadth, and bulwarks for its better defence were wanting; that unleſs theſe precautions ſhould be taken, they would only expoſe all the knights there to be cut to pieces; that if the town ſhould be taken, it would be impoſſible for the caſtle, which was built after the antique faſhion, to hold out above a few days; and laſtly, that it was perhaps more the emperor's intereſt to abandon ſuch a weak place, to blow up the caſtle, and fill up the mouth of the harbour. But the emperor, who was neither willing to be at the expence of fortifying it, nor to deprive himſelf of a port which ſerv'd as a key to Africa, and coſt him nothing for its defence, order'd the bailiff to tell the grand maſter from him, that he would neglect nothing to put Tripoli in a condition of defence; that he deſired the order to keep always a ſtrong garriſon in it, and that in caſe the Infidels ſhould beſiege it, he would immediately ſend poſitive orders to the viceroy of Sicily, to throw in all the neceſſary ſuccours. He continued to ſay, that he hoped to be able in a little time, to drive all the Turkiſh corſairs out of the coaſts of Africa, and that till ſuch time as he could turn his arms on that ſide, the order would oblige him in joining their gallies to the fleet he had ſent into the Mediterranean.

THE bailiff at his return having given the council an account of the ſucceſs of his embaſſy, they immediately fitted out four gallies; having on board 200 knights, under the command of Simeoni bailiff of Lombardy, who joined the Chriſtian army at Meſſina, which Andrew Doria, prince of Melphi, and great admiral to the emperor, commanded. This general was a Genoeſe, and born of a noble family, which he rendred ſtill more illuſtrious by his prodigious bravery. King Francis I. and pope Clement VII had both of them given him the command of their fleets; who, having quitted the king's ſervice, had gone over to the emperor's. This prince, whoſe intrigues were more formidable than his ſword, and who was ſo artful in corrupting his enemy's generals, got the Genoeſe over to his ſide, by the offers he made him of an annual penſion of 60000 ducats, and alſo of maintaining conſtantly twelve gallies under his command; aſſuring him at the ſame time, that Genoa ſhould enjoy its liberty, under the emperor's protection, and that Savona be reduced under the dominion of the Genoeſe. Doria, after having agreed to theſe articles, gave out, in order to juſtify his changing ſides, that the king of France did not pay him the ſubſidies ſtipulated for maintaining his gallies; that he had balked him of the ranſom he was to have for the prince of Orange, his priſoner of war; and that notwithſtanding all the inſtances he had uſed with the miniſters of Francis I. in favour of the Genoeſe his countrymen, he yet could never prevail ſo far as to have them treated with leſs oppreſſion and ſeverity. 'Tis pretended that this laſt motive of complaint, had a greater influence on his ſhifting ſides, than all the reſt; and that this general, who was fond of glory, flattered himſelf that he ſhould immortalize his name, by delivering his country from the dominion of the French. Probably too, that under colour of the emperor's protection, and the ſhadow

JOHN D'OMEDES.

of this liberty, he might at the ſame time have had an eye, to the eſtabliſhing his own authority there, for the rule of the government.

WHATEVER might be the ſource of theſe different motives, 'tis certain that France could hardly have ſuffer'd a more conſiderable loſs, or the emperor have made a more uſeful acquiſition; for he employed him equally againſt Solyman and Francis I. and in the preſent occaſion, he not only commanded the veſſels of Charles V. but had likewiſe the ſupreme authority over all the reſt, in quality of generaliſſimo over all the fleet of the Chriſtian league.

THE pope was alſo engaged in this league, which the emperor and the order of Malta had made, and their buſineſs now was to draw the Venetians into it; but they carefully avoided all occaſions of coming to a rupture with Solyman, a formidable prince, whoſe territories were adjoining to thoſe of that republick. Doria, in order to render them ſuſpected to Solyman, and make as if thoſe republicans were to act in concert with him, wrote to Girolamo Pezaro their general, by which he told him that it would be neceſſary to attack the Turks, before their ſeveral ſquadrons ſhould be joined. He ſent this letter by a ſmall bark, which, as he deſigned it, fell into the infidels hands, which they ſent immediately to Solyman, who thereupon made bitter complaints of it to the bailo or embaſſador of the commonwealth. In vain did that miniſter proteſt that the republick of Venice had no intelligence with Charles V. all his oaths and proteſtations made no great impreſſion upon Solyman. "There is, ſays that prince to him, but one way left "to juſtify your maſters, which is, that they immediately ſign a league "with me againſt the emperor, and join their ſhips to my fleet, in order to "attack his dominions." The ſenate, whoſe fundamental maxim was the obſerving of a neutrality, rejected the propoſal; and an accident happen'd at the ſame time, which furniſhed an occaſion or pretence for a rupture.

THE Sultan's imperial galley being ſeparated by a ſtorm, fell by night into the fleet of the Venetians, when Alexander Contarini, proveditor general of the army, taking it in the dark for a veſſel belonging to the corſairs, attack'd it, killed the rais or commander, cut 300 janizaries to pieces, and made himſelf maſter of it. Solyman made great complaints on this ſubject, and demanded that Contarini ſhould be deliver'd into his hands to be puniſhed; but not being able to attain this ſatisfaction, he declared war againſt the Venetians. Whatever ſhare the knights might have in this war, 'twould be foreign to my preſent purpoſe to enter into the detail of it: all I ſhall obſerve is, that the Chriſtian and Turkiſh fleets met near a bay of the Adriatick; that they cannonaded each other furiouſly; but that the Turks, who were under Barbaroſſa's command, finding themſelves to be the weaker, retired into the bay of Arta, to avoid coming to a general engagement; that ſeveral battles had been fought, but not one of them deciſive; and finally, that Doria, notwithſtanding his having been earneſtly ſolicited by the patriarch of Alexandria, who commanded the pope's ſquadron, and by the knights of St. John, had yet obſtinately refus'd, under pretence that there was not wind enough for his ſhips, to advance againſt the enemy, and had looked quietly on, whilſt Barbaroſſa made his eſcape, for fear of deſtroying the only general the enemy had, who was formidable to his maſter; ſince that as long as Barbaroſſa ſhould be living, he would be neceſſary to the emperor: a piece of policy, which both Barbaroſſa and Doria reciprocally obſerv'd, who without any concerted intelligence between them, never puſhed their advantage contrary to their reſpective

reſpective intereſts, ſo far as to get rid of an enemy, who, tho' he were a rival, was yet of uſe only to inhance their ſeveral talents and capacities.

THE Chriſtians were leſs ſucceſsful at land than they had been at ſea. The conqueſt of Hungary had always made part of the vaſt project, or, to ſpeak more properly, part of the chimera of an univerſal monarchy aſcribed to Charles V. In conſequence of which, Ferdinand, king of the Romans, who was brother to the emperor, in concert with him, or rather by his orders, had actually inveſted the town of Buda; and Rocandorf, one of his generals, was carrying on the ſiege with great vigour. Solyman, who was jealous of any acceſſion of power to the houſe of Auſtria, and under pretence that Sepuſius, the laſt king of Hungary, had, by his will, appointed him to be tutor to his infant ſon, ſent Mahomet, one of his Baſhas, to throw ſuccours into the place. The Turkiſh general attack'd and forc'd the lines of the Auſtrians, cut above 20000 men to pieces, either put to flight, or took priſoners the poor remains of the army; and Solyman arriving ſoon after in Hungary, entered into Buda, into which he put a ſtrong garriſon, under pretence of preventing the deſigns of Ferdinand; and, in order to cloak his uſurpation, declared publickly, that aſſoon as the young king ſhould be of age, he would deliver him up the place.

NOTWITHSTANDING à ſolemn promiſe made, which ambitious princes never want pretences to excuſe themſelves from performing, this enterprize of the grand ſignior alarm'd the Hungarians no leſs than the Germans. No body queſtioned, but that the emperor would bring a mighty force into the field, in order to rid himſelf of ſo formidable a neighbour: 'twould have been a ſight altogether worthy the attention of all other monarchs, to ſee thoſe two great princes, both of them ſo powerful and ſo ambitious, fighting againſt each other, and diſputing the entire poſſeſſion of Hungary in the field. But whether it were that Charles V. did not care to truſt his glory to fortune, or that he flatter'd himſelf with ſucceeding in another enterprize, the event of which was leſs doubtful; that prince, whoſe deſigns were always impenetrable, left the defence of Hungary to the king his brother, in order to attack Africa, and fall upon the dominions of Barbaroſſa. The abſence of that corſair king, who was gone to Conſtantinople, made him flatter himſelf that he ſhould meet with a weak oppoſition in the taking of Algiers; and he hoped to have the ſame ſucceſs in the ſiege of this place, as he had had in that of Tunis. For which end, he iſſued out orders in Spain, in Naples, and in Sicily, for making preparations ſuitable to the greatneſs of the enterprize. Ferdinand Cortez, the Spaniard who acquir'd ſo much glory by the diſcovery and conqueſt of Mexico, was appointed to command the armament that was to be made in Spain. Ferdinand de Gonzaga, and Don Pedro de Toledo, viceroys of Sicily and Naples, carried on their preparations with as great application in thoſe two kingdoms. They drew a good body of Cavalry from Germany and the county of Burgundy; and Camillo Colonna, Auguſtin Spinola, and Antonio Doria, having the commiſſion of colonels, made levies of foot all over Italy.

THE grand maſter of Malta received a letter at the ſame time from the emperor, written in the moſt obliging terms, by which the knights were invited to join their forces to his, for the undertaking of an holy war, which he aſſur'd them was deſign'd only for the deſtruction of the corſairs and the enemies of the order. So great was the number of knights who offered themſelves for this expedition, that Malta and the convent would have been left deſert, had not the grand maſter prudently limited this

JOHN D'OMEDES.

ſuccour to four hundred knights. Theſe went on board four gallies of the order, each knight being attended with two ſervants well arm'd: And George Schilling, great bailiff of Germany, and at that time general of the gallies of the order, was appointed to command the ſquadron; who in the port of Bonifacio joined part of the emperor's fleet commanded by him in perſon, from whence they went to Majorca, where the ſhips and gallies had orders to rendezvous before the end of September.

THERE was no one that could flatter himſelf with the hopes of ſucceeding in an enterprize, which was undertaken when the ſeaſon was ſo far advanced: But as the emperor purſued it with great vigour, the courtiers, whoſe whole employment is flattery, were not willing to ſuggeſt to him a truth, ſo contrary to his inclination. So that there was no one but Andrew Doria, the great admiral, and the marquiſs del Guaſto, general of the land-forces, that durſt preſume to repreſent to him the perils to which he was going to expoſe himſelf: and Doria, who was the greateſt ſeaman of his age, told him, that no pilot, in ſuch a ſeaſon, durſt venture out to ſea for any time, without the utmoſt neceſſity; that the ſea of Barbary was at that time very ſubject to ſtorms, and that he was afraid leſt a guſt of wind ſhould ſcatter his fleet, and hinder the ſucceſs of his arms: And the venerable old man added in his military ſtile, "Suffer yourſelf, ſays he to him, to be diverted from this enterprize, "for if we ſhould go, we ſhall all be loſt by God." To which the emperor replied laughing, "Two and twenty years of empire for me, and three-"ſcore and twelve of life for you, ought to ſatisfy us, ſo as to make us both "die contented." And ſo, without altering his reſolution, he went on board, ſet ſail towards Algiers; when, after having met with a pretty violent ſtorm, he at laſt got into the road of Algiers, where he arrived on the 24th, or, as others have it, on the 26th of October.

THOUGH the wind was down, yet the ſea ſtill ran ſo high, that they were forced to defer the landing for two days, in order to prevent the ſoldiers being forced to wade through the water up to the middle. It was afterwards made, without any great oppoſition from the infidels, when ſixty gallies put their troops aſhore, and the great ſhips landed theirs in boats: After their imbarkation, the army on land was found to conſiſt of 20000 foot and 6000 horſe. The emperor, in order to prevent jealouſies, which too often ariſe between different nations, divided his troops into three bodies; the firſt was compoſed of Italians, to whom he joined the knights and ſoldiers of Malta, under the command of the grand bailiff, who received no orders from any body, but the emperor. The Spaniards, all of them old ſoldiers, were put in the ſecond body; and the Germans, Burgundians, and a great number of volunteers, compoſed the third: The Spaniards had the van, the Italians the main body, where the emperor was in perſon, and the Germans were put in the rear. Every one of theſe bodies had three field-pieces at the head of their line, to play upon the Arabs, who, without keeping any order, made their attack, did what execution they could, then wheeled off, and were inceſſantly returning to the charge.

THE emperor ordered the battalion of Malta to extend itſelf to the left of the main battle, to repulſe thoſe light horſe; the knights were on foot, armed with cuiraſſes and head-pieces, and a long or half-pike in their hands. The author of a relation ſent to the pope obſerves, that their ſub-reveſtes were all of damask or crimſon velvet, on which their white croſſes being placed, made a glittering ſhew; and that they diſcovered ſuch an air of grandeur and intrepidity, as gave terror to all ſuch Barbarians as

durſt

JOHN D'OMEDES.

durſt approach them. The emperor's head quarters were marked out between two brooks; and he planted heavy artillery all round a little hill, which at the ſame time play'd both upon the town and the country.

The city of Algiers, built in form of an amphitheatre, ſtands on the declivity of a hill over againſt the port; the foundation of which is aſcribed to the ſon of Juba king of Mauritania. Barbaroſſa, at his ſetting out for Conſtantinople, committed the government of it to an old eunuch, named Haſcen, who was an aga, and a renegado of the iſland of Sardinia, a great ſeaman, and one in whom he intirely confided. The emperor, before he attacked the place, diſpatched a gentleman to him, to perſuade him to ſurrender it. The envoy, in order to determine him to it, gave him an account of the emperor's power, his forces, his land and ſea-armies, at the ſame time offering him conſiderable ſums; and concluding his diſcourſe with a repreſentation, that he ought to make uſe of this occaſion to return into his own country, and of being readmitted into the boſom of the church, from which he had been unhappily divorc'd by his unfortunate circumſtances. The eunuch heard him out with patience, but all the anſwer he return'd him, was, "That it was a great piece of folly for any one "to take upon himſelf to adviſe an enemy; but that it was a much great-"er, to hearken to the advice that an enemy gave." Upon which, he immediately diſmiſſed the gentleman.

THE governor had with him eight hundred Turks, who were old and experienced ſoldiers, and about ſix thouſand inhabitants, partly Moors, and partly refugees of Granada, all bearing arms, and all to a man reſolved to be kill'd upon the ſpot, rather than fall again under the dominion of the Spaniards. The aga had likewiſe ſent money and preſents to ſeveral captains of the Arabs, in order to engage them to ſcour the country, and harraſs the camp of the Chriſtians; to which they had but too natural a propenſity, from the genius of their nation, which ſubſiſts only by incurſions and plunder. All the plain was ſoon cover'd over with them; moſt of them had long javelins, which they hurl'd with ſo much dexterity, that the Chriſtians found it a very difficult matter to parry the ſtroke.

WHILST theſe light horſe were continuing their skirmiſhes, there aroſe, as night was coming on, a terrible ſtorm, attended with an exceſſive cold rain, and which pour'd down in ſuch floods, that it filled the chriſtian camp with water. The rain ſoaked the ground to ſuch a degree, that they could march only in dirt and mire; beſides, as they had not had time ſufficient for the landing of their tents and equipages, the whole army had nothing but the sky to cover them; ſo that the ſoldiers matches were quite put out, and the powder in their pouches all wet. The governor, in order to make his advantage of this diſaſter, ſallied out at day-break, with part of the garriſon, who firſt fell upon three companies that were poſted upon a ſtone-bridge, which led to one of the gates of the town; and the infidels, finding theſe ſoldiers benumbed with cold, cut them to pieces. This little ſucceſs encouraged them to fall upon the emperor's quarter; but the colonels Colonna and Spinola ran thither, at the head of their regiments, ſuſtained by the knights of Malta, who, though on foot, fell in ſo furiouſly among the Turkiſh and Mooriſh cavalry, that they killed a great number of them, and diſmounted ſeveral. The author, to whom I am obliged for part of this relation, ſays, that a French knight, brother Nicolas de Villegagnon by name, throwing himſelf, with an impetuoſity natural to his country, into the midſt of the infidels, was wounded in the left arm by a Mooriſh horſeman, who ſtruck him with his lance; but that the knight, having miſſed the thruſt he made at him with

Relation du ſiege d'Alger addreſſée au pap. Paul 3. par le ſecretaire de ſon legat.

JOHN D'OMEDES.

with his pike, as the Moor was turning his horſe to give him a ſecond blow, the knight, who was very tall, and of a ſtrength proportionable to his ſtature, leap'd upon the crupper of his enemy's horſe, gave him a ſtab, and threw him to the ground. Nor were his companions inferior to him in bravery; for they all rallied about the ſtandard of the order, when Ferdinand de Gonzaga, one of the emperor's lieutenant-generals, addreſſing himſelf to the grand bailiff of the order, cried out, "Courage, my brave "commander; 'tis not enough for us to beat theſe dogs, we muſt purſue "them, and enter with them into Algiers; none, but your knights only, "are able to finiſh a war before it be begun, and take a place of ſuch "ſtrength without arms or artillery." The knights, notwithſtanding their having no ſtrength left, but what their courage ſupplied them with, did not yet want to be encouraged with ſuch diſcourſes; but, inflam'd with the higheſt ardor, purſued the enemy to the very gates of the city, and were juſt ready to throw themſelves into the place, when the governor, who was reſolv'd to ſacrifice all his ſoldiers who were out of the city, to the fury of the Chriſtians, order'd the gates to be ſhut. The abovemention'd writer relates, that the chevalier Ponce de Savignac, a Frenchman, who carried the ſtandard of the order, fixed his dagger in the gate, as a proof that he had advanc'd as far as it was poſſible for him to go. As the rain ceas'd in the morning, the old governor ſeeing from the walls, that his ſoldiers in this ſally had had none but the knights, and ſome Italian companies, to fight with, he order'd the artillery, which was upon the town-rampart on that ſide, to be levelled againſt them; and at the ſame time, in order to prevent their retreat, he made a ſecond ſally with the beſt troops of his garriſon, armed with iron croſs-bows, which were of great uſe to them in rainy weather. They were now come a ſecond time to a cloſe engagement, when moſt of the Italians, who were raw ſoldiers, that had never ſeen a battle, and being alſo benumbed with cold, either ran away, or ſuffer'd themſelves to be cut to pieces, without offering to make the leaſt defence. The emperor, having notice of the danger to which the knights were expos'd, ſent ſome companies of Germans to their ſuccour: the bailiff Schilling, of the ſame nation, put himſelf at their head, made a freſh charge upon the infidels, puſh'd them a ſecond time to the gates of Algiers, and brought back his troops covered with glory and wounds. The infidels ſhot poiſoned arrows, ſo that all who were wounded with them died afterwards, and among the reſt, brother Ponce de Savignac, ſtandard-bearer of the order, the very knight who had ſtuck his dagger in the gate of Algiers. This brave man, notwithſtanding his having receiv'd a large wound from a croſs-bow, and though he felt the poiſon creeping forward, and approaching his heart, he yet had the courage and ſtrength to carry his ſtandard, ſupported only by a ſoldier, always aloft, and would not quit it till the moment he expired. 'Tis ſaid, that the order, beſides this knight, and the chevalier de Villars, of the language of Auvergne, who was diſabled by his wound, loſt above 75 knights on this occaſion; among which are reckoned brother Diego de Coutreras a Spaniard, brother Lopez Alvarez a Navarrete, brother John di Pennas a Caſtilian; brother Peter de Reſſay, John Babot, Charles de Gueval, and John Pinard, all Frenchmen; brother Joſeph de la Coſa, and brother Maria Catracanti, Italians; three Chaplains of the order, and about 400 ſoldiers in the ſervice of the order.

BUT this loſs was inconſiderable, if compar'd to that which the emperor had ſuſtain'd the ſame day, of the greateſt part of his fleet. Black clouds began to hide the light of the ſun, after which followed ſuch a

violent ſtorm, that it looked as if the winds, the ſea, the earth, lightning, thunder, rain, and all the elements confounded, had conſpired together to deſtroy the army of the Chriſtians. The ſhips driven from their anchors, by the violence of the ſtorm, ſeemed one while to be carried aloft in the clouds by mountains of water, and the next moment ſunk down in the gaping ocean, and ſeem'd to be plung'd to the very bottom of it. Some of them toſſed by the violence of the winds, the pilots and mariners being no longer able to manage 'em, ſtruck and were daſhed to pieces againſt one another; others driven along the coaſt, by the force of the tempeſt, ſplit upon the rocks, and were beat to pieces; ſo that in leſs than half an hour, fifteen gallies and eighty ſix veſſels were loſt. That which made this loſs ſtill greater was, that theſe ſhips were laden with proviſions, by which misfortune, the land army loſt likewiſe all hopes of ſubſiſtence; and eſpecially in a country that was deſert, and in the poſſeſſion of Barbarians, who triumphed in the calamities of the Chriſtians.

JOHN D'OMEDES.

IN this extremity ſome officers of gallies, ſeeing their loſs inevitable, and hurried on with deſpair, endeavoured to run a-ground upon the coaſt, in hopes that the ſtorm would throw them upon ſome place nearer land, whence ſome of them might be fortunate enough to ſave themſelves, either by ſwimming or getting upon ſhattered pieces of their veſſels. Several took this ſad reſolution, and either periſhed miſerably, or elſe were killed by the Arabs, who lined the ſhore, and who murder'd theſe poor creatures unmercifully, or without caring to make them ſlaves, as the hiſtorian Ulloa, whoſe father was in this fatal expedition, informs us. This author relates further, that the veſſel of Don Antonio Carriero, a flag officer, having been ſplit to pieces, a young Spaniſh maiden of exquiſite beauty, who was his miſtreſs, and was on board his ſhip, being thrown by the waves upon the ſhore, an Arab at the ſight of her rich clothes and the jewels ſhe had on, ran immediately to ſeize upon her, as his prey; and without being the leaſt moved with either the prayers, tears, or even the charms of that young lady, murder'd her inhumanly in cold blood.

THE ſea was now cover'd over with broken veſſels, pieces of timber, and bodies of men and horſes, which were floating up and down it. The galley of Janetin Doria, the great admiral's nephew, whom he lov'd ſo entirely, running deſignedly a-ground, ſtuck faſt in the ſand on the ſea-ſhore, and was going to be kill'd like the reſt by the Arabs, had not the emperor, who was a melancholy ſpectator of the wreck, ſent down Don Antonio d'Arragon, with ſome Italian companies, who ſaved him from thoſe Barbarians. Hiſtorians ſay, that the admiral hearing of the danger he had ran, cried out, with tears in his eyes, "My nephew was to be expo-"ſed to that misfortune, to teach me before I die to weep at ſea." Twelve gallies who were this admiral's own, four commanded by Virginio Urſini, ſeveral gallies of Naples and Sicily, and three hundred colonels, either captains of ſhips, or officers by ſea and land, and upwards of eight thouſand men, both ſoldiers and mariners, were loſt on this occaſion.

THE mariners of a galley of Malta, called *the Baſtard*, having endeavour'd to run her a-ground on a flat ſhore, where they might have ſaved their lives, brother Franciſco d'Azevedo, who commanded her, perceiving their deſign, oppoſed it with the utmoſt intrepidity: And when the ſeamen, grown bolder by the common danger, repreſented to him, that the order would be no great ſufferers by the loſs of the hulk of a galley, which had already ſerv'd for upwards of twenty years, and had been repaired and refitted ſeveral times; the commander, laying hand on his ſword, cry'd out as follows, "The order have intruſted me with this galley, and I

JOHN D'OMEDES.

" will kill the firſt man who ſhall offer to ſink her; ſo that we muſt either pe-
" riſh here, or ſave her." This heroick reſolution, the courage and intrepidity of the knight, inſpired his crew with the ſame bravery; when himſelf ſetting them a pattern, and ſcattering his money plentifully amongſt them, they all ſet their hands to the pump; ſo that notwithſtanding the vaſt quantity of water that was got into the hold, he yet ſaved his galley. Another belonging to the order, called *la Catarinetta*, commanded by John Barrientos, had alſo like to have been loſt by another unhappy accident: for his helm being broke by a violent ſhock of the waves, the veſſel having no rudder, and being driven by the ſtorm, was going to ſplit upon the rocks; but two bold ſeamen tying ropes about them, had themſelves let down ſtark naked into the ſea, who faſtned on another rudder, which they had in reſerve; and without any manner of tools, but their bare hands, put the needle through the eye of the helm, and by that means ſaved the galley.

NOR was the land army in leſs danger, the ſoldiers having neither tents, equipage, ammunition, nor even a day's proviſion, and deſtitute of the neceſſary remedies to cure the wounded. The author of the relation, from whom I have taken the above-mention'd particulars, ſpeaks to pope Paul III. to whom he ſent it, as follows: " I can aſſure your holineſs that " I ſaw five knights of Malta, and above thirty gentlemen volunteers, " faint, and loſe all their blood in the dirt, without any body's being able to " give them the leaſt aſſiſtance; by the emperor's orders they killed all " the horſes of the army, and diſtributed them among the ſoldiers by " companies."

THAT prince afterwards raiſed the ſiege, and kept the ſame order and method in his return, as he had obſerved at his landing. The knights of Malta, though moſt of them were wounded, had yet the poſt of honour, and were put in the rear, together with the ſoldiers of the order, and ſuch of the army as were beſt armed. The author of the relation adds, that they were obliged to oppoſe the attacks of the governor of Algiers, who made continual charges upon them, at the head of his cavalry, in order to incommode the march of the army. At laſt the Chriſtians came in the evening to the ſide of a brook called Alcaras, which the great rains had rendred unfordable; which oblig'd them to encamp, and ſpend the night there, all which the workmen of the army employ'd in building a bridge, which they made of the ſhatter'd remains of the veſſels that were found upon the ſhore; this being done, the army paſſed over it the next day. After three days march, they arrived near cape Matafus, where the poor remains of the fleet had put in. Here the army re-imbarked, with great joy at quitting the ſhore; but they had ſcarce been three hours under ſail, when a new ſtorm aroſe, the fleet was again diſperſed, ſeveral ſhips were loſt, and among the reſt one with ſeven hundred Spaniards on board, which was caſt away in the emperor's ſight, without there being the leaſt poſſibility of giving it any ſuccour. In fine, the Chriſtians, after having paſs'd through ſo many dangers, and been in a continual fear of being ſwallow'd up in the ſea, arrived at the port of Bugia, which had been in the Spaniards hands ever ſince its being taken by Don Pedro de Navarre, general to their catholick majeſties. Muley-Haſcen king of Tunis came thither with proviſions and refreſhments for the emperor and his army, who received him very handſomely, and aſſured him of his protection; when the weather growing fair, he ſet ſail on the 16th of November for Cartagena, where he arrived the 25th of the ſame month. But before he re-imbarked, he ſent away the bailiff of Germany, and all the knights, with the higheſt teſti-

teſtimonies of his ſatisfaction, who being on three gallies that were half ſhatter'd, made ſhift, though with great difficulty, to gain the harbour of Malta. JOHN D'OMEDES.

AT the ſame time that the veſſels and gallies of the order were detained in Africa at the ſiege of Algiers, the channel of Malta was often filled with corſairs, who kept the harbour in a manner blocked up, inſulted the coaſts of the iſland, and that of Goza, and carried off all ſuch inhabitants as had the ill fortune to fall into their hands. The grand bailiff at his return, had no ſooner refitted his gallies, but he put out to ſea again, gave them chace, cleared the channel of thoſe pirates, purſued them as far as the coaſt of Africa, took ſeveral rais or captains, and ſpread the terror of his name, and the dread of his arms over all thoſe ſeas.

BAD weather obliging him to put into the port of Tripoli, he was informed by an envoy of Muley-Haſcen king of Tunis, who ſent him to the governor of the place, that Barbaroſſa, incenſed that the knights ſhould appear at the head of all the enterprizes that the Chriſtians engaged in againſt the African Turks, was ſolliciting at the port for an order to lay ſiege to Tripoli; that Morat Aga his lieutenant was making preparations for it at Tachora; for which purpoſe he had raiſed a redoubt in the village of Adabus in the neighbourhood of Tripoli, and put an advanced body in it, which kept Tripoli in a manner blocked up on that ſide: He added further, that Haſcen's correſpondence, and union with the emperor and the knights, had rendred him odious to the Turks, and other princes of his religion; that ſeveral of the principal cities of his kingdom, as Suſa, Monaſter, Mahedia or Africa, Esfacos, and Calibia had revolted, ſome of which had received the Turks into them, whilſt others pretended to maintain themſelves in an abſolute independance by their ſingle ſtrength; that a great number of Tuniſians, malecontents, had ſince the emperor's defeat retired to Algiers under the protection of Barbaroſſa; that there was no doubt but they would ſoon ſee that formidable corſair, at the head of an army, beſieging Tripoli and Tunis; and that Haſcen was going to ſet out immediately to wait upon the emperor, who was then in Italy, to ask for thoſe ſuccours, which he hoped to obtain from him, as he own'd him for his ſovereign.

WE have already obſerved that the knights had ſollicited the emperor, either to put Tripoli in a ſtate of defence, or elſe to give them leave to fill up the port, blow up the caſtle, and abandon a city that was ſo chargeable to the order. The grand bailiff, after having review'd the place again, held a council of war, at which the governor and principal knights of the garriſon were preſent; and purſuant to their unanimous reſolution, they, with the conſent of the grand maſter, and the council, ſend new embaſſadors to Charles V. who were to renew their inſtances, and to repreſent to him, that it would be impoſſible to keep a place that was open on all ſides, without ſecuring it with good walls, and fortifying them with out-works; that the country afforded neither ſtone nor lime for thoſe different works; that they could not get any from Malta, without a great expence, not to mention that the knights found it difficult enough to fortify themſelves there; and that in caſe his imperial majeſty ſhould think it proper for them to continue longer in ſo defenceleſs a place, it then was neceſſary for him to order his viceroy of Sicily to ſend money, workmen, and materials thither forthwith; that, in order to prevent the ſiege they were threaten'd with, and whilſt they were at work upon the fortifications, ſome companies of the Sicilian troops ſhould be put into the place; and that the gallies of that kingdom, with thoſe of the order,

ſhould

JOHN D'OMEDES.

ſhould guard the ſea, in order to hinder the infidels from making deſcents, and oppoſing the works they were forced to make for the ſecurity of the city.

THIS embaſſy had no better ſucceſs than the former. For the emperor, who was afraid leſt the Turks ſhould attempt the conqueſt of Sicily, but who at the ſame time foreſaw, that they would never employ their forces on that ſide, ſo long as the knights ſhould be maſters of Tripoli, was well pleas'd to have thoſe warriors, at the price of their blood and treaſure, employ his enemies forces in Africa: So that he ſignified to the embaſſadors of the order, by his miniſters, that he was deſirous that the knights, purſuant to the treaty of the feofment of Malta, ſhould maintain themſelves in Tripoli; to which he added ſpecious promiſes of a mighty ſuccour, in caſe the place ſhould be beſieged: but he excuſed himſelf from granting the troops and money demanded of him, becauſe of the preſſing occaſion he himſelf had for it, in order to be able to oppoſe the forces of the French and Turks, who both attacked his own dominions, or thoſe of the king of the Romans his brother, at the ſame time, in Flanders, in Italy, and in Hungary.

THE grand bailiff was ſenſibly concern'd to ſee the embaſſadors return without the leaſt ſuccour, and with having been fed with nothing but empty promiſes: however, as he was a man of great courage, though every thing was wanting to him, he yet was not wanting in what he owed to himſelf, and his order; ſo that he, before he left Tripoli, reſolved to put it in a condition, in caſe it ſhould be beſieged, of holding out till ſuch time as ſuccours could be brought either from Malta or Sicily. To effect which, he employed his crew of galley-ſlaves in ſinking and widening the ditches in ſeveral places. Theſe rais'd the walls higher, and added ſeveral works of earth to the caſtle, in order to keep off all approaches to it; at the ſame time that he himſelf, and all the knights of his ſquadron and garriſon attended upon the workmen, and generouſly employ'd themſelves in thoſe military labours. But as, after all, fortifications which had been ſo much rais'd in haſte, could at moſt ſerve only to protract the loſs of the city for ſome days; the grand bailiff, knowing that the emperor was infinitely jealous of his glory, and would therefore make extraordinary efforts, to ſupport Muley-Haſcen in a kingdom which he conſidered as his own conqueſt, wrote to that Mooriſh king, by which he preſs'd him to haſten his departure and go immediately to the emperor's court, flattering himſelf that the ſuccours which he ſhould obtain from that prince, would ſerve both for the preſervation of Tripoli, and that the Turks, when they ſhould ſee an army of Charles V. on the coaſt of Africa, would never run the hazard to form the ſiege of Tripoli, ſo long as it ſhould continue there.

MULEY, purſuant to this advice, and his own intereſt, prepared to ſet out for Italy, leaving the government of his kingdom and his capital, during his abſence, to a Moor called Mahomet Temtes, or the Stammerer; a renegado of the iſle of Corſica, Caid Ferrath by name, was to command in the caſtle: and as the king of Tunis was under continual apprehenſions, becauſe of the reſtleſs temper of prince Muley Hamida, his eldeſt ſon, he, in order to employ him out of the way, ſent him towards Cap-bon with ſome companies of Arabs, to reduce ſome cheques or little lords who refuſed to pay the tributes which had been laid upon them.

MULEY, after having ſettled this order in his dominions, ſet out from thence, paſs'd by Goletta, to viſit prince Mahomet his ſon, who was there in hoſtage with ſeveral Moors; and, after conferring with Don Franciſco

de Touar about the occaſion of his voyage, left his jewels and moſt valuable effects in his hands: Putting at the ſame time great preſents for the emperor and his miniſters on board his ſhip; after which he embarked, and whether it were from an oſtentation inſeparable from royalty, or for his own ſecurity and defence, in caſe he ſhould be attacked by corſairs in his way, he took with him an eſcorte of five hundred men, who were all either officers of war or courtiers, who ſerved him as a guard. Muley met with a good paſſage, and arrived without any obſtacle in Sicily, from whence he went to Naples, where the viceroy received him with great magnificence; from thence he diſpatched expreſſes to deſire an interview with the emperor: but that prince, whoſe preſence was immediately neceſſary in Germany, on account of ſome diſturbances, which the Lutherans had raiſed, ſent orders to the viceroy to confer with the Mooriſh prince on the ſubject of his voyage, and after that ſend him an account of it.

JOHN D'OMEDES.

THE HISTORY OF THE Knights Hoſpitallers OF St. JOHN of JERUSALEM,

Called afterwards

The KNIGHTS of Rhodes,

And at this time

The KNIGHTS of MALTA.

BOOK XI.

JOHN D'OMEDES.

WHILST the king of Tunis, and the miniſter of Charles V. were conferring together about the beſt methods that could be employ'd for the oppoſing Barbaroſſa, and the other corſairs; fortune raiſed an enemy to Muley, whom he had not ſufficiently guarded againſt, an enemy who afterwards ſtripped him of his crown. Prince Hamida, Muley's eldeſt ſon, had a favourite called Mahomet, who by flattery, and a ſervile complaiſance, the uſual arts of courtiers, had gained his entire confidence. This favourite had conceal'd in the moſt ſecret receſſes of his heart, a mortal hatred, and a violent deſire of vengeance, againſt the king, who had put his father to death; when he imagin'd, that that prince's abſence preſented him with a favourable opportunity of gratifying his reſentment; upon which he rais'd ſuſpicions in Hamida's mind, with regard to the king his father's voyage into a chriſtian country, telling him at the ſame time, that he had reaſon to fear leſt Muley ſhould, at his death, leave his crown to prince Mahomet his ſecond ſon; that this was perhaps the motive of the conferences, which he had had with the governor of Goletta; that every body knew he had put all his treaſures into his hands, and that in all probability the ſole motive of his viſiting the emperor,

emperor, was in order to gain his approbation of this diſpoſition, and obtain from him, as from the ſovereign lord, an inveſtiture in favour of his brother. Hamida being a young ambitious prince, and burning with the deſire of reigning, took fire at the diſcourſe, and in concert with his favourite, got it to be whiſper'd about in Tunis, that the king his father being fallen grievouſly ill at Naples, had before his death deſired to be baptized, and had accordingly turn'd Chriſtian.

IN confidence of theſe reports, of which he himſelf was the ſecret author, and as if he had been certain of his father's death, he came to Tunis, and went to the palace, in order to take poſſeſſion of it; but the viceroy, who was a reſolute and auſtere old man, reproach'd him with his too great facility in giving credit to ſuch ill news; when after having told him, that he would give Muley an account of his great eagerneſs to ſucceed him, he obliged him to retire from the capital. Hamida, in confuſion at the ill ſucceſs of his artifice, and uneaſy at the conſequences with which it might be attended, retired to a country houſe, ſome miles diſtance from Tunis. No ſooner was he gone out of the place, but the viceroy, getting on board a bark, went to the caſtle of Goletta, in order to know from the governor of it, what news he had receiv'd from Sicily and Naples; when, being informed that the king his maſter was in perfect health, he returned back with joy to his government.

BUT Hamida's favourite made his advantage of this voyage, and ſpread new reports among the people; as, that Muley's death was but too certain; that the journey which the viceroy had juſt made with ſo much haſte and precipitation to Goletta, was purely upon that account; that 'twas well known that his brother Adulzes, and young Ferrath, ſon to the governor of the caſtle of Tunis, were brought up with Mahomet, and were with him in hoſtage in the fort of Goletta; that the viceroy had gone thither for no other end, but in order to adjuſt with them and the Chriſtian governor, the ſureſt meaſures for the placing of Mahomet on the throne of Tunis; and that they would infallibly ſee an army of Spaniards, in a very little time, bring back that young prince to Tunis, and proclaim him ſovereign of the kingdom.

THE people, who are always fond of novelty, readily ſwallowed theſe reports; to which, every man adding ſomething of his own, were thereby improved with a great many fabulous circumſtances. The partiſans of Hamida were particularly careful to publiſh, that young Mahomet his brother, having been brought up among the Chriſtians, had ſecretly embraced the Chriſtian religion, as being the ſureſt pledge he could give the emperor of his fidelity.

THE fear of having a Chriſtian for their ſovereign, alarmed the whole city, when they meet, cabal together, and in fine, ſend deputies to Hamida, to invite him to come to the ſuccour of a people who were deſirous of ſetting the crown on his head. They found him walking in his gardens, buried in a profound melancholy, deteſting the falſe ſtep which his favourite had made him take; and in a thorough perſuaſion, that the king his father, at his return, would never pardon him the fatal eagerneſs which he had diſcover'd, to aſcend the throne: but the news of the commotion of the people removed theſe melancholy apprehenſions, and made 'em give way to joy; upon which, he aſſembled his partiſans, march'd at their head, and favour'd by the people, enters Tunis, ſurprizes the viceroy and the governor of the caſtle, gets them murdered, maſſacres the moſt zealous ſubjects of Muley, ſeizes on the palace; when the young

tyrant

JOHN D'OMEDES.

tyrant begins his authority, by the moſt abominable inceſt, by forcing the deareſt of his father's wives to his embraces.

As ſoon as the king of Tunis heard this diſmal news, being afraid leſt his ſon, in order to ſupport himſelf on the throne, ſhould ſtrengthen himſelf with the protection and ſuccours of Barbaroſſa, he reſolved to return immediately into Africa; when, by the viceroy's conſent, he levied 2000 men, which he got together from among the banditti and exiles, putting an old officer of the country called l'Ofredo at their head; after which, he embarked and arrived at Goletta, where he had the confirmation of the news, together with the various circumſtances of Hamida's revolt. The governor adviſed him not to ſtir out of the place, till ſuch time as he ſhould have an exact account of the forces of his enemy, and the diſpoſitions of his ſubjects: but Muley, poſſeſſed with a notion that his ſon would never dare to ſtand his preſence, and encouraged by l'Ofredo, who was in hopes of enriching himſelf by the ſacking of Tunis, advanced forward. That which finally determined him to take ſo dangerous a ſtep, eſpecially with ſo few forces, was, that ſome traitors, by the ſecret orders of Hamida, came to meet him on the road, as ſo many faithful ſubjects, who were come to fight under the banner of their lawful ſovereign; telling him alſo, at the ſame time, that they had left his ſon in a terrible conſternation at the news of his return, and in great irreſolution what meaſures to take; that he deſigned to retire to the fartheſt part of the country, and take refuge with ſome Arabs, who were his friends.

MULEY, impoſed upon by the accounts of theſe traitors, haſtened his march; but, at his drawing near Tunis, he firſt ſaw ſome ſquadrons ſally out, who by their countenances, which diſcovered an air of fear, ſeem'd to advance only with a view to reconnoitre his troops. They made however ſome light skirmiſhes; but whilſt this party of rebels was amuſing Muley, a greater number advanc'd, who began a general engagement. When the troops cloſed together and fought a bloody battle, Muley hurried on by his courage, and ſtill more by his reſentment, bravely attack'd thoſe troops which oppoſed him; but as he was fighting at the head of a ſquadron, he received a wound, which his ſoldiers believing to be mortal, immediately cool'd their eagerneſs and fire. At the ſame time a great body of foot, compoſed of Arabs, whom Hamida had taken into his pay, ſallied out of the foreſt of olives, near Tunis. The Chriſtians now ſaw themſelves quickly ſurrounded; ſo that notwithſtanding their courage and reſolution, the infidels, who were ſuperior in number, cut them to pieces. Some of theſe, endeavouring to fly over the lake to Goletta, were drowned; and the unfortunate Muley, being abandon'd both by the Chriſtians and Moors, was taken priſoner. They carried him immediately to his ſon; but that traitor, who had yet ſome ſenſe of ſhame for his crime left, would not ſee him, but order'd him to be put in irons, and thrown into a dungeon; and the next day he ſent executioners to him, to offer him his choice either of death or blindneſs: when he chuſing the latter, they immediately thruſt a burning lancet into both his eyes.

THIS ſurprizing revolution in a kingdom that lay ſo near Tripoli, and which was in alliance with the order of St. John, threw the knights into a great conſternation; ſuch eſpecially of them, as ſaw themſelves in Tripoli, at a diſtance from Malta, quite ſurrounded with infidels, and in a city that had no fortifications, and which was commanded from ſeveral places, expected every moment to be beſieged. Ferdinand de Bracamont, who was governor there, deſpairing to be able to defend it, for any time, and under pretence that there was no honour to be got in the defence of ſo weak

JOHN D'OMEDES.

weak a place, uſed great inſtances with the grand maſter to be recalled, and at laſt got leave to quit his government, and had for his ſucceſſor, Chriſtopher de Solertarſan, the great chancellor, with whoſe conduct they had afterwards as much reaſon to be diſſatisfied.

HOWEVER, as in a poſt of ſuch importance, there was need of a governor of great experience, and equally wiſe and intrepid; the grand maſter and council thought proper to recall him, and put in his room the commander de la Valette, a knight of the language of Provence, who from the time of his profeſſion at Malta, had never ſtirred from thence, unleſs it were to go a cruiſing againſt the infidels. He had, in theſe expeditions, met ſometimes with good, ſometimes with ill fortune; but had ever diſcover'd the ſame courage and reſolution in both, being ſometimes victorious, and ſometimes beaten; he had been taken by the infidels, but the moment he got out of priſon, had always gone a cruiſing again. His very name carried terror along with it, in the ſeas of Africa and Sicily; and among the great number of knights who went out a cruiſing, the infidels had not an enemy whom they dreaded more than they did him. He was no ſooner arriv'd at Tripoli, than he made a review of the officers and ſoldiers, both Chriſtians as well as of ſuch Moors as were in alliance with the order. All theſe he furniſh'd with good weapons, broke all ſuch as appear'd to him unfit to bear them, or were convicted of having play'd them away for want of money; and puniſhed blaſphemers ſeverely. He afterwards ſent away all uſeleſs perſons out of the town and caſtle, erected a magazine of proviſions, added new fortifications to the place, as far as its ill ſituation, and the little money he had, would allow him; when cauſing an exact plan to be made of it, and of all the coaſt of Africa, he diſpatch'd a knight with it to the emperor, to ſhew him of what importance it was for his Italian, and even for his Spaniſh territories, to keep Tripoli from falling into the hands of the infidels; and particularly into thoſe of Dragut, who was at that time chief of all the corſairs of Barbary, and who had ſucceeded Barbaroſſa in that poſt, and in his deſign of driving the knights out of the coaſts of Africa.

DRAGUT, of whom mention is now made, was born in a little village of Natolia, lying over againſt the iſle of Rhodes; his father and mother were Mahometans, both of them poor, who ſubſiſted by tilling the ground, and the labour of their hands; but this obſcure and painful way of life, not ſuiting the warm and reſtleſs temper of young Dragut, he liſted himſelf, when but twelve years of age, under an officer of the artillery, who ſerved on board the grand ſignior's gallies. He was at firſt a cabin-boy, then a common ſailor, next a pilot, and afterwards, by his patron's inſtructions, an excellent gunner, in which quality he ſerved for ſeveral years, on board of different veſſels; when having gain'd ſome money, he came to be a partner in a brigantine of Corſairs. After this, he ſoon got a galliot to himſelf, and made conſiderable prizes with it; upon which he encreaſed his armament, and made himſelf be dreaded over all the Levant. There was not one pilot among the infidels who had ſo perfect a knowledge of the iſlands, the ports, and roads of the Mediterranean, as Dragut: but as all who ſailed in the ſeas of Turky, at that time, depended, in ſome meaſure on Barbaroſſa, the grand ſignior's admiral; Dragut ſought his protection, and went to Algiers to offer him his ſervice.

THE reputation of this corſair had reached there before him; and Barbaroſſa had been well informed of his valour, and particularly of his capacity in the ſteering of veſſels; for which reaſon he was glad to engage a man of ſo much merit in his ſervice. He employ'd him

JOHN D'OMEDES.

for ſeveral years on various expeditions, in which he acquitted himſelf to his general's ſatisfaction, and with extraordinary ſucceſs. Barbaroſſa after having made him paſs through all the degrees of ſervice, made him his lieutenant, and gave him the command of a ſquadron of twelve gallies.

AFTER that time, there never paſſed a ſummer, but this terrible corſair ravaged the coaſts of Naples and Sicily; no Chriſtian ſhip durſt venture to go over from Italy to Spain, but it was immediately ſnapp'd up; and when the ſea did not furniſh him with prizes, he made himſelf ample amends by deſcents upon the coaſts, when he plundered the towns and villages, and carried off the inhabitants into ſlavery.

THE emperor, tired with the complaints which he received from all quarters concerning Dragut, ordered Andrew Doria his admiral to go in queſt of him, find him out, and, coſt what it would, to ſtop his progreſs, and clear the ſea of him. Doria, upon receipt of the emperor's orders, immediately fitted out all the veſſels and gallies he could meet with, that were in a condition to bear the ſea; and as that old general was ſatiated with glory, he, in order to put his nephew Jannetin Doria in a fair way of acquiring his ſhare of it, left the expedition to him. Hereupon young Doria ſet ſail immediately, ſought for Dragut, and was at laſt lucky enough to meet with him along the coaſt of the iſle of Corſica, in the port or road of Giralatta, a caſtle ſeated between Calvi and Layazzo. The corſair, who knew nothing of the emperor's fleet being at ſea, thought himſelf ſafe in that creek; but he ſoon found himſelf ſhut up in it, and the cannon both of the caſtle and of the artillery of the veſſels continually annoying him: He at firſt defended himſelf with his uſual courage, but the ſuperior fire of the Chriſtians overpower'd his, and he ſaw likewiſe at the ſame time all the coaſt of the iſland lined with the inhabitants in arms, a fierce people, who ran to contribute to his defeat, in order to be revenged on the corſair, who had often ravaged their villages.

IN this extremity, Dragut had no other reſſource than to put up the white flag, when he deſired to enter into a negotiation, and demanded terms in quality of a priſoner of war. But all the compoſition he could get, was to redeem his life at the price of his liberty; ſo that he was obliged to ſurrender himſelf to the Chriſtian general, together with all the gallies he had under his command: Upon which, they brought him, together with his officers, on board the admiral galley to young Doria, who as yet had not a beard. The old corſair, tranſported with rage, cried out, "Muſt "I, at my age, ſee myſelf become a ſlave to a little ſmock-faced boy?" The hiſtorians of that age relate, that he made uſe of a term that was much more offenſive, and which modeſty forbids me to repeat; and that Jannetin, provok'd with ſo outrageous an affront, ſtruck him more than once on the face, and ordered him to be chained.

DRAGUT remained a ſlave for four years together, and though they offered any terms for his ranſom, they yet could never prevail to have his liberty reſtor'd. But the Genoeſe being afterwards alarmed to ſee the famous Barbaroſſa with an hundred gallies in the river of Genoa, demanded Dragut from Doria, when, to prevent their territory from being ravaged, they ſent him back with preſents to the ſultan's admiral.

BARBAROSSA reſtor'd him immediately to his former poſt, and gave him, as uſual, a detachment of his gallies. The ill treatment he had received whilſt he was a ſlave, had encreaſed his natural hatred to the Chriſtians; whereupon he over-ran all the coaſts of the kingdom of Naples, took and ſacked Caſtel-Lamara, and moſt of the villages of the coaſt; made a great number of ſlaves, and a few days afterwards took a galley of the order,

der, that had been ſeparated from the ſquadron in a ſtorm, on board of which he found ſeventy thouſand crowns, that were deſigned for the fortifications of Tripoli; an irreparable loſs with reſpect to that place, as well as to thoſe to whom it belonged. Barbaroſſa was now returned to Conſtantinople, where, notwithſtanding his being upwards of eighty years of age, he nevertheleſs paſſed his days and nights with the faireſt of his ſlaves; but happening to carry his debauch too far, he was found dead in his bed. JOHN D'OMEDES.

SOLYMAN was ſenſibly concerned at this loſs, and to have his place fill'd up, ordered all the corſairs of his dominions to ſubmit to Dragut, in quality of their general; but at the ſame time without honouring him with the dignity of admiral, notwithſtanding which, he entruſted him with all the Authority he had in the Southern parts, and on the coaſt of Africa.

THE ambition of Dragut grew up with his power, ſo that he reſolv'd, in imitation of Barbaroſſa, to ſeize on ſome ſtrong place and good port, into which, he, by virtue of Solyman's conſent and protection, might bring in his prizes, and make it a kind of petty ſtate and principality for himſelf; when he, big with theſe views, and even before the orders of the port had determined in what manner the campaign ſhould be carry'd on, got together, during winter, all the corſairs that were in thoſe ſeas, and putting himſelf at their head, drove the Spaniards immediately out of the towns of Suſa, Moneſter, and Fagues, all of them places that had formerly belonged to the kingdom of Tunis; but which being open, and without any fortification, received indifferently into their ports, the ſtrongeſt ſide, whichſoever it might be, that happen'd to be maſter of the ſea: So that they had paſſed ſeveral times ſucceſſively from the dominion of the Moors, and natural princes of the country, to that of the Turkiſh corſairs, and afterwards fell under the dominion of the Spaniards.

DRAGUT made himſelf maſter of them with the ſame facility, but as he foreſaw that it would be impoſſible for him to maintain himſelf in them, againſt all the united forces of the emperor, and that as ſoon as ſpring ſhould be come, he ſhould infallibly be beſieged by the gallies of Naples and Sicily, he caſt his eyes on the town of Africa, otherwiſe called Mehedia, and known in the time of the Romans by the name of Adrumetum. This city, which lies between Tunis and Tripoli, was built upon a narrow ſlip of land jutting out into the ſea; they called it little Africa, as being one of the moſt conſiderable places in that third part of our continent: It was regularly fortified, its walls were very high, ſtrengthened moreover with ramparts on the inſide, and of an extraordinary thickneſs, and provided with towers and bulwarks; there was a large train of artillery in it, all in good order. There was alſo above the town, and on an eminence that commanded it, a fort or kind of caſtle, which ſerved for a citadel. The harbour was large, ſafe, and ſheltered from all winds: There was alſo another that was ſmaller, and particular for the gallies, which they ſhut up with iron rails; the waves of the ſea waſhed the walls of the place, and encompaſſed it on all ſides, except only in one part, where it joined to the main land.

THE inhabitants, who were all Moors and Mahometans, had, after their revolting from the dominion of the kings of Tunis, their natural princes, form'd a commonwealth among themſelves; and for fear of being ſurprized, or of any attempt that ſhould be made upon their liberty, would not admit either Turks or Chriſtians into their city; and whenever, from a neceſſity of trading, they allowed of any foreign veſſels coming into

to

JOHN D'OMEDES.

to their harbour, they never ſuffer'd but a few to come in at a time, and that too with ſuch precautions, as ſecured them from being ſurprized.

THIS place, ſuch as we have repreſented it, became the object of Dragut's ambitious wiſhes: But as he had not forces ſufficient to attack it by open force, and that he was not certain, whether the grand ſignior might approve of his employing his arms in that enterprize, he reſolved to ſupply with artifice what he wanted in ſtrength, and endeavour to take it by ſome intelligence, which he might gain within the place; being perſuaded that princes very ſeldom diſavow, even the moſt unjuſt enterprizes, when the ſucceeding in them turns to their advantage: For which end, and in order the better to reconnoitre the place, he ſometimes put into the port, with a light brigantine, or galliot only, and oblig'd his ſoldiers to obſerve a certain complacency and decorum, that is rarely found among corſairs; after which, he inſenſibly contracted an acquaintance with one of the principal magiſtrates, Ibrahim-Barat by name, who commanded one of the principal towers that flanked the walls of the town. Dragut cultivated this new friendſhip with preſents, conſiſting of the moſt curious and valuable things he could meet with in his prizes; which indeed is the only method to gain the confidence of ſuch Barbarians, and even too frequently that of Chriſtians. He next began to inſinuate to him, that he would freely admit him as a partner in all thoſe prizes, which he daily made, making him ſenſible of the immenſe profit that would accrue to him from ſuch a partnerſhip: But at the ſame time he obſerv'd to him, that in order to make this union ſtronger, and their partnerſhip more durable, it were to be wiſhed that he could be admitted into the city in quality of a citizen. The Moor, tempted by the hopes of gain, undertook to make the propoſal to the council; but as it was a corſair who made the propoſal, it was rejected by all the magiſtrates, and Ibrahim was ſeverely reprimanded, for having been the firſt who had ever offered ſuch a propoſal. The Moor, full of trouble and vexation to ſee himſelf refuſed, went to greater lengths than perhaps he at firſt thought to go: Dragut thinking him capable of attempting any thing to be revenged, and in order to make his advantage of the heat of his reſentment, made a propoſal to him that he ſhould receive him into the tower of the city which he commanded; and offering him conſiderable ſums, he brought him to accept of it. The covetous Moor, unable to reſiſt the temptation, entered entirely into Dragut's meaſures; after which, their bargain was ſoon concluded, when they agreed that the corſair ſhould go away immediately; that, in order to wipe off the remembrance of his deſigns, and diſperſe the jealouſy, which the magiſtrates might entertain on that account, he ſhould diſappear for ſome time; that he ſhould afterwards take all the troops which he had in Suſa and Moneſter, and make them draw off as openly as poſſible towards Africa; that he himſelf ſhould come in the night to the foot of the tower, at an hour aſſigned him by the prior, who by the poſt he commanded would facilitate his entry into the city. This traitorous plot was put in execution before the inhabitants had the leaſt notion of it; for Dragut was let into the tower in the dark, from whence he entered into, and ſeized the principal poſts of the city, when the day ſhewed the citizens their misfortune. They all however ran to arms, and encounter'd the enemy; but as every thing was full of trouble and confuſion, they fought with more impetuoſity than conduct. The corſairs cut part of them to pieces, and obliged the reſt to throw down their arms, and ſubmit to acknowledge a man for their maſter and ſovereign, whom they had refuſed to admit in quality of a citizen. He afterwards brought freſh troops into the place, which inſpired

JOHN D'OMEDES.

a dread of his authority, and was of uſe in ſupporting it; when having eſtabliſhed his new dominion on ſuch ſolid foundations, he put the government of the city into the hands of a young corſair his nephew, rais or captain Eſſé by name.

HE afterwards, purſuant to the orders of the port, ſet ſail from Africa, in order to continue his cruiſings againſt the Chriſtians; but before he embarked, left orders with his nephew, to make away with the Moor, who had let him into the place, during his abſence; for fear leſt a repentance of having betrayed his country, or the hope of a larger recompence, might engage him in a new treachery. The governor did not fail to execute his orders immediately after his departure, and Ibrahim received the reward, which his treachery ſo juſtly merited.

THE news of the taking of Africa alarmed all the coaſts of Sicily, and gave the emperor great uneaſineſs. This prince ſaw plainly that the corſair was going to make it the ſeat of his arms; that its port would ſerve him for the future as a retreat for his veſſels, and that from thence he might eaſily infeſt all thoſe ſeas, and make a terrible havock over all the coaſts of Naples and Sicily; to prevent which, he reſolved to beſiege that city, before his dominion ſhould be better ſettled in it: But before he engaged in ſo difficult an enterprize, his council was of opinion that it would be proper to recover Suſa, Moneſter, and the other places in the neighbourhood, from whence the corſairs might draw ſuccours.

DORIA, purſuant to his orders, put to ſea, with the fleet under his command, being reinforced with the pope's gallies; and the grand maſter, at the emperor's requeſt, ſent thoſe of Malta upon this expedition, under the command of the bailiff de la Sangle. There were in this ſquadron an hundred and forty knights, and a battalion of four hundred men of the troops in the ſervice of the order; when all theſe forces being joined, the Chriſtian fleet ſet ſail, ſtood away for the coaſt of Africa, and upon advice which Doria received, that Dragut was in the port of Moneſter, he went thither to meet with him: But the corſair was too cunning, as well as too diffident, to ſhut himſelf up in ſo weak a place, and therefore ſailed out, and put to ſea; when having certain notice that Doria had not troops enough on board his fleet to form the ſiege of Africa, he, either in order to avoid coming up with him, or elſe to make a diverſion, till ſuch time as he might be ſatisfied of his deſigns, over-ran the coaſt of Spain, where he continued his uſual ravages.

DORIA on his ſide, purſuant to the emperor's orders, landed his ſmall body of troops at Cap-bon, and ſeized on the fort of Calibia, the old Clupea of the Romans, from whence he advanced up to the gates of Moneſter: At the approach of the Chriſtian troops, which did not appear to be very numerous; the Turks, together with the inhabitants that had taken arms in their favour, made a ſally, not ſo much with any deſign of fighting, as to reconnoitre the forces of the enemy. But the knights, who had the van, and were ſuſtained by a Spaniſh regiment, ſparing them the trouble of coming up to them, advanced a great pace, came up with them, forced the Moors againſt their wills to come to an engagement, killed a great number of them, put the reſt to flight, and purſued them ſo cloſe, that they got into the city along with them, and by that means made themſelves maſters of it; part of the inhabitants, who had not been concerned in the ſally, together with ſuch Turks as had eſcaped the firſt fury of the victorious, took refuge with the governor in the caſtle. Doria ſummoned the commander to ſurrender, and upon his refuſal planted his batteries; the artillery plaid upon the fort: the Chriſtian admiral fancied himſelf diſho-

JOHN D'OMEDES.

noured by attacking ſuch an inconſiderable place, according to the ordinary rules made uſe of on thoſe occaſions; and therefore as ſoon as a breach was made, he, without examining whether it was large enough, ordered them to prepare for the aſſault. The inhabitants would willingly have capitulated, but the governor, an old corſair, who had a good number of his brother pirates with him, ſtoutly rejected the propoſal. His boldneſs, and Doria's precipitation, caus'd both the attack and the defence to be equally warm and bloody; the order loſt a great part of his knights in it, and the battle had laſted for above an hour and half, before a judgment could be made of its ſucceſs: but the governor having been killed upon the breach with a musket-ball, that blow, as if all the ſoldiers of the garriſon had been knocked down with it, quite damp'd their courage, and they offered to capitulate. The corſairs, to ſave their lives, conſented to loſe their liberty; and the inhabitants, who, out of zeal for their religion, had taken arms in their favour, did not meet with better treatment.

THE emperor taking this firſt advantage for a good omen, ordered Doria to diſpoſe every thing for the ſiege of Africa, and ſignified to him that the viceroys of Naples and Sicily had orders to furniſh him all the ſuccours of troops and ammunition, he might have occaſion for. Upon this, the admiral wrote immediately to Don Pedro de Toledo, viceroy of Naples, and to Don Juan de Vega, who commanded in Sicily, to ſend him with all imaginable expedition what gallies and ſhips they had, with a quantity of ammunition and proviſions, and a body of land-forces on board. During his waiting for their coming up, to prevent any troops from entering into Africa, he poſted himſelf at the iſlands called Cumilieres or Coniglieres, which lie nearer that place than Moneſter, though the latter was but at three miles diſtance: the viceroy of Naples ſent him word that he was getting ready a ſtrong reinforcement, which ſhould be commanded by Don Garcia his ſon; the viceroy of Sicily gave him the like aſſurances, and added, that as the people of his government, by their ſituation nearer Africa, were more ſtrongly bound in point of intereſt to drive the corſairs out of that place, he therefore deſigned to head his troops in perſon; but as the ſuccours he was preparing, were not yet got ready, and that Dragut was ſcouring the ſeas with ſeveral ſquadrons, in order to ſurprize the Chriſtian veſſels, and ruin the enterprize; the viceroy, for his ſecurity, inſiſted that the admiral ſhould fix the general rendezvous of all the Chriſtian fleet at Drepano in Sicily: to which he added, that he was reſolved to go thither himſelf with all his ſhips and gallies, when, after their ſquadrons ſhould be joined, and that all the emperor's ſea-forces united in one body, they then might go in concert, without the leaſt interruption to form the ſiege of Africa.

THE admiral, who from the Cumilieres iſlands kept the port of that place in a manner blocked up, foreſaw very well, that if he ſhould quit his poſt, Dragut would not fail to make uſe of the opportunity, and throw in ſuccours; but as he had received private orders, to do nothing in the carrying on of the ſiege, without the advice of Don Juan de Vega, who was an old officer and an excellent general, Doria was forced to go to him to Palermo, from whence they went together to Drepano, at which place the gallies and troops of Naples and Malta were already arrived.

THE Neapolitan ſuccours conſiſted of twenty-four gallies and ſeveral veſſels with land-forces on board. Don Garcia de Toledo, as has been already obſerv'd, commanded this ſtrong ſquadron; and as Doria ſeldom quitted the ſea, that young lord flattered himſelf with the hopes of carrying on the ſiege himſelf, and of having all the honour that would accrue from

JOHN D'OMEDES.

from thence; but hearing that the viceroy of Sicily had declared his reſolution of going thither in perſon, he was ſo vex'd to ſee himſelf balked of the glory he had hoped to gain by that means, that he re-imbarked, as if he intended to go away, and ſeparate from the reſt of the army; but in order to cover his diſcontent with ſome ſpecious pretence, he told Doria, that as the viceroy his father had received orders from the emperor, to put all his gallies to ſea, in order to go in ſearch of Dragut, and fight him, he could not diſpenſe with his inſtructions.

DORIA ſaw with grief, that this diviſion between the chiefs, ariſing from a jealouſy for the command, would make the enterprize miſcarry; and that Don Garcia, though a young officer, yet being independent on the viceroy of Sicily, was for making his advantage of the great occaſion they had, for the body under his command. He did all that lay in his power to keep him with them, and prevent his going off; and they made a kind of negotiation of that affair; the bailiff de la Sangle, commander of the gallies of Malta, had the management of it by Doria's order: that judicious knight carried meſſages between both parties; but Don Garcia, what propoſals ſoever they might make him, would not abate a tittle of his pretenſions: He maintained, that as he commanded a fleet and a body of troops in chief, nothing could oblige him to ſerve as a ſubaltern without expreſs orders from the emperor to that purpoſe: that indeed he was ſenſible of the reſpect that would be due to the emperor's flag, and to his great admiral, ſo long as he ſhould be out at ſea; but that when they ſhould be a-ſhore, and eſpecially in a foreign country, he would never ſubmit to receive orders from a general, who had no right to claim any authority over the Neapolitan troops. This diſpute was very warm, and laſted ſeveral days, when at laſt the bailiff de la Sangle, who was of a reconciling temper, brought them to agree to the following reſolutions; viz. that they ſhould both have an equal authority a-ſhore; that each ſhould command the troops, which he had brought with him to the ſiege; that the council of war ſhould regulate and determine the attacks, by the plurality of voices; and that orders ſhould be given in the emperor's name, in the ſame manner as if he commanded in perſon at the ſiege. Theſe diſputes being happily over, the whole fleet ſet ſail, ſtood away for Africa, when they landed the troops on the eaſt ſide of the place, on the twenty-ſixth of June.

1550.

DRAGUT, during Doria's voyage into Sicily and Drepano, had not fail'd, as that experienced admiral had foreſeen, to throw a ſtrong reinforcement into the place; he had put ſome of his beſt officers into it, with ſupplies of proviſions and ammunition; and at the ſame time put out to ſea, in order to intercept the convoys that ſhould be ſent to the Chriſtian army. The governor of Goletta, who was an officer of great reputation and diſtinguiſhed valour, came by the emperor's expreſs orders to the ſiege; and the grand maſter of Malta, knowing the loſs which the order had ſuſtained at the aſſault of the caſtle of Moneſter, ſent a new recruit of knights, to ſupply the place of ſuch as had been kill'd.

AFTER the generals had landed their troops, their ammunition and artillery, they opened the trenches, they raiſed batteries, and the artillery began to fire upon the place. When the magiſtrates and principal inhabitants, who were all rich merchants, ſaw a formidable army before their walls, they deteſted the piracies of Dragut, which had drawn that war upon them, and they began to talk openly of treating with the Chriſtians; but Rais Eſſé, who was Dragut's nephew, and governor of the place, being a reſolute ſoldier, threaten'd that if they mention'd ſo much as a ſingle

word

JOHN D'OMEDES.

word about capitulating, he would ſtab them all one after another, and afterwards ſet fire to the city; when upbraiding them with their cowardice, he asked them in a ſofter tone, whether in caſe of their ſurrendring themſelves to the Chriſtians, they could be ſo ſilly as to believe, that their mortal enemies, when once become their maſters, would leave them in the exerciſe of their religion, and the enjoyment of their eſtates; adding, that they ought to conſider, that in this war every thing that was dear to man lay at ſtake; they having their lives, their liberties, their religion, their wives, and their children to defend. At the ſame time, he, in order to encourage them, repreſented to them the ſtrength of the place, the numerous artillery, the arms and ammunition that were in it; telling them further, that he had 1700 foot and 600 horſe under his command, all which his uncle had choſen from among his beſt troops, who, like himſelf, had taken a reſolution to bury themſelves in the ruins of the place, rather than ſurrender it to the Chriſtians. The magiſtrates, intimidated rather by his menaces, than encourag'd by his promiſes, prepared, tho' againſt their wills, to ſuſtain a ſiege, which it was not in their power to prevent: But the populace, who were furious with zeal, and ſo much the more jealous of their religion as they knew but very little of it, made no other anſwer to the governor's diſcourſe, than by venting imprecations againſt the Chriſtians. They all ſtrove to out-vie each other in their exhortations to die for the ſake of their religion; and prejudice and obſtinacy ſupplied the place of reſolution and courage.

THE governor, in order to confirm them in theſe ſentiments, and to give them a proof that he was not afraid of the Chriſtians, ordered his cavalry to ſally out with three hundred arquebuſiers, who advanced to a riſing ground near adjoining, whence they fired upon the emperor's camp with their muskets and ſome field-pieces. Don Garcia, whoſe quarter lay near to it, marched immediately with part of his troops, in order to diſlodge them from that poſt. The skirmiſh was warm and obſtinate, as indeed generally happens in the firſt combats, by the ſucceſs of which, men often judge before-hand, of the fate of the whole enterprize. The governor, in order to ſuſtain his men, ſent out ſix hundred Moors armed with muskets to their ſuccour, who made a furious diſcharge, which made a terrible havock among the Neapolitans. Altho' the viceroy of Sicily might not perhaps be ſorry to ſee Don Garcia beaten and repulſed, yet the emperor's ſervice, and the intereſt of the common cauſe, made him urge the knights to advance to the ſuccour of the Neapolitans; upon which, the bailiff de la Sangle, who commanded the battalion of Malta, marched out immediately, came up with the Moors, charged them ſword in hand; when thoſe infidels, who were very unfit to ſtand their ground in battle, broke away in a moment. The infantry got back to the gates of the town, which were ſhut after them; and the cavalry diſperſing themſelves in the plain, and as faſt as their horſes could gallop, threw themſelves into a foreſt of olives, where they immediately diſappeared.

THE cannon had begun with battering the fauſſebraye, and the pannel of the wall which ran croſs the ſlip of land before-mentioned; when the breach appearing to be practicable, they ſent ſome officers to reconnoitre it. Theſe at their return declar'd, that behind the breach they had diſcovered deep intrenchments, which were well flanked, the bottom of which was ſtuck full of iron ſpikes, for which reaſon they would infallibly loſe all the troops they ſhould ſend upon the attack: But the viceroy of Sicily, ſuſpecting that fear might have a conſiderable ſhare in this report, or at leaſt that it was greatly exaggerated, prevailed upon them to come to

JOHN D'OMEDES.

a reſolution of making an aſſault on the Friday following; during which interval, they redoubled the battery, in order to widen the breach. On Friday, two hours before day-break, the viceroy, who was for having all the honour of the enterprize to himſelf, notwithſtanding the undiſputed right which the knights had, of being at the head of all attacks, advanc'd with his own troops to the foot of the wall.

THE Sicilians found the breach of the fauſſebraye lined with enemies, who made a terrible fire, and killed a great number of the Chriſtians. But the aſſailants, without the leaſt fear, and perhaps without knowing all the danger, got to the top of the breach, when the braveſt of them threw themſelves deſperately into the ditch, which was between the fauſſebraye and the fort. But they were all killed upon the ſpot, except one man only, whom the infidels ſpared, and took priſoner, purpoſely to get ſome light into the deſigns of the Chriſtians. Other troops advanc'd to ſuſtain this firſt body, but without meeting any better ſucceſs; for they met every where with deep cuts and intrenchments lying one above another, from whence they were galled continually with cannon and musket-ball, that flew as thick as hail. The fire of the beſieged demoliſhed every thing that dared ſo much as to appear: This aſſault coſt the generals the braveſt of their ſoldiers, who, in order to prevent their loſing any more, ordered a retreat to be ſounded. The officers as well as ſoldiers, diſhearten'd at ſo dangerous an attack, threw themſelves with precipitation into their trenches. This ill ſucceſs ſtruck a great damp on the ardour of the beſiegers: If the diſcontented and dejected ſoldiery did not dare to ſpeak of raiſing the ſiege, they nevertheleſs ſaw plain enough, that it would ſpin out to a great length: what made the calamity ſtill greater, was, their proviſions began to fail; and contagious diſtempers, contracted from fatigue and unwholeſome food, attacked both officers and common ſoldiers.

THE bailiff de la Sangle, who reckoned hoſpitality to be his chief duty, erected a kind of hoſpital and infirmary in his tents, where he took great care to have the ſick ſoldiers well looked after. The knights, in obedience to his orders, and in imitation of his example, attended on them in their turns; ſo that now all the army admir'd their charity, as much as they had done their courage. Dragut, who was ever attentive to the defence of a place, that was of ſuch importance to him, endeavoured to throw ſuccours into it; whereupon he landed eight hundred of his men, and getting together three thouſand Moors, all of them good arquebuſiers, whom he had levied with his money, he lay ſnug with them in the foreſt of olives near Africa, to which place the Chriſtians uſed to come for their faſcines. His deſign was to have attack'd the lines on St. James's day, who being the patron of Spain, he for that reaſon hoped to find the ſoldiers either drunk, or in diſorder and abſent from their colours; and in order to facilitate the getting in of the ſuccours, he had given the governor notice to make a ſally at the ſame time with all his garriſon: But chance was the occaſion of his ambuſcade's being diſcovered, and brought on an engagement ſooner than he intended; for the viceroy of Sicily, going into the foreſt with the bailiff de la Sangle, the governor of Goletta, and a great eſcorte of knights, to order the cutting of faſcines, Dragut, who lay concealed there, ſuffering them to come near him, roſe up ſuddenly with his men, gave them a terrible fire, and fell in immediately upon the knights with their drawn ſabres. The bailiff, notwithſtanding his being ſurprized by the enemy, ſoon put his men in order, they being all old warriors, who

JOHN D'OMEDES.

knew very well how to fall into it of themſelves, ſo that the battalion formed itſelf without any manner of difficulty; after which, there follow'd no ſmall skirmiſh, but rather an obſtinate engagement, and they fought for a long time together with various ſucceſs. The Turks and Moors by their frequent firing killed a great number of Chriſtians, among which, the loſs of Lewis Peres de Vargas governor of Goletta, and ſeveral of the braveſt knights, were particularly regretted. The viceroy met with ſome difficulty in drawing his troops out of the foreſt, and recovering the plain: Dragut purſued him for ſome time, and made ſeveral charges; but finding ſtill the ſame men, and a body of warriors, which, tho' ſmall in number, did yet diſcover the moſt intrepid air, making head againſt him, he drew off his troops; and the Moors knowing the country, threw themſelves into the foreſt again, diſperſed as uſual, and did not rally, till ſuch time as they came near Fagues, which was their rendezvous.

AT the viceroy's return, the generals held a council of war, when by their orders and directions all the batteries continued firing with the ſame fury; beſides which, they alſo raiſed ſome new ones. But the walls were ſo thick, and ſo well ſtrengthen'd with ramparts, that the cannon did no more than graze upon them as it were; and the breaches ſeemed ſo ſmall, and were covered with intrenchments that were ſo well fortified, that they durſt not hazard a ſecond aſſault. They even began to fear that they ſhould be obliged to raiſe the ſiege; but Don Garcia, who was full of fire, always in action, whoſe thoughts were entirely bent on the ſucceſs of the enterprize, formed a deſign which gained him the principal honour of it. He had learn'd from ſome deſerters, that a part of the wall, which the ſea waſhed, was weaker than the reſt, and even neglected by the beſieged, who did not think that great veſſels could come near it, by reaſon of the banks of ſand, which the waves had drove on that ſide. Don Garcia, after having communicated his project to the admiral and to the council, took the hulks of two old gallies, that drew but little water; bound them faſt to one another, and raiſed a battery upon them with parapets and port-holes. This machine was in a dark night tow'd by ſome skiffs and great boats, and brought over againſt the place, where he intended to make a breach; and he made the two gallies faſt with four anchors, two of which were towards the land and the wall, and the other two towards the main ſea.

THEY began at day-break to batter the pannel of the wall, that lay oppoſite to this plat-form; and the cannon fired with ſo much fury, that a great part of the wall was beat down in a little time: a reaſonable breach, in the opinion of the engineers, was ſoon made; ſo that the generals reſolved to try an aſſault. The knights of Malta, purſuant to cuſtom, and the privilege of that illuſtrious body, had the poſt of honour aſſign'd them, and advanc'd firſt to the ſtorm. The bailiff de la Sangle regulated their march, and the order of the attack: he ordered that the commander de Giou, ſupported by two files of the oldeſt knights, ſhould carry the ſtandard of the order at their head. The chevalier de Guimeran, and in caſe he ſhould be killed, the chevalier Copier was to ſuſtain this firſt body with all the young knights, and ſeveral volunteers of different nations, who had deſired to fight under the banner of St. John. They put in their rear four companies of the Malteſe ſoldiers, each of them commanded by officers of the order; and the bailiff, with ſome old knights, which he kept about him, was to cloſe the march, in order to go afterwards to ſuch places as ſhould have the moſt need of his preſence and aſſiſtance.

THE

JOHN D'OMEDES.

THE viceroy of Sicily with his own troops, and Don Garcia with thoſe of Naples, in order to make a diverſion, undertook reſpectively to make other attacks; and theſe two generals, from an emulation of glory; and to have each of them the honour, of firſt planting his ſtandard on the top of the breach, promiſed their ſoldiers extraordinary rewards. The knights, who had no need of ſuch ſelf-intereſted motives, the moment a cannon-ſhot had given the ſignal for an attack, got into skiffs, and light ſhallops, which drew but little water; notwithſtanding which, moſt of theſe brave knights ſeeing themſelves ſtop'd every moment by the banks of ſand, leap'd into the ſea with their ſwords drawn, and marching up to the middle, and often up to the ſhoulders, in water, they at laſt got to the foot of the wall. The infidels appeared upon the higheſt part of the breach, and in order to keep the Chriſtians from approaching it, plied them at the ſame time with their great and ſmall ſhot, with arrows, ſtones, fire-pots, and boiling oil, making a weapon of every thing that lay next to their hands. However the knights, not daunted at the number of their dead, ſurmounted all theſe obſtacles, and forced their way to the top of the breach by the ſide of a tower that join'd to the corner of the wall. The commander de Giou immediately ſet up the ſtandard of the order; but he was the ſame moment ſtruck backwards by a musket-ball: The ſtandard was taken up by the commander Copier, who held it aloft during the whole battle, in the midſt of all the fire, and the ſhowers of croſs-bow-ſhot. In the mean time the cannon which play'd upon them from the adjoining tower, and the fire of the musketeers from the intrenchments, made dreadful havock among the knights, who were unable either to advance forward themſelves, or force the infidels to retire back. A great number of knights, and noble volunteers, who fought under their banner, and moſt of the Malteſe ſoldiers loſt their lives on this occaſion: The commander de Guimeran, who was at the head of the attack, was infinitely concerned to ſee his brother knights kill'd by his ſide; yet could he not reſolve with himſelf to abandon his poſt. When, happily for him, as he was turning his eyes on all ſides, he diſcovered on the left hand, thro' the ruins, a little path that led to the body of the place; others pretend that it was the ruins of a gallery of communication: Be that as it will, the commander, at the head of his companions, makes an effort, repulſes every thing that he meets with in his way, opens himſelf a paſſage, ruſhes into the gallery, which was all gone to ruin, except the beams and ſome joyſts, when marching over them with as much reſolution as he would have done over a ſtone bridge, he makes his way into the city.

AT this noiſe, the inhabitants run up and down, and alarm'd by the cries of their wives and children, barricado themſelves in the ſtreets, get into the houſes, from whence they make a terrible fire. Here the knights found themſelves ſtopp'd again, and oblig'd in a manner to make as many ſieges as there were intrenchments in every quarter. But whilſt they were thus fighting, the Turks and Moors who were oppoſing the Neapolitans and Sicilians, hearing that the Malteſe were got within the place, abandon'd the defence of it, to run to the ſuccour of their houſes and families. Upon which, the Chriſtians immediately ſpread themſelves over the city, and made them ſenſible, that every man's maintaining himſelf in his reſpective poſt, would have been the only way for them to have preſerv'd their particular fortunes. The poor inhabitants, after having made a pretty weak reſiſtance in ſome quarters, ſeeing the enemy maſter of the place, fly for their lives. Some make the beſt of their way

to

JOHN D'OMEDES.

to the plain and the foreſt; others get into boats. Some out of deſpair threw themſelves headlong into the ſea, and Dragut's ſoldiers, who were more afraid of his reproaches than of death it ſelf, went to ſeek it on the point of the Chriſtians ſwords: not one of them would call for quarter, ſo that they all made themſelves be kill'd to a man. They met with a conſiderable booty in this place; for beſides 7000 ſlaves of every age and ſex, the ſoldiers found the city filled with magazines of very rich merchandize, and plenty of gold, ſilver, and precious ſtones in the houſes of the principal inhabitants.

BUT the richeſt booty was the place it ſelf, which at that time was the ſtrongeſt on the coaſt of Africa. The Viceroy of Sicily, who had no longer occaſion for the ſuccours of the Neapolitans, openly claim'd all the honour of taking it; put his ſon in it as governor, leaving at the ſame time a garriſon conſiſting of ſix companies of foot. After which the breaches were carefully repair'd, the ditches clean'd; when having purified and conſecrated the principal moſque, they interred in it all the knights, and principal officers who had been killed in the ſiege. The emperor having been afterwards obliged to abandon this place, their aſhes were tranſported to Sicily in two diſtinct cheſts, which were depoſited in the cathedral church of Montreal; and by the viceroy's order, they erected a ſtately monument to their memory, on which the following epitaph was engraved.

Death has been able to put an end to the lives of thoſe whoſe aſhes reſt under this marble; but the remembrance of their great valour ſhall never die. The faith of theſe heroes has given them a place in heaven, and their courage has fill'd the earth with their glory, ſo that the blood which flow'd from their wounds, has, inſtead of a tranſitory life, procured them two lives that are immortal.

DRAGUT enraged at the loſs of the town of Africa, of his treaſures and his ſlaves which were lodged there, aſcribed it chiefly to the knights of Malta: and accordingly made his complaints of it to the grand ſeignior; his agent at the port repreſented both to that prince and to the divan, that the emperor, by this conqueſt, had one of the principal keys of Africa in his power; that he was maſter of the fortreſs of Goletta, and of moſt of the places that depended on the kingdom of Tunis; that the knights of Malta, who were devoted to that prince, had fortified themſelves in Tripoli; that there was reaſon to apprehend, leſt the Arabs, being great enemies to the Turks, ſhould facilitate their paſſage over the deſerts into Egypt; and that the knights, under pretence of delivering Jeruſalem and Paleſtine from the dominion of the Ottomans, might penetrate into thoſe countries, revive the antient ſpirit of the cruſades, and bring into their party the forces of the Chriſtian princes, who were formidable, when united together.

SOME noble preſents, the ſureſt interpreter to obtain a hearing at the port, which Dragut got to be diſtributed among the principal baſhas, engaged them to repreſent to the grand ſeignior, that his highneſs was more concern'd in the loſs of Africa than Dragut; that that enterprize was a breach of the treaty made with the Chriſtians, which continued ſtill in force; that he could not avoid diſcovering his reſentment upon that account, and that it was particularly neceſſary they ſhould drive the knights, thoſe declared and eternal enemies of the alcoran, out of all Africa, as he had done already out of Aſia.

SOLYMAN, in that height of power to which his birth and conqueſts had rais'd him, was capable, with no great difficulty, of being blown up to indignation and reſentment; nevertheleſs as this monarch, contrary to the cuſtom of moſt of his predeceſſors, valued himſelf mightily upon his religious obſervance of his treaties, he, before he began the war, ſent, out of a ſort of formality, a chaoux to the emperor, to demand in his name the reſtitution of Suſa, Moneſter and Africa. Charles V. anſwered the envoy, that thoſe places were dependances of the kingdom of Tunis, which held of the crown of Caſtile; and that, independent from his rights of high ſovereignty, his generals had done only in that point what all ſovereigns of all religions ought to do with regard to a corſair, who was odious both to God and Man; and that as for himſelf, he was reſolv'd, without thinking it any breach of the truce which he had made with his highneſs, to purſue that pirate into all places into which he ſhould retire.

SOLYMAN, who was too powerful to be equitable, and who weigh'd his reaſons only by the ſtrength of his forces, was provoked at ſo reſolute an anſwer; and therefore reſolv'd to have ſatisfaction for it by ſome illuſtrious enterprize. Dragut had orders ſent him, to get together in a body all ſuch corſairs, as carried the Turkiſh flag, and to keep them in a readineſs to join the Ottoman fleet which the ſultan was for employing in this war; and in order to take away from Charles V. all pretence of treating Dragut as a corſair, he ſent to him as to one of his officers, a commiſſion, conſtituting him Sangiac of the iſle of Santa Maura. The grand ſeignior's deſign was to begin the campaign with the ſiege of the places which Doria and the emperor's other generals had lately taken; but Dragut took care to have it repreſented to him, that the knights of Malta would infallibly traverſe him in all thoſe enterprizes, and that their veſſels would frequently intercept ſuch convoys as ſhould paſs along the coaſt of Tripoli, or in the neighbourhood of Malta; and that therefore it would be abſolutely neceſſary for them to fall with fire and ſword upon that Iſland, and on Tripoli, and to employ all his forces for the extirpating of thoſe knights, who, notwithſtanding their being few in number, had never yet failed to multiply as it were whenever a war was carrying on againſt the Muſulmen.

THE grand ſeignior, who had never heard the knights mention'd at his court, but as ſo many corſairs who ruined the commerce of his dominions, enter'd into Dragut's meaſures: and as a powerful fleet was neceſſary for the execution of it, orders were given out accordingly, and they began to work without intermiſſion in all the ports of his empire, in order to build and fit out gallies and veſſels of all ſizes. The noiſe of ſo great an armament ſoon came to the ears of Charles V. he made no queſtion but that Dragut was the cauſe of the war, and that he for his own private intereſt would be glad to draw down his maſter's arms, and extend his power in Africa: in order therefore to lay the ſtorm, it was neceſſary that Dragut ſhould be deſtroy'd, or that they ſhould get his perſon once more into their hands. Charles V. from an opinion, that if the ſultan ſhould find himſelf depriv'd of ſo experienc'd a general, who had been uſed to thoſe ſeas for ſo many years, he would then turn the effort of his arms to ſome other quarter; commanded Doria to go in ſearch of him, to fight him at any rate, and omit nothing in order to rid him of ſo dangerous an enemy.

DORIA, purſuant to the emperor's orders, put to ſea in the ſpring with two and twenty gallies, beſides galiots and brigantines; and in the month

JOHN DIOMEDES.

of March arriv'd upon the coaſt of Africa. The Chriſtian admiral hearing that Dragut, whom he was ſeeking, had put into the haven or channel of the iſle of Gelves or Gerba, made for that place; and in order to prevent his getting out, came to an anchor at the mouth of the channel, in a place called Bocca de Cantara. The corſair, ſurprized by the arrival of the Chriſtian fleet, work'd all night in raiſing a rampart of earth at the mouth of the channel, from whence he play'd with his artillery upon Doria's gallies, and obliged him to retire farther off out of the reach of his cannon. But the Chriſtian admiral, fully perſuaded that his prey could not eſcape him, immediately diſpatched away ſome brigantines to Sicily, to Naples, and Genoa, in order to have a reinforcement of troops ſent him from thoſe places.

HIS deſign in ſending for theſe troops was, that whilſt he with his fleet ſhould keep the corſair in ſight as it were, and alſo block up the mouth of the channel, they by that means might have an opportunity of landing in the iſland, of burning Dragut's gallies, and of taking him priſoner. Dragut, who foreſaw his deſign, and that he was going to be inveſted both by ſea and land, form'd, in order to extricate himſelf out of ſo great danger, a project as bold as it was extraordinary, and ſuch a one as is ſcarce to be parallell'd in Hiſtory.

FOR Dragut, in order to keep up the Chriſtian admiral's confidence, and make him believe that he was reſolved to defend the entrance of the channel to the laſt extremity, cauſed ſeveral intrenchments to be made along the ſhore on both ſides of it, well provided with artillery and muſketeers, which made a continual fire when any Chriſtian veſſel dar'd to come near them; but at the ſame time the cunning corſair, by the help of his ſoldiers and galley-ſlaves, and the aſſiſtance of the Moors who inhabited the iſland, levelled with great ſecrecy a road which began at the place where his gallies lay at anchor, on which he raiſed a frame compoſed of ſeveral pieces of timber, covering it over with planks that had been rubbed with greaſe, in order for the better ſliding of any thing upon it. After which, they hoiſted the gallies by the ſtrength of the capſtanes upon this frame or floor of timber, and with great wooden rollers forced them forward to a part of the iſland where the ground lay much lower, and where he had cauſed a new canal to be dug, on that ſide of the iſle which lay oppoſite to the channel of Cantara, and by which he tranſported his gallies from one ſea to the other. Doria knew nothing of all this, till his being made ſenſible of it by the loſs of the admiral galley of Sicily, which Dragut, out of a kind of bravado, took almoſt in his ſight. The corſair, after this action, ſailed for Conſtantinople, in order to haſten by his preſence the departure of the fleet, which was deſign'd againſt Tripoli, and the other places belonging to the order of St. John. The Chriſtian admiral amazed, and in greater confuſion than if he had loſt a conſiderable battle, came back into the harbour of Genoa; and, in order to evade purſuing the corſair, made uſe of the honourable pretence of his being obliged to command in perſon thoſe gallies that were to carry Don Philip of Auſtria, the emperor's only ſon, from Italy into Spain; ſo that he conducted the young prince to Barcelona, from whence he afterwards brought back Maximilian king of Bohemia, couſin german to Philip, and ſon to Ferdinand king of the Romans, whom his father had ordered to return home into Germany.

DORIA ſpent all the ſummer in making theſe voyages, whilſt the viceroys of Naples and Sicily, being deprived of his ſuccours, had joined their maritime forces. Notwithſtanding which conjunction, they yet did

did not find themſelves ſtrong enough to keep the ſea, and therefore had ſent to Malta to deſire the aſſiſtance of the gallies of the order. The grand maſter, for the ſame reaſon, and from the apprehenſions they were under of being beſieg'd, ought not to have ſuffer'd his gallies to ſtir out of his ports; but the order at that time, and under the government of a Spaniſh grand maſter, was entirely devoted to the Auſtian intereſt; and a requeſt, or even a bare motion, coming either from the emperor or his generals, was conſider'd by the grand maſter as an abſolute order. However, there were ſome commanders in the council, who complained openly enough of the ſending away the forces of the order, and the depriving them by that means of ſo neceſſary a ſuccour at the very moment they were going to be attacked by the infidels. But D'Omedes, in order to keep the reſt of the council from giving ear to ſuch juſt reaſons, declared his having certain advice, that the fleet of the infidels was to be put to no other uſe that year, than to aſſiſt the king of France againſt the emperor: Upon which, on his bare word, and ſtill more by his intereſt and authority, the gallies had orders to join immediately thoſe of the emperor; and the grand maſter, to pacify thoſe who murmur'd at their being employ'd in this manner, gave orders to the chevalier Pied-de-Fer, general of the gallies, when he took leave of him, that in caſe he ſhould find the fleet of the infidels were ſteering their courſe for Malta or Tripoli, he then ſhould return with all poſſible diligence into the ports of the order. But for the executing of ſuch orders, it would have been neceſſary for him to have had a ſafe-conduct from the ſea and winds, as well as from the enemy's fleet.

JOHN D'OMEDES.

De bello Melitenſi ad Carolum Ceſarem Nicolai Villegagnonis commentarius.

1653.

THE port of Meſſina was fix'd upon as the general rendezvous, ſcarce had the ſeveral ſquadrons which compos'd the Chriſtian fleet, put in there, when they received repeated advices from the Levant, that the grand ſeignior's was at ſea, and that that formidable armado ſteer'd towards the coaſts of Naples and Sicily, but that there was no judging where the ſtorm would fall. This fleet conſiſted of 112 royal gallies, two great galeaſſes, thirty flutes, and ſeveral brigantines and tranſport veſſels, all under the command of Sinan baſha, with Dragut, and another famous corſair called Sala-rais for his lieutenants; together with 12000 men, moſt of them janizaries, on board; and a great number of pioneers, working-tools, and machines proper for a ſiege. At the ſame time, the chevalier George de St. Jean, who was return'd from ſcouring all the coaſts of the Morea, into the harbour of Malta, reported, that the talk all over the Levant, was about the ſiege of Tripoli, or that of Malta itſelf; and that which made the council ſtill more uneaſy, was, that the commander de Villegagnon, who arrived about that time from France into Sicily, wrote from Meſſina to the grand maſter and his particular friends, by which he informed them, that the grand ſeignior's armament was deſigned purely againſt the dominions of the order, and that he was ſet out from his own country purpoſely to bring them certain advice of it, and to diſcharge that duty, which by his profeſſion he ow'd to the order. As this knight made at that time a very conſiderable figure both in France, as well as in his order, it may not perhaps be improper to give a more particular account of him.

BROTHER Nicholas Durande de Villegagnon was a Frenchman, born of an antient family in the province of Brie: He was one of the handſomeſt men of his age, had a mind adorn'd with every kind of curious and uſeful knowledge; nor was he leſs diſtinguiſh'd by his valour, which commanded reſpect from the braveſt captains his contemporaries.

We

JOHN D'OMEDES.

We have already taken notice of the advantageous manner in which he ſignalized himſelf at the ſiege of Algiers, and of the glory he there acquired in the ſight of ſo many different nations as compoſed the army of Charles V. Nor had he leſs diſtinguiſh'd himſelf at ſea in the ſervice of his prince, and in the poſt of vice-admiral of the coaſt of Bretagne. This gallant knight, at the firſt report of the grand ſeignior's preparations, and of Malta's being threaten'd with a ſiege, did not wait for a general citation; but with king Henry the Second's leave, leaving the court, and by that means all his hopes, arrived in Sicily, and acquainted the viceroy with the news he was carrying to the grand maſter. Nor did he fail to repreſent to him in very zealous terms, the few troops, and the ſmall ſtock of ammunition there was at that time at Malta, Goza, and Tripoli; preſſing him moreover to ſend ſuccours to thoſe iſlands, as being feudataries of the crown of Sicily, and ſerving as a bulwark to that kingdom.

THE viceroy imagining that the coaſts of Naples and Sicily were more in danger of being attack'd by the infidels than the places of the order, ſatisfy'd himſelf with ſaying, that he would omit nothing that might contribute to the defence of Malta, ſo far as was conſiſtent with the intereſt of the iſland, of which he was governor. An anſwer given in ſuch random and general terms, giving no ſatisfaction to Villegagnon, he went on board a brigantine, and arrived a few days after at Malta. At his landing, a crowd of knights came about him, and conducted him to the grand maſter; when, after having paid his firſt compliments to him, that prince aſſembled the council, had him called in, and asked him what they thought in France of the grand ſeignior's armament. The French commander replied, that 'twas the common opinion, that all the forces of the Ottoman empire were going to fall upon the territories of the order; that when he, at his coming away, was taking leave of the conſtable de Montmorency, firſt miniſter of the kingdom, that lord had commiſſion'd him to acquaint them in his name, that they would be immediately attacked; that the grand ſeignior, vex'd to find a great number of knights in all the armies, both of the emperor and the Venetians; and incens'd particularly at the ſhare they had had in the taking of Africa, intended to drive them out of Tripoli, and the iſles which they poſſeſſed, that he exhorted them not to ſuffer themſelves to be ſurprized; that this advice was the reſult of the ſentiments of eſteem and affection, which he bore for an illuſtrious order, and which the grand maſter de l'Iſle Adam his uncle had governed in the moſt perilous times, with the univerſal approbation of all the ſovereigns of Chriſtendom.

Id. Villegagnon, ibid.

THIS news alarmed the council; ſo that they uſed the moſt preſſing inſtances, in order to oblige the grand maſter to put the places belonging to the order in a ſtate of defence; and all of them were unanimouſly of opinion, that he ſhould immediately ſend ſuccours to Tripoli, which was but poorly fortified, and whoſe garriſon was compos'd of none but old and infirm knights, who had retired thither for the benefit of the air; that the little iſle of Goza was not tenable, and that it was neceſſary to demoliſh the caſtle, for fear the Turks ſhould eſtabliſh themſelves in a place that lay ſo near Malta; that they ſhould tranſport the inhabitants of that iſland to Sicily, deſire the viceroy to give them a retreat there, and to ask, by way of exchange, for ſome companies of foot to be ſent to Tripoli.

THE grand maſter heard theſe different advices with a coldneſs next to inſenſibility; when, after having expreſs'd to Villegagnon how much he was obliged to the conſtable for the great concern he diſcover'd for

the order, he diſmiſſed him; and making the great croſſes and pilliers of the convent ſtay behind him, he ſaid to them with a ſneer, "Either "this Frenchman is the conſtable's bubble, or he has a mind to make "us his." But afterwards, affecting a more ſerious air, and which was more ſuitable to an affair of ſuch importance, he told them, that they ſhould never perſuade him to believe, that Solyman had been at the expence of ſuch an armament with a view only of ſeizing upon Malta; that ſo inconſiderable an object, and the conqueſt of a barren rock, would never anſwer, or make amends for the prodigious expence he had been at, in fitting out ſo mighty a fleet; but that in reality the grand ſeignior, who was one of the greateſt politicians of his age, aim'd at much higher deſigns; that he was going, in concert with the king of France, to attack the kingdom of Naples; that his fleet, which alarm'd them ſo much, was expected in the port of Toulon; that it was immediately to join that of France; and that he likewiſe had certain advice, of the king's ſending thither five mules loaded with money, for the pay of the infidels. That after all, it would be proper, before they ſhould put themſelves to expences which would perhaps be thrown away, to wait for more poſitive accounts.

AN anſwer in terms ſo full of coldneſs and indifference, raiſed the indignation of ſeveral members of the council: What Villegagnon had advanc'd with relation to the neceſſity they were under of fortifying Tripoli, could never be thought an uſeleſs expence; but 'twas but too flagrantly known at Malta, that this prince, whoſe thoughts were entirely bent upon aggrandizing his family, reckoned all ſuch money as loſt, that did not turn to the profit of his nephews; and that the weakeſt pretence, provided it was but uſeful in putting off any expence, how neceſſary ſoever it might be, appeared ever in his eyes as a ſolid reaſon, and a certain advantage. Inſomuch, that ſome commanders anſwer'd him in pretty warm terms, that it would not be prudent in the council, upon the doubtful teſtimony of ſome ſpies only, to continue in a ſtate of indolence, at a time when the Ottoman fleet was drawing near, and the ſight of ſo great danger; that it was neceſſary to iſſue out a general citation forthwith, to ſummon together all the knights, who were diſperſed up and down in different parts of Chriſtendom, to fortify all thoſe weak places of the iſle of Malta, which might any way facilitate the deſcent of the infidels, to demoliſh the caſtle of Goza, tranſport the inhabitants of that iſland into Sicily, endeavour to get ſuccours from the viceroy, and above all things, recall the old knights from Tripoli, and fill up their places with a body of ſuch as were younger, and more able to undergo the fatigues of a ſiege.

THE grand maſter, who was ever fond of money, told them, that he was not averſe to the iſſuing out a citation, provided that they, till ſuch time as a general chapter could meet, in order to provide for the expence that the arrival of ſuch a great number of knights would occaſion, would in a full council augment the reſponſions and taxes, which every commandery was obliged to pay. He added, that he could not give his conſent to the abandoning of the caſtle of Goza, which was ſeated on the point of a rock, and which might ſerve for a retreat to the wives and children of the inhabitants of the iſland; and that the people would fight with greater courage and bravery, whilſt they had ſuch dear pledges before their eyes; and moreover, that he laid the utmoſt ſtreſs on the valour and experience of the chevalier d'Eſſé, who commanded there, in quality of governor. As to the exchange which they propoſed to make

John d'Omedes.

of the garriſon of Tripoli, he oppoſed it, under pretence that it was not prudent to weaken Malta, in order to fortify a place that lay ſo remote; and that the drawing ſome companies of foot thither from Sicily, would be ſuccours ſufficient; and laſtly, that he would write immediately to the viceroy upon that account.

HOWEVER weak his reaſons might be, yet all they could ſay had not ſtrength enough to get the better of his obſtinacy, or remove his prepoſſeſſions; and what was worſe, was, that his opinion, through the complaiſance of the Spaniſh and Italian commanders, prevail'd in council. They likewiſe laid aſide the deſign of a general citation, from a notion they entertain'd, that in caſe the Turks ſhould have orders to attack the territories of the order, they would arrive before Malta, before the citation could have paſſed the ſea; when, after making a few ſlight fortifications in all ſuch places as they might make deſcents, the grand maſter continued in as ſtrange and ſurprizing an inactivity, as if he had taken his orders from the Turkiſh general, or had been in concert with him. However, the viceroy of Sicily, who knew of what conſequence the preſervation of Malta was to Sicily, did at his requeſt ſend a recruit of two hundred Calabrians, which he had received from the kingdom of Naples, all of them either ſhepherds or mechanicks, who had never bore arms; but they flattered themſelves, that after their arrival at Tripoli, they, by being under the orders, and in imitation of the knights, would inſenſibly be form'd to military diſcipline.

ACCORDINGLY they began to make preparations for the ſhipping of them off; but when they were upon the point of imbarking, the fear of being pent up in a remote place, that was threaten'd with a ſiege, made their hearts ſink in them; ſo that the greateſt part of them abſconded: they complained that the grand maſter was ſending them to be knocked on the head, with no other view, than to ſpare the knights and his own ſoldiers; ſo that they could not prevail upon them to ſail for Africa, till they had put twenty-five knights at their head, who were all young men, that had been put under an arreſt, for an inſurrection which they had made, and whom the grand maſter was not much concern'd to part with.

Id. Villegagnon.

THIS was all the ſuccour they could obtain from the grand maſter for the city of Tripoli: The people of Goza were ſtill more neglected, and as if he had thought that battalions of armed men would ſpring out of the earth in their defence, they could not prevail upon him to ſend them either troops or gunners; and when the poor inhabitants of that little iſland ſent their wives and children to Malta, in two barks for their greater ſecurity, the grand maſter, in order to excuſe himſelf from providing for their ſubſiſtence, would not ſuffer them to land; nay, he went ſo far as to threaten to ſink them, if they offered to come near the port. In ſhort, all theſe women with their little children were forced to return to Goza, and d'Omedes apologized for ſo hard-hearted a proceedure by a refinement of policy, and the pretence above-mentioned; viz. that the inhabitants, by having thoſe dear pledges before their eyes, would fight with greater courage and reſolution. A few days after, news came that the grand ſeignior's fleet had appeared off the coaſt of Sicily; that the Turks had made deſcents and great ravages in ſeveral places; that after attempting the ſiege of Catana in vain, they had ſate down before Auguſta; that the town and caſtle had held out but a few days; that the infidels had committed all manner of violence there; and that 'twas commonly reported, that they were preparing to ſail directly for Malta.

1551. July 13.

THIS

JOHN D'OMEDES.

THIS diſagreeable news made the council very uneaſy, and alarmed all the inhabitants: But the grand maſter, in order to encourage them, cry'd out, "We are not the perſons, whom the Turks deſign to fall "upon; and the reaſon of their taking the Southern paſſage, which "ſeems to have brought them near Malta, is only becauſe it is the "ſhorteſt way to go to Provence." And, in order to ſupport his notion by the opinion of the moſt skilful pilots, he ſent for ſome of the oldeſt before the council, when they, either out of complaiſance, or becauſe it was really ſo in fact, agreed, that if the Turks had really orders to ſail to the coaſt of Provence, the Southern paſſage was a ſhorter cut by two hundred miles.

BUT at laſt this fatal blindneſs was removed; for the grand maſter three days after, ſaw from the windows of his palace the Ottoman fleet arrive, which ſailing on with a favourable wind, appeared in good order before the iſle of Malta. Solyman's orders to his general, were, that he ſhould as he paſſed, and according to the diſpoſition in which he found Malta and Goza, endeavour to make himſelf maſter of thoſe iſlands; but that if he found too much difficulty in the execution of that enterprize, he ſhould keep only to that of Tripoli, the reducing of which, in the deſign he had of recovering Africa, ſeemed to him of the greateſt importance. The grand ſeignior added, the knowledge he had of Dragut's experience, made him wiſh, that Sinan would undertake nothing of importance without firſt conſulting him. The Turkiſh general, in obedience to his orders, preſented himſelf at firſt before one of the ports of the iſland, called Marſa Muſect, which is divided from the great port, only by a ſlip of land, or properly ſpeaking a very high rock. July 16.

AT the approach of this formidable army, a general terror ſeized the inhabitants of the iſland, every one ſtrove to get out of the way, in order to avoid the fury of the Turks, and ran up and down in ſearch of a place of refuge, either in the holes of the rocks, or in the fortified places. There were only two in all the iſland; one of which was ſituated below the caſtle of St. Angelo, commonly called the bourg or town, and the ordinary reſidence of the convent at that time; and the other a good way up in the country, in the middle of the iſland, about ſix miles from the town, and the great port, and was called *the notable city*, or *the city of Malta*, after the name of the iſland, it being the capital, and properly ſpeaking, the only city in it at that time.

MOST of the inhabitants of the country, both men, women, and children, carried off the moſt portable part of their houſhold furniture, and leading ſome cows and goats for the ſubſiſtence of their children, took refuge in theſe two places. But as there were not houſes enough to lodge all this multitude, they were moſt of them obliged to ſtay in the market-places and the ſtreets; and what added to their misfortune, was, their being expoſed during all the dog-days to the heat of the ſun, which rages with intolerable violence in that burning climate. The infection and ſtink that exhaled from the excrements of theſe poor creatures, thus crowded together, would ſoon produce contagious diſtempers; and that which ſtill added to their affliction and deſpair, was the want of a well or fountain in either of thoſe places; and there was but little water in the ciſterns, ſo that if the Turks ſhould unhappily reſolve to lay cloſe ſiege to theſe two places, they would be ſoon forced, either to turn out all uſeleſs perſons, and deliver them up to the cruelty of the Barbarians, or elſe to capitulate; two extremes, which the order by its charity and valour was equally incapable of ſubmitting to.

THE

JOHN D'OMEDES.

THE knights, through the grand maſter's obſtinacy, were in want of every thing but courage; notwithſtanding which, they were not wanting in the duty they owed to themſelves and to the order; never had they on any former occaſion diſcovered greater reſolution than they did at this time. The ſame valour, which had ſhone with ſuch diſtinguiſh'd luſtre in thoſe antient knights to whom the order owed its military inſtitution and firſt conqueſts, appear'd in them; ſo that one would have thought they were ſtill the ſame men under other names. The chevalier Upton, an Engliſh commander, and one of the braveſt knights of the order, put himſelf at the head of thirty others, and four hundred inhabitants of the iſland, who were all on horſeback, when they marched down boldly to the ſea-ſhore on the ſide of the town, in order to oppoſe the Turks in their landing. The commander de Guimeran, a Spaniard, ſallied out at the ſame time on another ſide with a hundred knights on foot, and three hundred arquebuſiers, and paſſing over in skiffs from the town to mount Sceberras, the rock which parted the two great ports, he there lay ſnug, extended on the ground, in order to obſerve the deſigns and countenance of the infidels: He had not been long here, when he ſaw the Turkiſh general appear in his admiral galley, with ſome others after him, ſtanding in to the great port, in order to reconnoitre the moſt proper place for his landing; and as the ſide of the town was the moſt expoſed to the artillery of the caſtle of St. Angelo, he, in order to keep off from it, drew up on the ſide of mount Sceberras; but as he drew near that rock, the commander de Guimeran ſeeing him within arquebuſs ſhot, made ſuch a furious diſcharge, which was levell'd particularly at his own galley, that all the crew was put in diſorder, and let their oars drop. The ſurprize which had ſeiz'd the Turkiſh general, ſoon gave way to his reſentment, and his pride being wounded in its moſt tender part, to ſee himſelf attacked firſt by men whom he thought to ſurprize, and who were ſo much inferior to him in ſtrength, he, in revenge, vowed their deſtruction; upon which he made immediately to the ſhore, put into a place where he thought he might eaſily make a deſcent, landed a body of his men, and advanced in order to meet with the knights, and fight them: but the commander de Guimeran, being ſatisfied with his advantage, and finding himſelf far inferior in troops, had, after making his diſcharge, imbarked his ſoldiers, and brought them back ſafe into the town, without loſing ſo much as one man.

SINAN having ſought for them to no purpoſe, went, together with his principal officers, to the higheſt part of mount Sceberras, from whence taking a view of the caſtle of St. Angelo, its ſituation on the point of a rock, and the bulwarks with which it was fortified; "Is that "the caſtle, ſays he in a paſſion to Dragut, which thou told'ſt the "grand ſeignior might ſo eaſily be taken; certainly, continued the "baſha, the eagle could never have choſe the point of a ſteeper rock for "her airy." When an old corſair, brother to Airadin above-mention'd, who had formerly been lord of Tachora, either from an averſion to Dragut, or through complaiſance for his general, cry'd out to Sinan, "Do you ſee, ſays he to him, that bulwark which runs out towards "the ſea, upon which the knights have planted the great ſtandard of the "order? You muſt know, Sir, that when I was a ſlave at Malta, I "carried the great ſtones with which it was built upon my ſhoulders, "and before you can demoliſh that work, winter will come on; or, "what is more to be feared, ſome ſtrong ſuccour will come to the be-"ſieged."

JOHN D'OMEDES.

DRAGUT was all fire on this occaſion, and as he himſelf had never known what danger meant, he was prodigiouſly vex'd to find ſo much coldneſs and diffidence in his general; when, in order to induce him to lay ſiege to the town immediately, he repreſented to him, that all the ſtrength of the place lay in the caſtle of St. Angelo, and that if he could but once beat that caſtle down with his artillery, he would catch, as it were, the grand maſter and all the chiefs of the order in a net at once, who, he ſaid, had imprudently ſhut themſelves up in ſo weak a place.

BUT Sinan was of a different opinion; for he knew very well, that, in order to take a place which was defended by the knights, it was not enough to demoliſh the fortifications, but that he muſt kill all thoſe warriors to the laſt man, before he could be able to force his way into it; ſo that, to prevent his engaging unadviſedly in ſuch an enterprize, he called a council of war. Of all Solyman's generals, there was not any one, who was ſo timorous in appearance, when any affair was to be deliberated, as he was, though ever intrepid in action; but he never engaged in any, till ſuch time as he had conſider'd which were the ſureſt methods to beat the enemy; and that he had taken all poſſible precautions not to be vanquiſh'd himſelf: So, after having laid before the council, the orders he had from the grand ſeignior, he repreſented at the ſame time, that if he ſhould engage in the ſiege of the town, and the caſtle of St. Angelo, he was afraid that that enterprize would take up a great deal of time, and prevent his paſſing into Africa, where he was principally directed by his inſtructions to go; and moreover he believed, that they, in order to conform to the grand ſeignior's intentions, and to revenge themſelves on thoſe Chriſtian corſairs, had nothing more to do, than only to ravage the iſland, and carry off as many of its inhabitants as they could into ſlavery.

THE complaiſance which ſubaltern officers generally have for the ſentiments of their general, made thoſe of Sinan be approved. But Dragut, a ſworn enemy of the knights, and impatient to attack them, notwithſtanding the reſult of the council of war, inſiſted ſtrongly, that in caſe they did not think fit to attack the caſtle of St. Angelo and the town, they ſhould at leaſt lay ſiege to the capital, where moſt of the inhabitants of the iſland had, as he ſaid, ſhut themſelves up with their riches, and which, ſays he, we ſhall find without any manner of fortification, and without any other garriſon, but a company of miſerable peaſants, fellows that always trembled, even behind the ſtrongeſt baſtions. As the baſha, at his taking leave of the grand ſeignior, had received orders not to undertake any thing conſiderable without Dragut's advice, he thought himſelf oblig'd on this occaſion to give in to his opinion; and therefore, in order not to draw upon himſelf any complaints or ill offices from him at the port, he ordered his troops and artillery to be put a-ſhore. The whole army was now advancing up into the country, and arrived without any obſtacle before *the notable city*. The only difficulty they met with, was from the cannon, which they were at infinite pains to bring thither, by reaſon of the great number of rocks, with which the whole iſland abounded: all their carriages were broke over and over, inſomuch that they were at laſt forced to have them drawn by ſlaves, who employed ſeveral days about it, before they could be able to raiſe their batteries before the place, which is called *Malta*, from the general name of the iſland. 'Tis pretended, that it was founded by the Carthaginians; when the Romans, after having deſtroyed Carthage, that haughty rival of Rome, drove the Africans afterwards out of this

JOHN D'OMEDES.

isle; and that the Mahometan Arabs seized on it in their turn, and gave it the name of Medina, in memory of the city of the same name, situated in Arabia Petræa, which Mahomet had called *Medina-Labi*, i. e. *the prophet's city*. The bailiff George Adorne, of an illustrious family in Genoa, was at that time governor of the city of Malta, in which above 13000 persons of both sexes had taken refuge; so that there was abundance of people in it, tho' but few soldiers, at the same time. The Turks, upon their entring the island, spread themselves up and down in all its villages and hamlets, and destroyed all before them with fire and sword. They set the houses on fire, so that nothing was to be seen, wherever one turn'd one's eyes, for the country was all over of a smoke, occasion'd by the burning of the houses and the corn, which they had not had time to get in. The army was soon got before the place, when they opened the trenches, and began to raise batteries. But all this did not pass without opposition from the governor, who made several sallies, not so much from any hopes he had of ruining the enemies works, as to shew them by his intrepidity and resolution, that he was determined to make a courageous defence.

BUT he was in want of regular troops, and especially of a sufficient number of knights to command, and lead on the peasants and inhabitants of the country, who had taken refuge in the place; the greatest part of these peasants, at the enemy's approach, looking on themselves as the prey of the infidels, repented their having shut themselves up in the town; and a great many of them, fancying they should be safer in any other place than where they were, got themselves let down with ropes into the ditch, and flatter'd with the hopes of escaping the enemy, met either present death or slavery in their way. The governor enrag'd to see himself deserted in this manner, exhorts, entreats, threatens such as were left behind, and by his own example and resolution prevails so far as to have some of them form'd into companies, heading them with some knights, his friends, who had generously shut themselves up along with him: but as he saw plainly that he should want a greater number, and especially one who had been in sieges, and who was skill'd in the art of attacking and defending places, he found means to send a soldier out of town in the night, to give the grand master an account of the state of the siege, and to desire him to send him a recruit of knights, and particularly Villegagnon, whose valour and experience qualified him to share with him in the command and the defence of the place.

THE grand master, as well for his own safety as for that of the town, did not care to part with any of those who defended him, and thereby lessen their number; so that all the answer he gave the messenger, was, that among such a great number of townsmen and peasants, as had retired into the town, it was impossible, but that some of them must be capable of commanding over the rest; that the interest of their country, and the defence of their lives and liberties, were motives strong enough to make them all fight it out to the last, and that on such occasions experience and capacity in the common officers and soldiers, was less wanting than vigour and courage. The messenger, vex'd to see himself sent back to his master without any succours, and that all he would be able to carry him back, would be such an harsh answer, asked him, pursuant to his orders, to send him at least the chevalier de Villegagnon. The grand master, who had ever since his arrival at Malta, found him more sincere than he could have wished, was glad to get rid of him on so honourable a pretence; upon which, he sent for him immediately, when being come,

come, he told him with a gracious and obliging air, that he had ever entertain'd the higheſt notions of his valour and capacity in the arts of war; that the order in this juncture was requiring new proofs of it from him; that he was deſired to go and throw himſelf into the place which was beſieged; that the great number of townſmen and peaſants which were in it, was indeed a ſufficient ſecurity againſt all the attacks of the Turks; but that thoſe men, who would eaſily be made good ſoldiers, wanted a leader to ſupply the governor's ſtead in thoſe places, where he himſelf could not be preſent. Villegagnon, with a modeſty that is inſeparable from true valour, made him this plain and hearty anſwer, That at his receiving the habit and the croſs of the order, he had at the ſame time dedicated his life to its ſervice; that it was no longer at his own, but at the diſpoſal of his ſuperiors, and that he was ready to go, whenever he ſhould order him. He added, that he deſired him not to take it ill, if he repreſented to him, that there was no great ſtreſs to be laid upon the crowd of peaſants which were ſhut up in the city, they being all averſe to danger, and not to be wrought upon by any ſenſe of ſhame for ſhrinking from it; that in the preſent juncture the governor wanted a ſet of intrepid men, who would fight from motives of religion and principles of honour; and that, to tell him his ſentiments plainly, if he were deſirous of ſaving the place, he muſt throw at leaſt an hundred knights into it.

THE grand maſter replied, that it had been reſolv'd in council to reſerve all the knights for the ſole defence of the town and the caſtle of St. Angelo; that however to prevent his going away alone, he would prevail with the council to let him take ſix other knights along with him; which, in a word, was all the ſuccour they could ſpare him. Villegagnon begg'd him to conſider, what ſuccour could in an aſſault be expected from only ſix knights, who upon the approach of the enemy, and the thunder of the artillery, would be ſoon abandon'd by the peaſants; that to tell him the plain truth, theſe ſix knights would be ſent only to be knocked on the head; and that they would be overwhelm'd in a moment by a multitude of enemies, without having it in their power, even by the loſs of their lives, to acquire any honour, which is only to be gained in an obſtinate defence. The grand maſter, tir'd with the ſolidity of his remonſtrances, told him roughly, that he expected courage and obedience, and not arguments, in a knight; and that if he was afraid of venturing, he would find a great many who would think themſelves honoured by ſuch a commiſſion. Villegagnon, touch'd in his moſt tender part, at an anſwer which ſeemed to reflect upon his honour, cry'd out, "Sir, I'll give a proof that fear "never made me decline danger." Upon which he ſet out the ſame inſtant with ſix French knights, his friends; and in order to make the greater expedition, and to get there before day, they not having ſaddles, got upon mares that were feeding in the caſtle-ditch, came near to the town that was beſieging, crept in the dark up to the very wall; when making the ſignals which had been agreed on, they, by the help of ropes, got all ſeven, together with their guide, into the place, without being perceived by the enemy.

AT the report which in the morning was ſpread all over the city, of the arrival of this little ſuccour, all the people, poſſeſſed with an extraordinary opinion of the conduct and bravery of the chevalier de Villegagnon, diſcover'd the utmoſt demonſtrations of joy. The old men, women, and children, never ceas'd to extol, as indeed it really deſerv'd, the noble reſolution he and his companions had taken of throwing themſelves

JOHN D'OMEDES.

ſelyes into the place. The inhabitants ſolemnized his entry with volleys of their ſmall arms, inſomuch, that one would have thought that ſingle perſon had ſupplied them with troops, arms, and proviſions: The commander to keep up their chearfulneſs told them, that he ſhould be followed by a conſiderable body of knights, and that he was come before, only to conſult with the governor on the moſt proper means for the bringing that ſuccour into the place. But when he was in private with the bailiff, he told him the whole truth of the affair, and what diſpoſition the grand maſter was in; he frankly owned to him that he was not to depend on any other ſuccour but what his own valour would bring him, that he was come to die with him, but that they muſt, by a brave reſiſtance at leaſt, make their loſs renown'd in the order, as well as fatal to the enemy.

THE bailiff conſidering that the walls of the towns could not long reſiſt againſt the batteries of the Turks, made, by Villegagnon's advice, large and deep intrenchments within, which he fortified with planks and epaulements, or ſhouldering pieces well provided with artillery and musketteers. Villegagnon had the inſpection of the work; the knights who came with him, laid their hand to it, and all the people in general, as well women as men, animated by their example and their diſcourſes, labour'd at it with the like eagerneſs; and all thought themſelves out of danger, ſince they had Villegagnon among them.

THE baſha, at the noiſe of the vollies, and the ſhouts which the inhabitants ſet up at his arrival, began to ſuſpect that ſome ſuccour had got into the place. The mares likewiſe which the commander had left when he got into the town, and which the Turks found the next morning, gave him no longer room to doubt of it: but ſuch weak ſuccours could never have put a ſtop to his continuing the ſiege, had not a letter that the Turks intercepted in a Sicilian bark, which they took as it was attempting to get into one of the ports of Malta, given Sinan the utmoſt uneaſineſs.

THIS letter was written by the receiver of the order, who reſided at Meſſina, and was directed to the grand maſter, by which he told him, that he had ſent that bark purpoſely to give him advice, that Andrew Doria the emperor's admiral, and the terror of the infidels, was returned from Spain, and actually arrived in the harbour of Meſſina; that he had diſpatched expreſſes and brigantines with the utmoſt expedition to all the ports of that iſland, as well as to Naples and Genoa, with orders for all the gallies and ſhips that were in a condition to put to ſea, together with the troops neceſſarry to man them, to repair immediately to him; and that he would ſet out immediately, in order to fight the enemy, and oblige them to raiſe the ſiege.

THIS advice was meerly fe ign'd, and a ſtratagem of the receiver, who employ'd this artifice with no other view but to make the baſha uneaſy; and his deſign ſucceeded to his wiſh. Sinan was alarmed at the news, and notwithſtanding that all advice which comes from an enemy might juſtly be ſuſpected, he yet thought at the ſame time, that it was not to be neglected: upon which he called a council of war, and after having caus'd the receiver's letter to be read before them, he repreſented to them, that in caſe Doria ſhould come to attack his fleet at that juncture, that he would not be able to continue the ſiege without leaving it unprovided of the troops which he had landed, nor could yet ſend them back to defend the ſhips, without weakning the land-army conſiderably, and expoſing himſelf to be defeated by the garriſon of the city, which, in concert with the body of knights, who were in the town, might probably attack his lines at the ſame time; that in caſe he, by the ſudden arrival of the

the Chriſtian fleet, ſhould be obliged to re-imbark in a hurry, he, by a precipitate retreat, and eſpecially in a country full of rocks, would run the hazard of being forced to leave his cannon behind him. He added further, that he indeed had had leave to attempt the ſiege of Malta, and that of the town and caſtle of St. Angelo in his way; but that preferably to all this, his expreſs orders were to beſiege Tripoli; that he was afraid leſt the month of September ſhould be come before he ſhould have finiſhed his enterprize of the city of Malta; that they were very ſenſible there was no keeping the ſea along the coaſt of Africa at that ſeaſon of the year; and finally, that he would not perhaps be in a condition to lay ſiege to Tripoli, after having had the mortification of miſcarrying in that of Malta.

THE council, after having examined his reaſons, and carefully weigh'd the different reſolutions that might be taken, agreed that the general, without loſing more time in the ſiege of Malta, ought to bend all his endeavours to that of Tripoli only; that he would infallibly carry a place which was ſo poorly fortified; or that at leaſt, by acting purſuant to his orders, he by that means would prevent any reproaches from the grand ſeignior, a prince whoſe anger was ever formidable. The Turks, in conſequence of this reſult, raiſed the ſiege, and re-imbarked; but as a thirſt of plunder is the prevailing paſſion of thoſe Barbarians, the baſha, before his ſailing for Tripoli, could not refuſe the giving of his leave, to ravage the iſle of Goza which belonged to the order.

THIS little iſland, called by the inhabitants Gaudiſch, is ſituated four miles from Malta to the weſt, or rather weſt-north-weſt; being about twenty four miles in circumference, and about three broad, and is almoſt ſurrounded with rocks and ſhelves; there were at that time about 7000 inhabitants in it, and a caſtle without fortifications, ſeated upon an hill, which commanded a town that lay at the foot of it.

THOUGH ſome commanders had been of opinion that it would be proper to demoliſh this little caſtle, and tranſport all the inhabitants of the iſland to Sicily, nevertheleſs the grand maſter, as has been already obſerved, differ'd from them in it, and had brought over the council to his opinion by his intereſt and authority, rather than by his arguments; but they are now ſenſible of their invalidity by a woful experience, for the Turkiſh general having in vain ſummoned the governor to ſurrender, he batter'd it with his artillery. The inhabitants, thro' the fear they were under of being made ſlaves by the Infidels, offered the governor to defend the breach; but that knight, whoſe name was Galatian de Seſſa, and whoſe courage the grand maſter boaſted ſo much of, inſtead of improving this brave diſpoſition, and of putting himſelf at their head, hid himſelf in his apartment, deſpairing to hold out the place. This cowardly conduct, the like of which had been never known in the order, threw the inhabitants into a general conſternation; there was only a brave Engliſh cannoneer in the place, who levelling his cannon, kill'd ſeveral Turks, and hinder'd the reſt from advancing up to the wall.

BUT the gallant Engliſhman being kill'd by a cannon-ball from the Turkiſh batteries, not a man would take his poſt. The governor, in order to get a capitulation for his own ſecurity, continued in his uſual indolence; but being as great a bragadochio, as he was a coward, he ſent to the baſha to demand honourable conditions, which are never granted but to thoſe only who make a brave defence. A monk went in his name to offer Sinan to ſurrender the place, provided that general would oblige himſelf by treaty to preſerve his life, his liberty, and effects, and thoſe

JOHN D'OMEDES.

of all the inhabitants. But the Turkiſh general rejected the propoſal with diſdain, and told the envoy, that if the governor did not quit the place that very moment, he would hang him up at the gate. The monk returning to the caſtle with this diſmal news, the governor ſent him back again to demand for his liberty at leaſt, as well as that of two hundred of the principal inhabitants, whom he himſelf ſhould name; but the baſha ſtinted the number to forty, and at the ſame time threaten'd the negotiator to hang him up, if he ever preſum'd to return to him again. Upon which, the governor, ſeiz'd with a pannic fear, commanded the gates to be opened to the enemy, which was the only order he had given ever ſince the Turks had entered the iſland. The infidels threw themſelves immediately into the place, in order to plunder it; the governor's lodgings was the firſt place that fell a ſacrifice to their greedineſs, when, after having carry'd all his goods and furniture out of it, they, to ſhew how much they deſpis'd ſo cowardly a commander, oblig'd him to carry part of them upon his ſhoulders to their ſhips; after which, they ſtripped his cloaths off, and chain'd him down like a galley-ſlave: in vain did he plead the general's promiſe, and idly complain of their having broke the capitulation by treating him ſo ill. Sinan, to elude the ſenſe of the treaty, and ridicule him at the ſame time, gave forty poor infirm old men, the moſt aged in all the iſland, their liberty; pretending that as he had been engaged to give forty of the principal of the iſland their liberty, the oldeſt ought to be look'd upon as the principal: by virtue of this forc'd interpretation, he kept the governor in ſlavery, beſides 6300 perſons of all ages and ſexes, whom he put on board his fleet.

See the firſt book of the relation de N. Nicolai, c. 15. edit. 1568.

AMONG theſe poor inhabitants, there happen'd to be a Sicilian, that had been ſettled for many years at Goza, who preferring death to ſlavery, delivered himſelf and all his family, by the inſpirations of a bloody compaſſion, from the hardſhips and ſhame that attend upon ſlavery, after a very tragical manner. This Sicilian, tranſported with rage and jealouſy, ſtabb'd his wife and two young daughters whom he had had by her; when, reſolving not to ſurvive them, he takes up a fuſee and a croſs-bow, with which he killed two Turks, and afterwards throwing himſelf ſword in hand into the midſt of a crowd of enemies, he, after having wounded ſeveral of them, was cut to pieces, and met with the death he ſo eagerly ſought after.

THE inhabitants of Malta were greatly affected with the news which came of the unhappy fate of the people of Goza; they all unanimouſly expreſs'd their abhorrence of the governor's cowardice, and ſeveral knights, the French in particular from a national antipathy, demanded openly, that they ſhould proceed againſt him: but as the grand maſter was his protector, he eluded the propoſal, under pretence that as that knight was in the hands of the infidels, they could not judge him without firſt hearing him; and in order to conceal from all Chriſtendom, the ſcandal that might be thrown upon the whole order for the governor's cowardice, he engaged moſt of the knights, who were either his own countrymen or in his confidence, to write to their reſpective countries, by which they ſhould declare, that he had ſignalized himſelf by a noble defence; that ſo long as he was living, the people of Goza, in obedience to his orders, and in imitation of his example, had always repulſed the attacks of the infidels with great valour; but that this brave governor, having been killed with a cannon-ball, the people by loſing their leader, had loſt their courage at the ſame time, and that the principal inhabi-

tants,

tants, in order to ſave the lives and honour of their wives and children, had thought themſelves obliged to capitulate, though Sinan, out of a perfidiouſneſs too often found in thoſe Barbarians, had afterwards openly violated the capitulation.

THIS fiction paſſed for a long time as an undoubted matter of fact all over Europe; and the truth of it was not known, till many years after that unhappy accident had happen'd. That knight having by dint of money found means to get out of ſlavery, had not only the impudence to appear again at Malta; but managed his intrigues ſo artfully, that he got himſelf acquitted by the council, of the accuſation which had been brought againſt him for cowardice; and that either becauſe the lords who compos'd it, thought he had been ſufficiently puniſh'd by the hardſhips which he had endur'd during his ſlavery, or elſe becauſe time had in a great meaſure worn off the indignation which they had conceiv'd at his cowardly behaviour.

THE baſha, after having ravaged the iſland, demoliſh'd the caſtle, and left terrible marks of his fury in every place, return'd again on board; but inſtead of ſailing towards Provence, as the grand maſter was always for making every body believe he would do, that general ſteer'd directly for Tripoli. The grand maſter was in no ſmall confuſion when he heard the news of it; and in order to repair the fault which his obſtinacy, perhaps his avarice, had made him commit, he applied himſelf to Gabriel d'Aramon, embaſſador of Henry II. of France at the port, and who was well known to Sinan baſha. That miniſter had come a-ſhore at Malta in his way from Conſtantinople about the latter end of the foregoing year, when he returned from thence into France; and the king his maſter ſending him back to the Levant, he paſſed by Malta, when in ſome intercourſe which he had there, he aſſured the grand maſter and the convent of that prince's good will towards them. Sinan had left the iſle of Goza ſome days before, and the French miniſter in a converſation which he had with the grand maſter, expreſs'd his great concern for his not having arrived ſooner at Malta, as his offices with the baſha might not perhaps have been unſerviceable to the order. "You are not come too late now, replied the grand maſter, and provi- "ded the affairs you are commiſſion'd with, will but allow you to go "to Tripoli, we ſhall be greatly happy, if, by the deference which the "miniſters of the port pay to the king your maſter's recommendation, "you can but prevail ſo far, as to divert Sinan from laying ſiege to that "place; and therefore, added D'Omedes, I beſeech you in the name of "Chriſt Jeſus, and in the name of the king your maſter, who glories "in the title of the moſt Chriſtian king, to uſe all your endeavours to "effect it."

Memoires du chevalier de Villegagnon addreſſez à l'empereur Charles V. N. Nicolai, l. 1. c. 15.

WHAT haſte ſoever d'Aramon was in to continue his voyage, he yet thought there were ſome occaſions in which a miniſter is allow'd to gueſs at his maſter's intentions; when knowing the great affection his king bore to the order, and in order not to loſe a moment's time, he went on board a light brigantine which the grand maſter furniſh'd him, ſailed away for Tripoli, and ordered the gallies that had brought him to Malta, to come and join him before the port of that place.

THE baſha had put in at Tachora, which is but four leagues from Tripoli, in order to get intelligence; where he had been receiv'd by the Aga Morat, who had made himſelf lord of that diſtrict; he was a Turkiſh officer, and had ſucceeded Airadin, of whom mention has been already made, in that little government. The arrival of the Ottoman fleet, as well

JOHN D'OMEDES.

well as of Dragut, for which he had ſollicited at the port, gave him a ſenſible pleaſure, which he diſcover'd to Soly man's general by the magnificent reception he gave him; and particularly by a body of cavalry well accouter'd, with which he preſented him, in order for their ſerving at the ſiege of Tripoli. Sinan, after having repos'd himſelf for ſome days, diſpatched a Moor to that city on horſeback, who carried a white flag like an herald. The Moor advancing to the ſide of the ditch of the place, planted a cane there, with a paper faſtened at the end of it, without any direction who it was for, and cried that he would return the next day for an anſwer.

GASPARD DE VALIER, of the language of Auvergne, and marſhal of the order, commanded at that time in the place. He was an old knight, who had paſſed through the prime dignities and poſts of the order, a man univerſally eſteemed for his valour, and one who was even look'd upon as a perſon highly deſerving of the grand maſterſhip, when that dignity ſhould become vacant; but for that very reaſon not over-agreeable to the grand maſter, he being like moſt other princes, who do not always behold their ſucceſſors with a favourable eye. This might, perhaps, have been the motive which had engaged him to ſend him out of the way, under the honourable pretence of ſending him to command in Tripoli: not to mention that the marſhal was become odious to him, for the liberty which he had taken of differing from him in opinion in council, and of oppoſing his ſentiments without any great ſcruple. The governor ſent to fetch the paper which the Moor had ſet up, and upon opening it, found that it was a cartel or defiance, containing theſe words; "Surrender "yourſelves to the mercy of the grand ſeignior, who has ordered "me to reduce this place under his obedience: I will allow you the li-"berty of retiring whereſoever you ſhall think fit with your effects; but "in caſe of your refuſal, I'll put you to the ſword."

Signed, SINAN BASHA.

THE marſhal, with the concurrence of the council, had another paper fix'd in the ſame place, in which, by way of anſwer, he writ the following words with his own hand; "The government of Tripoli has "been intruſted to me by my order; I can't ſurrender it up to any "one, but to him, whom the grand maſter and the council of the order "ſhall nominate; and I will defend it againſt all others to the laſt drop "of my blood.

Signed, THE MARSHAL GASPARD DE VALIER.

THE Moor returning the next day, took this paper and carried it to the baſha; who, by ſuch a reſolute anſwer, ſaw plainly, that there was was no reducing Tripoli, but by force of arms: Whereupon he advanced immediately in good order with his fleet, landed his troops and artillery, reconnoitred the place, and prepared to lay ſiege to it. All the garriſon at that time in Tripoli, conſiſted only in the recruit of two hundred men, which were come from Calabria, a company of raw fellows that had never ſeen fire, and about two hundred Moors, the allies of the order, who though of the Mahometan religion, did yet, out of averſion to the Turks, do good ſervice to the Chriſtians. Tripoli, as has been already obſerved, was ſcarce tenable, and eſpecially againſt a ſtrong army, provided with a large train of artillery; and the grand maſters had ſeveral times intreated the emperor to take it back into his own hands, or elſe cauſe it to be fortified, and put in a condition of defence: But Charles V. in order

order to ſave that expence, had always anſwered, that he had given the order the feofment of Tripoli, Malta, and Goza, by one and the ſame deed; and that the knights were equally obliged to defend thoſe three places, or reſtore them all to him; and that he would not take Tripoli back, unleſs they would give him up the iſlands of Malta and Goza at the ſame time. That prince, who was as ſelf-intereſted as politick, had only given them this anſwer, becauſe he was very ſenſible, that the knights having no place to retire to, but Malta, would, in order to maintain themſelves there, be obliged to ſtay at Tripoli; and this indeed had been the ſole motive of their keeping ſo weak a place as Tripoli, which the narrow circumſtances of the order had not allow'd them to fortify. And indeed the baſha going to reconnoitre the place himſelf, bragged to ſome officers who attended him, as he was returning from thence, that it would coſt him but one bold ſtroke, and he would carry it by ſcalado. But he judged otherwiſe of the caſtle, which appear'd to be well fortified with bulwarks, and he reſolved to attack the place on that ſide.

THEY had not yet opened the trenches, when d'Aramon the French embaſſador above-mentioned, arrived on board the brigantine of the order, who, as he drew near the fleet, ſaluted the grand ſeignior's flag; and becauſe he put out French colours, he was anſwered by all the artillery of the ſhips. He landed afterwards, when knowing that it is almoſt impoſſible to ſucceed in any negotiations with the miniſters of the port without preſents, he ſent very magnificent ones to the baſha, in order to obtain a favourable audience from him. No ſooner was it granted, but he went to his quarters, and into his tent; when he repreſented to him, that the king his maſter had a particular regard and affection for the order of Malta, and that as that ſociety was compoſed of the moſt illuſtrious nobility of Chriſtendom, part of which were born his ſubjects, he would take it as a ſignal favour, if he turn'd the grand ſeignior's arms another way; and that his maſter, who was the moſt generous prince living, would not fail to acknowledge his obligations to him upon that account, by preſents ſuitable to the dignity and power of ſo great a king. The baſha, who had contracted a kind of friendſhip with the embaſſador, during his reſidence at the port, opened his mind to him. He ſhewed him his orders ſigned with the grand ſeignior's own hand, by which that prince had expreſly enjoined him to drive the Chriſtians out of Tripoli; when the baſha directing his diſcourſe to the embaſſador, ſaid further, that he ſhould loſe his head, if he did not obſerve his orders.

D'ARAMON ſeeing that what he asked was not in his power to grant, was for taking leave of him, in the intention of making all poſſible haſte to Conſtantinople, in order to ſee whether he might be able to prevail ſo far with the grand ſeignior, as to make him ſend new orders to his general: But Sinan, who ſaw through his deſign, foreſeeing that he, by ſuch a change of orders, would be deprived of the glory which he flatter'd himſelf he ſhould gain by this conqueſt, gave him to underſtand, that he could not let him go away before the ſiege was ended; ſo without having any regard to the law of nations, which he broke in ſo notorious a manner, he ordered all the rigging of the brigantine which had brought him, as well as the two gallies which were come to join him, to be taken out: but if we except this injuſtice, he treated him with all the reſpect which was due to his character.

IN the mean time, the trenches were opened, the cannon was planted upon batteries; and in order to hinder the knights from repairing what it beat down, the baſha had diſtributed all his artillery into three ſeveral

JOHN D'OMEDES.

batteries, each of twelve pieces of different ſizes, which fired one after another continually; ſo that whilſt they were charging again the battery which had juſt fired, they at the ſame time fired another, by which means this kind of thunder roar'd on without intermiſſion. Happily for the beſieged, theſe batteries were pointed againſt the bulwark of St. James, the place that was beſt fortified in all the caſtle, and terraſſed within, ſo that the ball only made a hole, and ſunk down in the terraſs. The Turks had now employ'd ſeveral days to no purpoſe in this attack, when a deſerter born at Cavaillon in Provence, gave the baſha notice that it would be proper for him to change his batteries. This villain had been ſettled a long time in Tripoli; his religion was in ſome meaſure a pledge of his fidelity; but having been ſeduc'd by a criminal commerce with ſome Moriſh women, he had ſecretly renounced the faith, embraced Mahometaniſm, and being as falſe to the order, as he had been to God, he ſtay'd at Tripoli for no other reaſon than to ſerve as a ſpy for the aga Morat, the lord of Tachora above-mentioned. 'Twas by his means that he got acceſs to the baſha, and that he ſhewed him that if he was deſirous of ſucceeding in his enterprize, he muſt turn his batteries againſt the bulwark of St. Barbe, the ſtones of which were, as he ſaid, looſened by the mouldering away of the mortar, which time had conſum'd.

THE renegado's advice being follow'd, the wall began to tumble a few days after; in vain did the marſhal endeavour to ſupply the want of that defence by intrenchments, which he marked out behind the breach, and within the town, for the continual fire of the artillery, which play'd day and night without ceaſing upon that very place, killed all the ſlaves whom they employed in that work. Such as were left, obſtinately refuſed to ſupply their places, and tho' they beat them ſeverely, they nevertheleſs would lie down, and ſuffer themſelves to be baſtinado'd unmercifully, rather than riſe and go to a place, where they expected immediate death.

THIS fright, which began by the ſlaves, infected afterwards the Calabrian ſoldiers, who were full as great cowards: The greateſt part of thoſe peaſants had been put in a little fort ſituated at the entrance of the port, called the Chatelet, which was commanded by a military ſerving brother, des Roches by name. This officer, who was very attentive to every thing that paſſed in his fort, obſerving the air and diſcourſe of thoſe ſoldiers, found it attended with a ſurly and brutal pride, which made him ſuſpect that ſome dangerous deſign was hatching. Upon his examining diligently into the matter, he found that theſe Calabrians, who had not been uſed to the noiſe of cannon, and were afraid of being buried under the ruins of the fort, had agreed to ſeize upon a brigantine which lay in the port, and to make their eſcape into Sicily. Theſe, in order to hinder the governor from either ſtopping or purſuing them, had reſolved, before they ſhould go on board, to leave a match of a proper length near the magazine of powder, in order to ſet fire to it after their departure, and thereby blow up the little caſtle. The officer conſidering that it would be as dangerous to let them know that he was inform'd of their plot, as it would be to neglect it, reſolved to give private notice of it to the marſhal; in conſequence of which, he took care to draw them all out of the fort one after another upon various pretences; and to prevent all future caballing, they were diſperſed up and down in different places, and among other companies who were thought to be more faithful. But this change of place did not produce any alteration in the ill deſigns of theſe cowards, and ſerved only as it were to enlarge the ſcene

of

of the conſpiracy; every one of theſe wretches infected the other ſoldiers with the poiſon of their rebellion; nor did the inhabitants who were upon guard with them eſcape the taint. 'Tis pretended that this ſedition was privately fomented by ſome Spaniſh knights, who were enemies to the governor. 'Twas now a kind of general conſpiracy, the Calabrians abandon'd their poſts thro' fear; and joining together in a body, encompaſſed their commanding officer with their ſwords drawn, when they threaten'd to kill him in caſe he did not oblige the marſhal to ſecure them their lives and liberties by a ſpeedy capitulation.

THE governor, who was ſenſible of the dangers to which men are expoſed in a ſiege, prepared himſelf againſt their coming like a good Chriſtian, and a true religious, by receiving the ſacraments; and was but juſt come from partaking of the holy euchariſt, when the Calabrian captain advanc'd towards him with trouble and confuſion in his looks; when being come, he cry'd out, "Sir, all your enemies are not in the "Turkiſh camp; you have ſome within the town, who are ſtill more "dangerous, and 'tis with infinite concern that I am come to tell you, "that my ſoldiers, in contempt of their oaths, have abandoned their poſt, "and refuſe to do any more duty. He told him further, that they cried "aloud for a capitulation, uſing threats at the ſame time, and that he "was afraid they ſhould be forced to ſubmit to that article, in order to "prevent a greater misfortune."

THE marſhal, diſſembling his indignation, went very prudently that moment out of the church, and was immediately ſurrounded by the mutineers; when he demanded of them with a ſtern air, why they were not all at their ſeveral poſts: but he eaſily diſcovered their rebellious diſpoſition by the little reſpect they ſhew'd him; for they all, as it were, by concert, interrupted him with inſolent cries: ſo that, in order not to expoſe himſelf to ſuch a rabble of furies, all that he then thought fit to ſay, was, that he was going to call a council of war. He had no ſooner given notice of it, but all the knights and officers came about him, when without diſſembling his trouble and reſentment, he cried out, that he had lived a day too long, and that he was very unfortunate, ſince the enemy's cannon had ſpared him, only to make him a ſorrowful witneſs of the rebellion, and the perfidiouſneſs of his ſoldiers; and thereupon he asked the knights their ſeveral opinions about the condition of the place. The chevalier de Poiſſi, or de Poiſſieu, of the language of France, declared, that he had examined the breach with the greateſt exactneſs; that it was not ſo large but that it might be ſupply'd by good intrenchments, and that provided the ſoldiers would but return to their duty, and take heart, they were ſtill ſtrong enough to repulſe the enemy. N. Nicolai c, 19.

BUT a Spaniſh knight, named Herrera, who acted as treaſurer, directing his diſcourſe to him, cry'd out, "I am not in the leaſt ſurprized "that you ſhould declare for a longer reſiſtance in ſo weak a place, as "you are a Frenchman, and that your king has an embaſſador at this "time in the enemy's camp: You are very ſenſible, that tho' we ſhould "happen to be taken by ſtorm, you nevertheleſs would have no reaſon "to be in pain about your lives and liberties; but our fate will be very "different, ſince being ſubjects to the emperor, the irreconcileable ene-"my of the infidels, we can expect no quarter from thoſe Barbarians, "if we do not prevent an aſſault, and conſequently our ruin, by an im-"mediate capitulation; and this, added he, is what I think neceſſary to "be done for the ſafety of my countrymen and my companions." Other officers propos'd, before they ſhould come to ſuch a final reſolution, the Memoires de Villegagnon.

ſending

JOHN D'OMEDES.

ſending one of the oldeſt and moſt experienced knights to viſit the breach, and afterwards make his report of it to the council: Whereupon the marſhal diſpatched the commander Copier to the mutineers at the ſame time, to acquaint them with this reſolution, and to exhort them to return to their reſpective poſts, till ſuch time as the council ſhould have decided the affair.

COPIER, in order to engage them to it, offered them in the marſhal's name to double their pay; he aſſured them, that they were going to viſit the breach, and that upon the report which ſhould thereupon be made to the council, they would take proper meaſures to provide for their ſafety: But he repreſented to them at the ſame time, that they, by deſerting their poſts, expoſed themſelves, before they ſhould have time to treat, to the danger of being ſurprized and forced by the Turks; and that the only way to obtain an advantageous capitulation, would be to appear all of them in their ſeveral poſts, with an air of intrepidity and reſolution, and as if they were fully determin'd to give the infidels a warm reception.

THE commander's reaſons, which were ſeaſonably intermix'd with tender intreaties, and generous reproaches, made ſome impreſſion upon the mutineers; but Herrera inſinuating to them, that all theſe promiſes were deſigned only to amuſe them, and that the marſhal, who was a poſitive man, would rather be kill'd on the breach than enter into a negotiation, they renew'd their clamour, and rejected all the commander's propoſals. The marſhal's reſolute courage, and their own cowardice, by an odd kind of fatality, did both of them contribute to confirm them in their rebellion: for 'tis probable that they would have been wrought upon more eaſily, had they thought their governor leſs capable of taking a deſperate reſolution. They all proteſted that they would keep together in a body till ſuch time as the breach had been viſited, and that they would not truſt to any body's report thereupon but a Spaniard's only; ſo that in order to ſatisfy them, they were forced to ſend thither an old ſoldier of their cabal, Guenara by name. This ſoldier, after having viſited the breach, reported that it was eaſy to be forced, and hard to be defended; that in caſe the Turks, as no doubt they would, ſhould continue their battery, all that was left ſtanding of the wall on that ſide, would be beat down before night; that there was no poſſibility of making the intrenchments which the chevalier de Poiſſi had propos'd, and that they would be of no other uſe than to throw away the lives of a great number of good men. Upon his report, which was calculated for the prejudices of the mutineers, they fell into a new rage, and threatned aloud, that if they did not immediately put up the white flag, they themſelves would make a capitulation, and let the infidels into the place.

THE marſhal finding he had neither ſoldiers nor authority, referred the deciſion of this affair to the council. Though almoſt all the officers deteſted the infamous deſertion of their ſoldiers, they yet, after having made the moſt ſerious reflections on the weakneſs of the place, the open revolt of the garriſon, and the failure of ſuccours from Malta, agreed that there was no remedy left but to ſubmit to neceſſity; upon which, a military ſerving brother was order'd to put up the fatal ſignal of capitulation. Sinan, at the ſight of the flag, order'd the battery to ceaſe, when two Turkiſh officers came out of the trenches, advanced up to the wall, and ſignified that the governor might ſend deputies to treat. The rebels, who were more maſters in the place than the governor himſelf, declared that they would not ſuffer any French knight to be entruſted with the negotiation;

gotiation, but took upon themſelves to nominate for that purpoſe the commander Fuſter of Majorca, and Guevara, the two ſecret fomenters of the rebellion.

THESE deputies being arrived at the Turkiſh camp, were admitted to an audience of the baſha; when they told him, that they were ready to ſurrender up the city and the caſtle of Tripoli to him, on condition that he would give the governor, the knights, the garriſon, and all the inhabitants aſſurance of their lives and liberties; that he would allow them to carry off their effects, and furniſh them ſhips to tranſport them to Malta or Sicily. Sinan at firſt did not ſeem averſe to the propoſal, but after he had reproach'd them with their raſhneſs, as he call'd it, in pretending to hold out ſuch a weak place againſt a royal army, he declared that he would not hearken to any treaty, unleſs, by way of preliminary, the knights who were in Tripoli would engage to reimburſe the grand ſeignior for all the charges he had been at in that expedition. The deputies repreſenting to him that it was not in their power to make any ſuch reimburſement, he diſmiſs'd them roughly, threatning at the ſame time, that he would put them all to the ſword. But as they were going out of his tent, they happen'd to meet Dragut, who when he was told the reſult of the negotiation, was ſurpriz'd that the baſha had broke it off. The corſair pretending to be concerned at the baſha's being ſo rigorous towards the beſieged, deſired them to defer their departure till ſuch time as he had had a moment's talk with the general. Upon which, he went immediately into his tent, and repreſented to him, that he, by prolonging the ſiege, would run the hazard of miſcarrying in his enterprize; that ſuccours might poſſibly come to the beſieged; that the very deſpair of obtaining a reaſonable capitulation, would ſerve the knights inſtead of a new ſuccour, and make them more intrepid; and moreover, that whatever ſtreſs he might lay on his artillery, all he would gain by ruining what was ſtill left of the walls and fortifications, would be to leave ſo many gates open by the breaches he ſhould thereby make, for the troops of the order to enter at, before he could have leiſure to repair them, eſpecially in a ſeaſon when there was no keeping the ſea: adding withal, that he, as a politician, ought not to boggle at ſigning the capitulation, becauſe that when he ſhould be maſter of the place, he would have it in his power to give ſuch explications to the treaty, as beſt ſuited his intereſt.

THE baſha readily approved the perfidious advice of the corſair, upon which he ſent for the deputies back, and told them, that he, at Dragut's requeſt, had granted what he had refuſed on any other conſideration. The treaty was then agreed to, and the baſha ſwore by the grand ſeignior's head, an oath that is look'd upon as inviolable among the Turks, to obſerve it. When the deputies were going to take leave of him in order to carry the capitulation to the governor, he told them, that it would be proper for him to come and confer with him, in order to adjuſt the number of tranſport veſſels that he ſhould want, and the ſecurity he was to give for ſending them back; for which purpoſe, he would ſend one of the principal officers of his army into the city, in quality of an hoſtage.

SCARCE were the deputies got back into the city, when the officer came to the gate, who was immediately let in; the marſhal had called a council of war in order to conſider of the meſſage, and to hear the capitulation read. It was there debated whether it might be conſiſtent with the duty of a governor, to go out of his fortreſs alone, and without being at the head of his garriſon, but the mutiny of the garriſon made all deliberation uſeleſs; and thoſe who ſecretly fomented the rebellion, and were

JOHN D'OMEDES.

afraid of the governor's recovering his authority, maintain'd, that as the treaty was ſigned, the marſhal had no occaſion to make any difficulty about conferring with the baſha; ſo far from that, that it would even be imprudent to let him ſee, that they entertain'd the leaſt doubt of his not keeping his word; and the rather, becauſe, as it would be impoſſible for the garriſon and inhabitants to return to Malta, or go over into Sicily without his furniſhing them with veſſels, they were therefore forced to rely entirely on his honour; and they unanimouſly agreed, that in order to ſhew him how much they confided in his word, the marſhal ſhould carry his hoſtage back with him: and indeed the rebels were not ſorry to make an experiment, by the treatment which the marſhal ſhould meet with from the baſha, what they themſelves might expect from him.

A garriſon's diſpoſing in this manner of the perſon of its governor, was not to be juſtified by any of the laws of war; but the reader may have obſerv'd, that ever ſince the time that the ſoldiers had openly rebell'd, and which the Spaniſh knights had ſecretly fomented, all regard to the marſhal's authority, and all notion of the duty of obedience, was as that moment extinguiſh'd; and the mutineers had no ſooner heard that the baſha demanded a conference with the governor, but they forced him with inſolent cries to go out of the town, for fear leſt the capitulation ſhould be broke off: he went therefore to the camp, attended only by the chevalier de Montfort his friend, who was reſolv'd never to leave him, and the Turkiſh officer who had been ſent as an hoſtage. When they drew near the general's quarters, the officer, under pretence of giving Sinan notice of the governor's arrival, went before, and told him in few words, that he had found the ſoldiers and inhabitants in a terrible conſternation, that he fancied he had diſcovered ſomething like a diviſion among them, and moreover, that he aſſured him, he might preſcribe ſuch terms as he ſhould think proper to the governor.

THE baſha made his advantage of this advice; ſo that at the marſhal's coming in, he aſſumed an air of haughtineſs and pride, an air which ſuch Barbarians generally put on when fortune has declar'd herſelf on their ſide; and immediately ask'd him, if he had brought the money he demanded for reimburſing the charges of the war. The marſhal, without diſcovering the leaſt emotion, anſwered him coldly, that he depended upon the capitulation, on his word, and the ſolemn oaths he had taken to maintain it inviolably. "'Tis not with ſuch dogs as you, replied the "baſha in a rage, that a man is to keep his word; you and your perfidious "comrades, who ow'd your lives at the ſiege of Rhodes purely to the "grand ſeignior's clemency, who would never have indulg'd you in 'em "as he did, contrary to the advice of his council, had it not been in con-"ſideration of your grand maſter's engagement, *viz.* that the order ſhould "never for the future attack his ſubjects, or exerciſe piracy in his ſeas, "but reſpect his flag in all places; notwithſtanding which, in breach "of that treaty, and of all the obligations of gratitude, you were no "ſooner ſetled at Malta, but you fell again to your old trade of pirating." The marſhal, who could not bear ſo unjuſt a reproach, replied, that the original of the capitulation, ſigned by Solyman's own hand, was ſtill preſerved at Malta; that there was no ſuch article in it, and that he was ready to ſend for it from Malta in order to juſtify what he advanc'd. He told him moreover, that if he repented of the treaty which he had made with the deputies of Tripoli, he might tear it if he pleas'd; after which, ſays he, let the fate of war decide to whom the place ſhall belong. The baſha, provoked at this reſolute anſwer, order'd him to be diſarm'd, to be

put in irons, and ſent on board his veſſel. The marſhal ſtill reſolute and undaunted, turning himſelf to the chevalier de Montfort, cry'd out, "If you, brother, are allow'd to go back into the city, tell my lieutenant "and the commander Copier, from me, that they conſider me no longer "but as a dead man; and as for any thing elſe, that they behave themſelves as their duty and honour may require of them on this occaſion." After the marſhal was gone out of the baſha's tent, he diſmiſſed Montfort, and allow'd him to return back to Tripoli, upon condition he ſhould tell the knights who were left there, that if they did not immediately ſend him the money he demanded, he would have it out of their perſons, and thoſe of the garriſon and inhabitants, who ſhould be all ſold for ſlaves. Montfort had no ſooner told this diſmal news in the place, but it raiſed a general indignation among the knights, who all ſwore they would fight to the laſt drop of blood, to revenge the injury which had been done to their commander. All talk of capitulation was now at an end, they embrace one another, and agree to defend themſelves to the laſt extremity, to die all by each other's ſides, and bury themſelves in the ruins of the place. After this, they endeavour'd to inſpire the ſame ſentiments into the garriſon, but they had not to do with ſoldiers, much leſs with men; thoſe wretches, inſenſible to every thing they could repreſent to them in order to excite their reſentment, anſwered only, like ſo many women, by their tears, or by a gloomy ſilence. In a word, neither remonſtrances, intreaties, reproaches, blows, nor any thing they could do, could prevail upon them to take arms again. The council conſidering that in ſo univerſal a deſertion it would not be worth while to perſiſt any longer in a fruitleſs defence for the preſerving the liberty of ſuch rebels, reſolv'd to abandon them to their wretched fate, and leave them as a prey to the baſha, to compound for the liberty of the reſt; upon which, they ſent Montfort back to the general, to tell him, that it was impoſſible for the knights to furniſh the ſum that he demanded, there being no money in the city; but that they would ſurrender, provided he would only give leave to three hundred perſons, whom the council ſhould nominate, to march out in full liberty. The council, before Montfort went to make this new propoſal, upon advice that the baſha would give no quarter to the Moors, who, tho' Mahometans, had yet ſerved the order with great courage and fidelity, had given them ſuch rewards as their circumſtances would at that time allow, and adviſed them to retire to Tunis or Goletta; and in order to ſecure their retreat, and prevent their falling into the hands of the Turks, they gave them all the horſes that were in the town, and they ſallied out at St. George's gate.

AMONG theſe Moors were ſeveral, who having been a long time in the ſervice of the knights, could not be prevailed upon to leave them in this extremity; but proteſted they would follow their fortune: the reſt agreed to the propoſal, which was made them; but ſome of them had the misfortune to be ſurprized, and to be taken in their retreat, before Montfort was come back to the camp. They were brought to the baſha, when they inform'd him that the knights were reſolved to defend themſelves to the laſt extremity, and that when they ſhould not be able to hold out any longer, they would blow up all the fortifications, and involve their mercileſs enemies in the ſame deſtruction with themſelves.

THE baſha, ſtartled at a reſolution which would diſappoint him of the booty he hoped to gain by this conqueſt, and leave him only an heap of aſhes, was glad to ſee Montfort return back; he received him in an amicable manner, and after hearing what he had to ſay, gave him room to

hope

JOHN D'OMEDES.

hope that he would at leaſt indulge two hundred of the beſieged in their liberty. He then ſent for the marſhal, in order to conclude the affair with him: but before he was brought into his tent, they had oblig'd Montfort to go out; when the governor being brought into his preſence, he cry'd out to him, "Has the night inſpir'd you with better reſolutions, "and are you now diſpoſed to pay me the ſum which I ſo juſtly demand "of you? The authority I had in Tripoli, replied the marſhal, ended "with the liberty you bereav'd me of; you muſt now apply yourſelf to "others, and ſuppoſing that my brethren might ſtill have ſome deference "left for my ſentiments, I ſhall never be for treating on any other con-"ditions, than thoſe which you yourſelf agreed to; for the reſt, here's "my head, diſpoſe of it as you have already done of my liberty."

AFTER this, the baſha took Dragut and the aga Morat aſide; and whiſpering together for ſome time, they in all probability fearing they ſhould find the ſame intrepidity in the knights as they had done in the marſhal, he drew near to him, when giving him his hand in token of peace; "Let us talk no more, ſaid he to him, of new conditions, I "ratify the firſt, and agree that all the Chriſtians who ſhall be found in "Tripoli, ſhall have their liberty; you yourſelf are allow'd to go and "aſſure your companions of it, and bring them out with the garriſon of "the place."

BUT the marſhal miſtruſting this change of behaviour, and fearing leſt ſome new treachery might be lurking under this facility, which they had ſhewn in ratifying the firſt conditions, excuſed himſelf from carrying his promiſe of it, on pretence that his having been made a priſoner had put an end to his employment and authority; and upon his refuſal, the baſha ſent the Turkiſh officer who had been before in the place, in quality of an hoſtage: The mutineers received him with as great eagerneſs as uneaſineſs, when immediately crowding themſelves about him, they, without carrying him to the council, preſſed him to declare the ſubject of his commiſſion. The officer told them, that his general had ſent him to acquaint them, that he, purſuant to the treaty, would grant an entire liberty to all ſuch as ſhould leave the place immediately; that he would furniſh them with ſhips to tranſport them to Malta, and that all he required of the ſoldiers, was to leave their colours and arms in the town; the deſerters ſet up great ſhouts the moment they heard this declaration; and as thoſe cowardly wretches had ſome days before thrown away their arms as an uſeleſs burden, they did not ſtay for the orders of the council, or the return of the chevalier de Montfort; but fearing leſt the leaſt delay ſhould make the baſha change his reſolution, and finding the gates of the town ſhut, they crowded out at the breaches; and the women and children following their example, hurried out at the ſame gaps. The knights finding themſelves univerſally abandoned, were at laſt forced to take the ſame courſe; they all rallied under the walls, and as they were going towards the camp, Morat aga ſurrounded them with a body of his Mooriſh cavalry, and ſtripping them, without diſtinction of rank or condition, put them in irons, and treated them like ſlaves.

OF all the Malteſe, des Roches the ſerving brother who commanded in the little caſtle, was the only man that would have the carving of his own fate, and who owed his liberty to his courage and reſolution. The baſha wanted only to poſſeſs himſelf of that little fort, which being as it were the key of the port, commanded it at the ſame time: the general's agent tempted des Roches with glaring promiſes, and endeavour'd at the ſame time to intimidate him with threats of death or perpetual ſlavery,

very. But the ſerving brother, though he had no more than thirty men with him, was equally proof againſt them all; ſo that the Turk was obliged to raiſe a battery againſt the tower, which was ſoon beat down. Des Roches, unable to hold it out any longer, taking the advantage of a dark night, got with his little company into a bark, and put out to ſea; others ſay, that he retired ſecretly on board the French embaſſador's gallies, which ſerved him for an aſylum.

THAT miniſter could not behold the loſs of Tripoli, and the unworthy treatment the knights met with from the Barbarians, without the utmoſt concern. At the firſt news he had of it, he ran to the place where they had been ſeized, when he found them lying on the ground in chains, half naked, and expoſed to the inſults of the inſolent ſoldiery. He accoſted them in terms ſuitable to their courage and virtue, and aſſured them that he would go and employ all his endeavours for the recovery of their liberty: Upon this, he went immediately to the baſha's tent, and repreſented to him in the ſtrongeſt terms, that he, by ſuch a ſhameful piece of injuſtice, was going to diſhonour himſelf in the face of the whole univerſe, and that the king his maſter and the other ſovereigns of Chriſtendom, having ſome ſhare in the ſhameful treatment which he ſhew'd thoſe knights, who were moſt of them born their ſubjects, would not fail therefore either to have redreſs from Solyman, or, in caſe he ſhould refuſe it, would uſe repriſals upon all ſuch Turkiſh officers as ſhould fall into their hands. The baſha gave him an haughty anſwer, and ſaid, that he was accountable for his conduct to no one but his maſter, and that he was well aſſured, that prince would not reſent his having broke his word with a company of corſairs, who, from a ſcandalous thirſt of gain, had ſo ungratefully violated the promiſe they had given at the taking of Rhodes, never to diſturb any more the commerce of his ſubjects by their piracies; that the governor of Tripoli had in vain endeavour'd to clear them from ſo well-grounded a reproach, under pretence that there was no mention made of any ſuch promiſe in the capitulation: "As if, ſays he to d'A-"ramon, an hundred thouſand men who were preſent at that ſiege, "were not witneſſes ſufficient, and that the grand ſeignior's condeſcend-"ing to ſtoop ſo low as to complain of their breach of promiſe on ſeveral "occaſions, was not infinitely beyond all proofs in writing."

THE politick embaſſador would not diſpute it with him, but having recourſe to inſinuation, he, by entreaties and preſents, prevailed inſenſibly ſo far, as to have the marſhal and the moſt antient French knights ſet at liberty; and the baſha, to ſhew that he pretended to obſerve punctually the ſecond treaty, or rather the promiſe which he had made to Montfort, conſented that two hundred of thoſe who had been arreſted ſhould likewiſe enjoy their liberty. But here he came in with a new fetch, and choſe them, as he had done at Goza, out of the oldeſt and pooreſt of the inhabitants. All the reſt he kept ſtill in ſlavery, together with ſome young French knights, and all thoſe of Spain and Italy, who were the emperor's ſubjects.

THIS exception made the embaſſador very uneaſy: 'Twas with grief he ſaw that thoſe amiable youths his countrymen were going to be expoſed to perils of various natures, which were ſo much the more dangerous, as they were ſeaſon'd with luxury and pleaſures. But he, in order to reſcue them from thence, ranſom'd them with his own money; and as for thoſe knights who were the emperor's ſubjects, notwithſtanding that that prince was at that time at war with his maſter, he yet engaged to give the baſha thirty Turks, all born of good families, who were actually

JOHN D'OMEDES.

ſlaves at Malta in exchange, and to carry them himſelf to Conſtantinople. Having done ſo far, he ſet ſail for Malta, not ſuſpecting in the leaſt but that the grand maſter would receive him there, as the deliverer of his brethren, and arrived in that iſland on the twenty-third of Auguſt in the evening. This miniſter, when he went on board his gallies, had ſent a bark before with a letter directed to the grand maſter, in which he gave him an account of all the circumſtances relating to the taking of Tripoli. D'Omedes was greatly ſurpriz'd at this news, and that which gave him ſtill more uneaſineſs than grief, was the apprehenſions he was under leſt they ſhould impute to him the loſs of ſo important a place: He was ſenſible that complaint had been made in the convent long time before, of his having employ'd the money, which ought to have been laid out in fortifying that city, in enriching his nephews: That the loſs of Tripoli might probably revive theſe complaints, which would occaſion a ſtrict examination into his conduct, and perhaps end in his being depos'd; in order therefore to extricate himſelf out of ſo uneaſy a circumſtance, he reſolved to lay things in ſuch a manner, as to make the French embaſſador's conduct be ſuſpected, and throw the loſs of Tripoli upon that miniſter and the marſhal; in purſuance of which, he ſent for ſome knights his creatures, and taking them into his cloſet, ſhewed them the letter he had juſt received from d'Aramon. He at firſt broke out only in expreſſions of grief for the loſs of ſo conſiderable a place; when, as if he were unwilling to throw the blame on any body but himſelf, he own'd to them with an affected confuſion, that he could never forgive himſelf the imprudent ſtep he had taken, in having engaged d'Aramon to go into Africa, and for having confided in a foreign miniſter; whoſe maſter he could not but be ſenſible was in a ſtrict alliance with the grand ſeignior; that this embaſſador, a cunning and inſidious perſon, and who was moreover the marſhal's countryman, had inſinuated himſelf into his confidence, by pretending to intereſt himſelf in the preſervation of Tripoli; that he probably might afterwards have exaggerated the weakneſs of the town and the forces of the baſha, and have led him inſenſibly by his artifices into a labyrinth of negotiations, which had at laſt ended in a ſcandalous capitulation.

THE grand maſter's creatures, like ſo many ſervile courtiers, without examining whether there might not be ſome falſities in a relation which depended merely upon conjectures, declared openly their deteſtation of the embaſſador's pretended treachery. Each of them, in his way, made a merit of ſupporting theſe conjectures by new prejudices every whit as groundleſs: Some ſaid, that that miniſter would never have deferr'd the execution of his maſter's orders, nor have been prevail'd upon to interrupt his voyage to the port ſo eaſily as he did, had he not thought he could have been more uſeful to him at Tripoli than at Conſtantinople; others added, that the great want the king of France had of the fleet and forces of the baſha to oppoſe them againſt thoſe of Charles V. made his embaſſador haſten the capitulation of the place to the prejudice of the order, the ſooner to haſten their voyage to Provence; that the marſhal was inexcuſable for having concluded it without having firſt imparted it to the grand maſter and the council, in conſequence of which it was agreed, that he ought to be proſecuted for it immediately; but they, in order to get rid of ſo troubleſome a witneſs as the embaſſador would prove, reſolved to delay the proceſs till after his departure. In the mean time, to render him ſuſpected, and to make as if they miſtruſted him, the grand maſter, at his coming off the harbour, under pretence of

its

its being an unſeaſonable hour, would not ſuffer the chain to be taken away; but order'd the caſtle guard to be doubled, and took the ſame precautions as in time of war; and as if the enemy was return'd to the iſland, and lay before the gates of the place.

THE next day the grand maſter's confidents, in concert with him, had it whiſper'd abroad, though without naming any body, that Tripoli would not have fallen ſo ſoon into the power of the Turks, had it not been for the embaſſador's ſecret intelligence with the baſha, and the marſhal's weakneſs, having ſuffer'd himſelf to be guided by d'Aramont's perfidious advice. This news was told up and down with all the air of a great ſecret, that was not to be confided but to intimate friends, which by being ſtill communicated with the ſtricteſt charge of ſecrecy, became at laſt the publick talk. Theſe reports improving by the various conjectures which every body added as fancy might ſuggeſt, ſoon reach'd, as the grand maſter had intended they ſhould, all the knights houſes, and paſſed from thence to the people: by this artifice, d'Aramont, unknown to himſelf, became in a moment the object of the publick execration.

BUT the grand maſter did not ſtop here; for he, in order to make him no leſs odious over all Chriſtendom than he was at Malta, engaged thoſe of his cabal to write word underhand to the knights who reſided in Europe upon their ſeveral commanderies, ſignifying that the French embaſſador had betrayed the order, and delivered up Tripoli to the infidels, and that had it not been for the wiſe precautions which the grand maſter had taken, he would have attempted to ſeize on the caſtle of St. Angelo, and put it into the hands of the Turks. Theſe reports were ſoon ſpread over all Chriſtendom, and made a great impreſſion on people's minds. And at laſt thoſe which they had publiſh'd at Malta with ſo much virulence, came to d'Aramont's ears. 'Twould be impoſſible to expreſs the ſurprize he was in when he heard them; he demanded an audience immediately, which was aſſigned him in full council: When ſeating himſelf by the grand maſter, and thinking it would be derogatory to his character to ſtoop ſo low, as to refute all theſe falſe reports, he only deſired him to call to mind, that he had not gone into Africa, but for the repeated inſtances which he had employ'd in order to engage him to it; and wherein he, to make him fully reſolve upon it, had mention'd the advantage that would thereby accrue to the Chriſtian religion, and the great regard and affection the king his maſter had for the order. He added, that after his arrival in the Turkiſh camp, he had done all that lay in his power, both to engage the baſha to raiſe the ſiege, and to deliver the knights out of ſlavery; that God had bleſſed his endeavours, ſo that he had brought them back ſafe in his gallies, and that as he had engaged himſelf to carry back as many Turks, who were ſlaves to the order, in exchange, he hoped the grand maſter would cauſe them to be delivered to him, that he might perform his promiſe with honour.

THE grand maſter anſwered him in few words, and with a very cold air, that they were very much obliged to him for his care; but as to the Turkiſh ſlaves he demanded, he ſaid he could not do any thing in it; that it was the buſineſs of the knights who had taken them, to diſpoſe of them as they ſhould judge proper, or in caſe of their refuſal to part with them, it was the marſhal's buſineſs to make the baſha amends. D'Aramont might very juſtly have replied, that there was a yet ſhorter, and indeed a juſter way left, which was to deliver him back the Spaniſh knights, in order for his ſurrendering them back to Sinan: But he thought

JOHN D'OMEDES.

thought it would be beneath his character to expoſe the grand maſter's injuſtice: ſo, without condeſcending to complain of it, he went out of the port in a few days, and kept on his way to Conſtantinople.

HIS departure left the grand maſter at liberty to go on with the execution of his project; for which purpoſe he held ſeveral ſecret councils with his creatures about that affair: the reſult of which was a reſolution to ruin the marſhal. They agreed that in order to anſwer the grand maſter's ends, it was now time to bring him upon the ſtage in d'Aramon's ſtead; but as they could not fall upon him ſingly, for a reſolution which had been taken in a full council of war, the grand maſter and thoſe who joined with him in carrying on this black deſign, thought it proper to comprehend the knights who had had the greateſt hand in the capitulation, and involve them in the ſame accuſation. His emiſſaries diſperſing themſelves up and down among the knights, took care to ſuggeſt to them, that the ſuffering ſuch a ſcene of cowardice and prevarication to paſs uncenſured, would be a great ſcandal to the order; and he himſelf repreſented to the council, though with all the outward ſhew of grief, that the honour of the order oblig'd them abſolutely to call the marſhal and the other knights to account, for the motives which had determined them to capitulate: "In order, (ſaid d'Omedes, with a pre-
"tended moderation) that they may be acquitted if they ſhould be found
"innocent, or elſe be puniſhed, if we ſhould have the mortification to
"find them guilty."

THE council finding this propoſal very reaſonable, voted for an immediate examination of the affair, and the bringing of the accuſed to a trial; and reſolved that three knights of three different languages ſhould be appointed to take informations about it. The grand maſter had no difficulty to make the choice fall upon his own creatures; but as theſe commiſſaries were religious, and could not in that quality take cogniſance of a capital crime, where the lives of the accuſed lay at ſtake; it was reſolved to give them an aſſiſtant, and to put a ſecular perſon at the head of the commiſſion, who, after the examination, and the report of the commiſſioners, was to pronounce ſentence, with reſpect to the nature of the puniſhment which the fault of the criminals might deſerve. The artful grand maſter, without ſeeming to be any further concern'd in it, than as juſtice requir'd he ſhould be, pitched upon a ſecular officer of the iſland, Auguſtin de Combe by name, whoſe fortune he had made, for that employment; he was a corrupt judge, a man capable of doing any thing for money. He likewiſe got another ſecular, a Spaniard by birth, to be choſen ſollicitor of the commiſſion, who had no merit but that of being blindly devoted to his intereſt: D'Omedes, by the choice of all theſe judges, had it in his power to make the affair take what turn he ſhould think proper.

UPON a petition preſented by the ſollicitor ex officio, the firſt ſtep they took was to arreſt the marſhal, and the knights Fuſter, de Souſa, and Errera, who had had the greateſt hand in the capitulation, though after a very different manner. As the loſs of the place concerned the emperor, by virtue of his being lord paramount, and that Tripoli ſerved likewiſe in ſome meaſure to cover his dominions in Italy; the knights who were born his ſubjects, in order to make their court, were not aſhamed to ſeize their general themſelves, becauſe he was a Frenchman; and to throw him into an horrible dungeon, where he had not the leaſt light to comfort him. The grand maſter fancying his deſtruction to be inevitable, and that he was no longer oblig'd to keep any meaſures,

thought

thought proper, in order to deprive him of all ſuccour, to forbid under ſevere penalties, any knight's offering to ſollicit in his favour; and that becauſe of the enormity of the crime, and that the intereſt of the ſtate was concerned in it. By another order he enjoined the commiſſaries to reject all the reaſons he might give for excepting againſt the witneſſes; and that they, without having any regard either to the condition or the reputation of the deponents, ſhould admit without diſtinction the teſtimony of all ſuch perſons as ſhould offer themſelves, and that they ſhould not oblige them to be confronted with the accuſed: So that, in the whole, they could ſcarce poſſibly have taken ſurer meaſures for the ſpeedy diſpatch of an innocent perſon.

THIS new ſyſtem of law, was the occaſion that among the witneſſes which the ſollicitor admitted, there appear'd ſome who were villains convict, as well as fellows that had been guilty of the blackeſt crimes; ſuch were one Dominick Cabillan, a Spaniard, whoſe teſtimony was allowed of, notwithſtanding his having been judicially convicted and condemned of forgery; ſuch was Vanegas, another Spaniard, who after having renounc'd our ſaviour, and embraced the Mahometan religion, had, to go on ſtill in iniquity, ſold his own children to the infidels; this villain they had fetched back from Africa, purpoſely that he might make his depoſition againſt the marſhal; ſuch, in a word, was one of the gunners of Tripoli, who had been taken in the very inſtant he was going over to the infidels, and would infallibly have been executed, but for the marſhal's clemency. All good men were infinitely concerned to ſee that they were reſolved to deſtroy that nobleman at any rate; but the cabal was ſo ſtrong, and they had made his cauſe ſo very odious, that no one durſt open his mouth in his favour.

THE chevalier de Villegagnon was the only perſon, who, in ſpite of the grand maſter's orders to the contrary, was generous enough to undertake his defence, wherein he acquitted himſelf with an invincible courage. He declared publickly, that it was very extraordinary, ſince Tripoli had been loſt only by the negligence, and perhaps the avarice of thoſe whoſe buſineſs it was to fortify it, and throw ſuccours into the place, that they ſhould nevertheleſs pretend to make the marſhal reſponſible for another man's fault. Upon theſe complaints, which were thought very reaſonable, that nobleman's friends, and moſt of the French knights began to open their eyes, and to reproach themſelves for having been made the tools of the paſſion and hatred of D'Omedes. The grand maſter, to prevent any effect of their teſtimony, and the accounts they might ſend into the ſeveral nations of Chriſtendom, had recourſe a ſecond time to the venal pen of his confidents, all whom he obliged to write into their reſpective countries as follows; viz. that the grand maſter being deſirous of having the marſhal tried for ſelling Tripoli to the infidels, the greateſt part of the French knights, out of apprehenſion that his being convicted of that crime would fix a mark of infamy upon their language, had taken up arms, and were actually beſieging the grand maſter in the caſtle of St. Angelo.

THIS news, tho' utterly falſe, did nevertheleſs raiſe a terrible indignation againſt the French knights in foreign countries, where they were never mentioned but as ſo many rebels; ſo that one would have thought that the ſingle quality of being a Frenchman, was a crime which they could not expiate, but by death.

D'OMEDES having got the ſtart of them by theſe letters, and prejudiced the world againſt the French, did his utmoſt to bring this great affair

JOHN D'OMEDES.

to a ſpeedy concluſion, and before ſuch time as the truth could be clear'd up. The ſollicitor ex officio, in concert with him, brought up a ſet of new witneſſes: Villegagnon diſcovering immediately that they were ſuborned, complained of it to the commiſſioners, brought them convincing proofs of the ſubornation, and repreſented to them, that ſuppoſing the grand maſter had forbid the marſhal, under pretence that it was a ſtate crime, to except againſt them in any manner, that it yet was their buſineſs to admit at leaſt of the teſtimony of none but ſuch as they knew to be men of probity: but thoſe knights, being wholly devoted to the grand maſter, anſwered him coldly, that that enquiry related only to the ſollicitor of the cauſe; that as for themſelves, their buſineſs was only to take their depoſitions in the very terms they made them, and that they were equally diſpoſed to hear ſuch as he ſhould produce, either for or againſt the charge; adding, that they would allow him a week's time for that purpoſe; though they had granted the ſollicitor in ordinary two months to bring his witneſſes together. Above threeſcore perſons, all men of known integrity, appeared in that ſmall ſpace of time, and depoſed in the marſhal's favour, and by their teſtimony entirely invalidated the depoſitions which the falſe witneſſes had made. At laſt the commiſſioners made their report, and the ſecular judge pronounc'd ſentence in full council, which was to this effect; That in the loſs of Tripoli, it did not appear that the marſhal and the other knights had been guilty of any treachery or intelligence with the enemy; that the misfortune was entirely owing to the cowardice of the Calabrians; that there were indeed no imperial conſtitutions or laws, which inflicted any puniſhment in ſuch a caſe upon a governor and his officers; but that by the ſtatutes of the order, degradation was the penalty incurred by every governor, who ſhould abandon a place with which he had been intruſted, without expreſs leave from the grand maſter and the council; in conſequence whereof he concluded by one and the ſame ſentence, that the habit of the order and the croſs ſhould be taken away from the marſhal, and from the knights Souſa, Errera, and Fuſter, as accomplices in the loſs of Tripoli.

THE grand maſter diſcovered, by an air of diſcontent, that he was not any way pleaſed with this ſentence: the only reaſon of his having comprehended the Spaniſh knights in the accuſation, was in order to prevent any ſuſpicion of his having proceeded againſt the marſhal merely from a national hatred; and was moreover in hopes that after he had got him condemned, he ſhould be able to find out occaſions and pretences to get his countrymen acquitted. This ſentence which the judge had pronounc'd, diſconcerted all his meaſures; but in order to remedy it if poſſible, he repreſented to the council, with a pretended moderation and an affected modeſty, that he thought the judge, in order to put an end to ſo important an affair, had been a little too haſty in pronouncing ſentence againſt theſe different perſons; and that he was of opinion, that a great difference ought to be made between the fault of each criminal, as well as in the different penalties to be inflicted on them; and that for the preſent, the judgment which had been pronounc'd againſt the marſhal ought to ſtand good, but that that of the officers ought to be ſuperſeded, in order to judge each of them ſeparately, according to the different nature of the crimes whereof they ſtood convicted.

THE judge perceiving that he had diſpleas'd the grand maſter by this general ſentence which he had pronounc'd againſt all the impeach'd, chang'd his mind, without any ſenſe of modeſty or ſhame, notwithſtanding his having given judgment but that moment before;

and

and in order to pacify the grand maſter, made a new deciſion, by which the Spaniſh officers were excluded from the general ſentence, in which they had been included; and declared by way of explanation, that altho' he had condemned them all to the ſame penalty, their faults were notwithſtanding of a very different nature. When the bailiff Schilling, of the language of Germany, directing his diſcourſe to the judge, "Are not you, (ſays he to him with indignation) the moſt profligate fel-"low living, to change your ſentiments in a moment, at the leaſt ſign "of the grand maſter's diſcontent? You juſt now gave a definitive ſen-"tence, that as the impeach'd had been equally guilty of the ſame fault, "they ought all to undergo the ſame puniſhment; and a moment after-"wards, you pretend to ſeparate the faults, and defer the ſentence againſt "them." "He has ſpoke like a wretch as he is," ſaid the chevalier de Nuguez, of the language of Caſtile; and turning himſelf to the grand maſter, "I will never ſuffer, (ſays he to him) the ſentence which has "been pronounced againſt the marſhal to be executed, unleſs the "ſame penalty be at the ſame time inflicted upon the reſt."

ALL the aſſembly declaring themſelves to be of the ſame opinion, the grand maſter pretended to come into it; but as he was vex'd that his prey had in ſome meaſure eſcaped him, and that he could not deſtroy the marſhal only, as he had propoſed to do, he deſired to be heard a moment; he then repreſented to them, that altho' they had order'd that all the criminals ſhould be puniſhed at the ſame time, it yet would be but juſtice to make ſome difference between their crimes, and the puniſhment which they deſerved; that the marſhal and the chevalier Fuſter ſeemed to him more guilty than the reſt, the one for having negotiated the capitulation, and the other for having abandoned the place of which he was governor; and whereas two ſuch great crimes might perhaps deſerve to be puniſh'd with death, he was of opinion, that it would be proper for the council to give themſelves no further trouble about it, but refer the definitive ſentence to the ſecular judge, who had already taken cogniſance of the affair. This corrupt judge having varied in ſo ſcandalous a manner but a moment before, made them reject him with clamour, notwithſtanding which, the grand maſter inſiſted poſitively on his being nominated; but the judge finding that the warmer part of the council loaded him with invectives, would not proceed any further, under pretence that as he had pronounced ſentence already, he could not give judgment twice in the ſame affair. The grand maſter enrag'd at his not being able to carry his point, put off the affair to another time, ordered the ſecretary of the council to regiſter all that had paſſed, and broke up the aſſembly.

IN the mean time ſuch as were enemies to the French king and his kingdom, had no ſooner heard of the letters which the grand maſter had caus'd to be ſent into their territories, but they gave out that the French embaſſador had delivered up Tripoli to the infidels, and had return'd back to Malta, in order to let them into that iſland; and that if it had not been for the grand maſter's vigilance, all the knights would have been cut to pieces, and Chriſtendom thereby have loſt a place which ſerved as a bulwark to Sicily and all Italy. The king highly reſenting theſe reports, ſo derogatory to his glory, and the honour of the nation, diſpatched a gentleman in ordinary of his houſhold to the grand maſter. This gentleman's name was du Belloy, who delivered him a letter from his majeſty dated the laſt day of December, wherein that prince, after complaining grievouſly of the infamous reports, which had been ſpread up

and

JOHN D'OMEDES.

and down againſt his embaſſador, deſired him to let him know plainly and truly, whether d'Aramon was really guilty of the crimes, which were laid to his charge; "In order that if he ſhould be convicted of it, he "might puniſh him as the greatneſs of his crime deſerv'd; or if he was "innocent, he might be juſtified, by his teſtimony, among foreign na-"tions, where he had been ſo barbarouſly defamed."

THIS gentleman's arrival, and the letter he brought with him, gave the grand maſter the utmoſt uneaſineſs: The ſpreading of whiſpers up and down underhand, the ſending of anonymous letters, or ſubſcribing them with the names of inconſiderable perſons, was a game that was not to be play'd with ſo great a monarch as Henry II. in an affair which concern'd his honour; he was now forced to ſpeak out plainly, and advance nothing but what he was able to maintain before the face of all Chriſtendom.

D'OMEDES, in order not to expoſe himſelf to any diſpute, and to extricate himſelf out of the difficulty he was under, laid the king's letter before the council, where it was read; after which he ask'd the lords then preſent, what were their ſentiments about the anſwer that ſhould be made to it. All the aſſembly were unanimous in their reſolution of writing back to the king, wherein they ſhould declare, that the order, far from having any reaſon to complain of his embaſſador's conduct, had nothing but thanks to return his majeſty for all the good offices they had receiv'd from him, and which engag'd the whole order more than ever to an eternity of acknowledgments. The council order'd their ſecretary, at the ſame time, to draw up this letter, or rather to get it ſigned by the grand maſter, and deliver it to the king's envoy, or elſe to the chevalier de Villegagnon, who was to return back with him.

D'OMEDES, who ſtill perſiſted in his ſecret deſign of deſtroying both the embaſſador and the marſhal, ſoon repented of his having referr'd to the council, the anſwering of a letter which had been directed to himſelf only; in order therefore to elude the proofs which might be drawn from it in favour of the perſons accuſed, he ſent for the ſecretary, and without letting him know what uſe he deſigned to make of the letter, he only told him, that as it was directed to a great king, and related to an affair of ſo delicate a nature, the terms of it could not be too well weighed; for which reaſon, he ſaid, he had a mind to confer with him about it at leiſure; and that in caſe the French gentleman, or de Villegagnon ſhould ask for it, he ſhould find out ſome excuſe to diſpenſe his giving it to them: and then recommending ſecrecy to him, he diſmiſſed him.

VILLEGAGNON having let ſome days paſs over, and finding that the ſecretary, during that time, had not taken care to execute the orders of the council, he asked him the reaſon of it. The ſecretary, purſuant to the grand maſter's orders, excuſed himſelf on the ſpecious reaſon of a multitude of buſineſs; and in order to amuſe him, promis'd to bring him the letter as ſoon as poſſible: But whole weeks paſs'd away, without their being able to get it out of his hands. Theſe pretended delays made Villegagnon ſuſpect that they had ſome ill deſign again upon the anvil; and in order to trace it to the bottom, he exerted himſelf to the utmoſt, and moreover ſet all thoſe knights to work, who like himſelf had intereſted themſelves in the marſhal's defence. At laſt he diſcovered, as he himſelf relates, that the grand maſter had had ſome ſecret conferences with the judge who had tried the impeach'd; that he had reproach'd him with his weakneſs, in having deſiſted from his commiſſion, upon the complaints which had been rais'd againſt him in the council; that the grand maſter had

had ſaid further, that he was ſtill ſtrong enough, in ſpite of the oppoſite cabal, to get a reviſion of that very proſecution referred to him; but that he would never forgive him, if he ſhould vary a ſecond time in his ſentence; and that he, to oblige him to keep his word, would needs force him to ſign a bond to pay him five hundred ducats of gold, in caſe he did not act in the whole proſecution exactly as he ſhould preſcribe him. JOHN D'OMEDES.

THE perſons from whom Villegagnon had this advice, told him further, that the judge, through the fear he was under of loſing his poſt as well as the grand maſter's favour, had promis'd and ſign'd every thing he had requir'd of him; that the grand maſter, after having got this ſecurity from him, delivered him a memorial containing certain facts and articles, which he was to interrogate the marſhal upon; ordering him at the ſame time, that in caſe he either denied them, or ſhould refuſe to anſwer, to put him to the torture, in order to force him, by the violence of the torments, to own that he had delivered up Tripoli to the Turks, purely upon d'Aramon's ſollicitation. They likewiſe informed him, that the grand maſter had own'd to the judge, that the hopes of extorting this confeſſion from him, in order to ſend it to the king, had been the only reaſon of his having ſo long deferred giving an anſwer to that prince's envoy, and that it was the only way he had left to extricate himſelf with honour out of an affair, in which both his dignity and glory were endanger'd, and which could not be ſecured, but by the deſtruction of the perſons impeach'd.

VILLEGAGNON does not name the perſon to whom he ow'd the diſcovery of the plot; either becauſe he had been engaged to ſecrecy, or elſe perhaps becauſe it came from the judge himſelf, who might well be afraid to take upon himſelf, without leave of the council firſt obtain'd, to put one of the great officers of the order to the rack; and was therefore not ſorry that the rumor of this plot might prevent its execution, and at the ſame time ſave him the conſiderable ſum, he had ſo imprudently oblig'd himſelf to pay to the grand maſter. Be that as it will, Villegagnon having a full account of this horrible deſign, went to the council, and demanded in the name of the king's envoy, that they would deliver him the letter which he was to carry to that prince, repreſenting that if they ſhould defer his departure but never ſo little, the ſeaſon would be ſo far advanc'd that there would be no venturing out to ſea. "However, added Ville-
"gagnon, in caſe the council ſhould have changed their ſentiments, it
"may perhaps be ſufficient, in order to convince the king of his em-
"baſſador's innocence, to ſend him the reſult of the commiſſioners exa-
"minations, together with a copy of the ſentence pronounc'd by the ſe-
"cular judge; by which inſtruments alone, that monarch will ſee plainly,
"that the capitulation of Tripoli was not in the leaſt owing to any
"treachery or intelligence of d'Aramon's and the marſhal's with the infi-
"dels; but that the loſs of it, was wholly owing to the cowardice and
"rebellion of the Calabrian ſoldiers."

A knight of the priory of Aquitain, who was a great partiſan of d'Omedes, replied, that all the king deſired, was to be informed of his embaſſador's conduct in Africa, and that therefore they were only to anſwer to that point. The grand maſter was overjoy'd to meet with a man, who oppos'd the propoſal of Villegagnon, whom he judg'd to be too able a man, to require a copy of the proceedings againſt the impeach'd, but with the view of carrying the king the moſt irrefragable proofs of d'Aramon's innocence. And finding that that French knight was always thwarting him, he ſternly asked him, where he had learn'd that the order was obliged to give ſecular princes an account of their criminal proceed-

JOHN D'OMEDES.

ings againſt their knights. "I never intended, replied Villegagnon, to "advance ſuch a propoſition: All that I deſign'd, was, that in lieu of the "letter which the council ordered, and which has not been yet drawn "up, the king might think it ſufficient for his miniſter's juſtification, to "have the teſtimony of the very judge of the impeach'd, who declares "in the ſentence, that his miniſter had not been guilty of any unlawful "practice, or criminal intelligence with reſpect to the capitulation. "However, ſince you order me, continued the knight, addreſſing him-"ſelf to the grand maſter, to give you an account of my particular "reaſons for deſiring that copies of thoſe proceedings might be ſent to "France, I will give it you, with all the openneſs and ſincerity which I "profeſs, and at the ſame time with all the deference and reſpect I owe "to you, and to the auguſt aſſembly, before which I ſpeak."

THEN raiſing his voice, and putting on a noble and reſolute air; "There hath been for ſome days paſt, Sir, (continued he, ſtill addreſſing "himſelf to the grand maſter) a report ſpread abroad, which reflects "highly on your honour; which is, that in a private conference that "paſs'd between you and la Combe, you agreed to carry on a new pro-"ſecution againſt the marſhal; that that unjuſt judge has engaged to "put him to the rack, and to force him by the violence of the torture "to confeſs crimes he was never guilty of: upon which, he is to con-"demn him to death, and that after his execution, his confeſſion is to be "given, inſtead of the letter which the council has ordered to be written "to the king. This, we are told, is the only reaſon of that pretended "delay, which the ſecretary makes in giving the letter to that prince's "envoy."

THE grand maſter fell into a paſſion at this diſcourſe, when darting fire from his eyes, and all inflamed with rage, he commanded him to declare publickly from whom he had ſuch ſcandalous reports. "The "name of the author is not at preſent the buſineſs, (replied Villegagnon "with great modeſty) the only queſtion at this time, is, to know from your-"ſelf whether the fact be true or falſe." "Utterly falſe," cry'd the grand maſter. "Declare, Sir, then before the whole aſſembly, replied "Villegagnon, that you acquit your judge of the ſum of five hundred "ducats of gold, which he ſtands bound to pay you, in caſe he does not "paſs ſentence of death upon the marſhal." At theſe terrible words the grand maſter immediately changed colour, and appeared in the utmoſt confuſion; his head was quite turned, ſo that he was not maſter of himſelf; when being inrag'd to ſee himſelf attack'd ſo warmly by one of his inferiors, he fell upon him with a torrent of abuſive language. But Villegagnon thinking he had done ſufficient in having acquainted the council with his ill deſigns, withdrew from the aſſembly; the members whereof, being juſtly incenſed at all theſe villainous conſpiracies, appointed another judge, and ordered the ſecretary, under very ſevere penalties, to lay aſide all affairs, and deliver that very day to the king's envoy, or to Villegagnon, the letter which had been written to that prince, in the form, and in the very words, in which he had been directed to draw it up.

HOWEVER poſitive theſe orders might be, the ſecretary, who was one of the grand maſter's creatures, durſt not execute them without firſt conſulting with him about it; he therefore went privately to his palace, wrote the letter before him, gave a new turn to it; and inſtead of taking notice in it, as the council had ordered him to do, that d'Aramon, far from having contributed to the loſs of Tripoli, had on the contrary done

done all that lay in his power to keep the baſha from laying ſiege to it; he, I ſay, inſtead of theſe terms, ſo very expreſs in favour of d'Aramon's innocence, inſerted a clauſe which related only to the time of the writing of that letter; and moreover made the grand maſter ſay, that the council had not as yet diſcovered any thing, wherewith they could charge d'Aramon. D'Omedes by this clauſe, and under pretence that new impeachments might ariſe, reſerved to himſelf a power of reviving, on ſome other occaſion, the impeachment that had been brought againſt d'Aramon.

THE letter drawn up in this manner, and dated the 17th of November, was deliver'd to Villegagnon, who ſoon ſaw through the artifice: Upon which, he carried it immediately to the council to complain about it; when the lords of which it was compos'd, aſham'd of ſuch a ſeries of frauds, took upon themſelves to draw it up, which the grand maſter, after what had paſſed, durſt not refuſe to ſet his hand to.

THAT lord, after thanking the king for all the marks of kindneſs, with which he had been pleas'd to honour him, added theſe very words, as M. de Thou, a famous Hiſtorian, who was alive at that time, relates: "As to what your majeſty deſires of me; I, in order to ſatisfy your "will and command, declare, that d'Aramon arriving here on the firſt "day of Auguſt with two gallies and a brigantine, and having been re- "ceived according to his quality, ſhew'd us the order you had given "him at his ſetting out for Conſtantinople, to viſit us in his paſſage, and "to aſſure us of your diſpoſition to ſerve us; whereupon we deſired him "to go over into Africa, and endeavour to diſſuade the baſha from lay- "ing ſiege to Tripoli, if he had not already inveſted it; or that in "caſe he ſhould find it actually beſieged, to make uſe of your majeſty's "glorious name, and his own credit, to engage him to raiſe the ſiege: "that d'Aramon cheerfully embraced this occaſion of doing ſervice to "the order; but that the Turkiſh general having been deaf to all his in- "treaties, he returned hither, without having been able to prevail in any "one article; that he declared publickly before the council of our order, "how highly he was concern'd for the loſs of Tripoli; aſſuring us with- "al, that he had omitted nothing in his power, that might contribute to "the giving us the ſatisfaction we deſired of him, as having your ma- "jeſty's expreſs commands to that purpoſe. Moreover we, in order "that the whole world may be acquainted with the true ſource of this "misfortune, have caus'd informations to be taken on all ſides; and af- "ter the ſtricteſt enquiry that could poſſibly be made in this affair, we "have not diſcover'd any thing that could any way induce us to believe, "that d'Aramon ever contributed in the leaſt, or uſed any ſollicitation "whatſoever for the ſurrender of the place; ſo far from that, our "knights, who had been made priſoners at that time, inform'd us on "their return, that he was not only clear of all manner of blame; but "had moreover oblig'd our order by an infinite number of good offices. "The report therefore, which has been rumour'd up and down to the "contrary, is very unjuſt, and againſt all manner of reaſon, &c."

'This letter, a copy whereof is in my cuſtody, (ſays M. de Thou at 'the end of his ſeventh book) was afterwards ſent by the king to all his 'embaſſadors, in order for its being publiſh'd in the courts of the ſe- 'veral princes where they reſided." By this means they put a ſtop to the ill reports, which the Imperialiſts had ſpread abroad, ſo very prejudicial to the honour and reputation of the French. The whole nation ow'd this ſignal piece of ſervice to Villegagnon's zeal and addreſs; and as

this

JOHN D'OMEDES. this knight was no leſs a maſter of his pen, than he was of his ſword, he publiſhed an excellent memorial at Malta, which he diſperſ'd over all Europe, and which is ſtill preſerved; by which it is manifeſt, that the grand maſter, from a principle of avarice, and an invincible obſtinacy, had diverted the ſuccours, which might poſſibly have ſaved Tripoli, another way. Which memorial, directed to the emperor Charles V. is inſerted among the proofs in the appendix.

As for my own part, without pretending however to ſpeak in a deciſive manner, in ſo nice an affair; I cannot think but that the treachery of the renegado of Provence, who diſcovered the weakeſt places in Tripoli to the Turks; the rebellion of the ſoldiers; the great fear the two Spaniſh knights were in, and their intelligence with the mutineers; and, in a word, the governor's too eaſy credulity, and the grand maſter's poſitiveneſs againſt putting any ſuccours into the place, were the cauſe of their haſty capitulation, as well as the reaſon why the beſieged, before their taking ſuch a ſtep, did not, like their predeceſſors, hold out, till ſuch time as they ſhould be reduced to a greater extremity. The marſhal paid ſufficiently afterwards for his imprudence in going out of his fortreſs, by the long impriſonment he ſuffer'd; but the grand maſter, who, as we have already obſerved, cauſed the other impeach'd knights to be arreſted for no other reaſon, but becauſe he could not ſeparate their cauſe from his, got them pardon'd as ſoon as poſſible: and as in all kinds of government whatever, that man who has the diſpoſal of the preferments and dignities, is generally maſter at the ſame time of the votes, d'Omedes had intereſt enough to engage moſt of the great croſſes who compoſed the council, to conſent to their being ſet at liberty.

At the very time when the order was in the greateſt confuſion from theſe domeſtic broils, Leo Strozzi prior of Capua having quitted the poſt of general of the gallies of France, from a reſentment he entertain'd againſt the firſt miniſter of that crown, preſented himſelf before the harbour of Malta, and ſent to ask the grand maſter leave to enter into it. But that prince, who was jealous of every thing that came from France, was harſh enough to refuſe it him; and either from the apprehenſions he was under of the prior's inclination to favour the marſhal's party, or elſe out of zeal for the emperor's intereſts, and his own reſentment at Strozzi's having but a little while before carried two gallies and ſeveral merchant ſhips out of the road of Barcelona, he ſent him word that he would give orders for his being fir'd at in caſe he did not retire immediately. An anſwer in ſuch violent and menacing terms, and ſo very unuſual in a republick, depriv'd the prior of any place of refuge in all Chriſtendom, and of any other aſylum but the ſea and two gallies; ſo that in caſe he ſhould be purſued by any body of corſairs who were ſtronger than himſelf, or ſhould be caught in a ſtorm, he could not put into any of the emperor's ports without being in danger of being arreſted; nor could promiſe himſelf any greater ſecurity in thoſe of the duke of Florence, who was a mortal enemy to all the Strozzi. He would not have met with a better reception in the harbour of Genoa, where Doria, the emperor's admiral, commanded; a general over whom the prior had gained ſeveral advantages during the time he commanded the gallies of France; a kind of affront, which a man would be very glad, if poſſible, to conceal from himſelf, but which he ſcarce ever forgets, or is ever brought to forgive. There was no other aſylum left for the prior, but the ports of France, a kingdom which he had ſerved with fidelity as well as ſucceſs: he would have been leſs ſafe here,

here, than in any other part of Europe. Envy, that inſeparable attendant upon glory, had drawn upon him the enmity of the whole family of Montmorency: the conſtable, who was both prime miniſter and favourite to Henry II. had found means to render him ſuſpected to that monarch; and at his return to Marſeilles from the expedition of Barcelona, he had ſecret notice given him of a deſign they had to arreſt him; and moreover, that 'twas expected Francis de Montmorency, the conſtable's eldeſt ſon, would ſucceed him in the command of the gallies.

THE prior therefore, in order to prevent this ill treatment, went on board his own galley; and being followed by that of his brother, got by dint of rowing over the chain of the harbour, and made his way to the open ſea; when finding himſelf ſafe, he ſent back his ſtandard of general to the king, together with a letter which M. de Thou has tranſmitted to us, the purport of which is as follows; That as he was not born his ſubject, he had not engaged in his ſervice from any other motive, but the deſire of acquiring glory; but that now he had no other way left, either to preſerve his honour or his life, which was threatned, but to abandon France, and to withdraw out of the reach of the ill deſigns of his enemies; who, not finding any more effectual way to prevent his proving his innocence, and prevent his juſtification at the ſame time, had reſolved to have him aſſaſſinated. "I therefore beſeech your majeſty, ſaid he, from your wonted good-"neſs, to pardon me for having left your dominions without your leave: "and I dare flatter my ſelf ſo far as to hope, that you may probably one "day regret me, when the events of war ſhall give you occaſion to compare "my ſervices with the exploits of thoſe who are going to ſupply my "place."

HE wrote afterwards to the ſame effect, to the two ſeigniors de Strozzi, his brothers: by which he told them, that he was ready to give the king ſatisfaction as to his conduct, and in order not to prejudice their fortune, he promis'd never to engage in any meaſures againſt France: "My reſolu-"tion, ſays he, being to make war upon the infidels, for the ſervice of my "order." This was the occaſion which had brought him to Malta; when being obliged to quit that coaſt by the grand maſter's unjuſt orders, and though he had no ammunition and proviſions, but about twenty quintals of bisket, which a knight, a great croſs, and his particular friend, had furniſhed him with privately without the knowledge of d'Omedes; he ſtood out to ſea, and ſailed for the Levant in company with the commander de Martines, a Navarreſe knight, who was reſolv'd never to abandon him. The prior landed afterwards in one of the ports of Sicily, and as that commander was the emperor's ſubject, and was perſonally known to that prince, he ſent him to his court, to repreſent to him that he had quitted the ſervice of France, and was actually going to make war upon the Turks and infidels, his majeſty's enemies, and therefore hoped he would give him leave to put into his ports, and there bring whatever prizes he might take. Upon this, he continued his courſe without ſteering directly for any place; when his proviſions afterwards falling ſhort, he ſeiz'd on ſuch as he could meet with, without diſtinction, from all Chriſtian veſſels that came in his way, not excepting even thoſe of his own order, always proteſting that nothing but neceſſity could have forc'd him to it. He kept an exact account of every thing he had taken, promiſing to indemnify the owners for it one day or other, and ſtiling himſelf *The friend of God alone*, he cruis'd up and down the Mediterranean during a whole ſummer together, during which time he took ſuch conſiderable prizes from the infidels, that he at

Memoires de Brantome, Tome 2.

JOHN D'OMEDES.

his return found himſelf maſter of an hundred thouſand crowns: As he was ſailing along the coaſt of Calabria, he met the commander de Martines, who had procur'd him a very ample ſafe-conduct from the emperor; and that prince, who was an excellent judge of merit, and had an admirable talent at bringing over the generals of his enemies to his ſervice, had empower'd the commander to offer his friend an annual penſion of 12000 crowns, with the command of twelve gallies, and a promiſe of the poſt of admiral after the death of Doria. The prior, who ſtood in the utmoſt neceſſity of that prince's protection, either from a view of ſheltering himſelf in his ports, or in order to return back into Malta, did not abſolutely decline the offer; but as he had already promis'd his brothers, who were ſtill devoted to the intereſts of France, never to bear arms againſt that nation, he ſpun out the negotiation of Martines: and the viceroy of Sicily, upon advice that his maſter was deſirous of engaging the prior in his ſervice, gave orders that he ſhould be admitted, together with his gallies, into all the ports of the iſland; and did not, for his own part, omit either preſents, or any of thoſe blandiſhments which courtiers know ſo well how to employ, whenever they are to bring about any of their maſter's deſigns. The prior was equally polite, but told him, "That he could not enter into any engagement till ſuch "time as he had conferr'd with the grand maſter and council of the "order about it." He therefore, under pretence of ſounding how they ſtood affected, ſent one of his officers thither with directions to acquaint his beſt friends with his happy return: He ſent alſo at the ſame time, and by the ſame officer, a fine ornament deſign'd for the altar of St. Mary de Philermo, which he had got made at Meſſina; and as an indirect reproach on the grand maſter for his hard uſage, he had caus'd theſe words of St. John to be embroider'd on it: *He came unto his own, and his own receiv'd him not.*

AFTER he had thus given proofs of his devotion, he gave others of his probity: and as nothing but the moſt urgent neceſſity could ever have forced him to ſeize on the proviſions of Chriſtian veſſels, he caus'd proclamation to be made by ſound of trumpet in all the ſea-port towns of the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, whereby he declar'd that he had depoſited a conſiderable ſum at Meſſina for the payment of all ſuch perſons as he had been forced to plunder of their proviſions and ammunition, whilſt he was cruiſing up and down. He would needs pay them both the intereſt and principal; which was executed with ſo much exactneſs, that he gain'd no leſs reputation for his equity and diſintereſtedneſs, than he had before done for his skill in the arts of war: two qualifications, which though they muſt be united in order for the forming a great man, are yet very rarely found to center in the ſame perſon.

THE grand maſter hearing of the prior's return, and being informed of the emperor's views, he, in order to bring them about, and force the prior to engage in his ſervice, declared openly, that he continued ſtill in the ſame ſentiments; and therefore was reſolved not to receive him into Malta. But Strozzi's friends, who were ſome of the moſt conſiderable men in the order, ſent him word, that d'Omedes ſhould not have it in his power to refuſe him entrance into the port a ſecond time. Upon their letters, he immediately goes aſhore, arrives at Malta, gets into a skiff, and lands without giving the grand maſter any previous notice of his return: when a great number of knights, who admir'd his valour, came in a body to meet him. Thus attended, he goes up to the palace, ſalutes the grand maſter with that noble aſſurance which vertue inſpires, though

ſtill

ſtill with the reſpect that was due to his dignity; when he tells him, that having advice that the Turks threatned the iſland with a new invaſion, he was come to offer him his ſervice, and to join, as he was obliged by his profeſſion, with his brother knights in the common defence of the order. The grand maſter diſſembled his ſurprize, and the ſecret uneaſineſs he felt at his arrival. D'Omedes was at that time at variance with the council, who complained that he, from a ſcandalous principle of avarice, had on one pretence or other got all the eſtates of the order into his hands. The preſence of ſo illuſtrious a knight as the prior of Capua, might ſtrengthen the party of the malecontents: but as the grand maſter's diſpoſition and conduct, was wholly regulated by that of the imperial court, and being ſenſible that the emperor was deſirous of getting the prior into his ſervice, he received him in an amicable manner, and treated him with great demonſtrations of kindneſs. He likewiſe deſired him, after he had repos'd himſelf a while, to viſit all the iſland, and to give himſelf the trouble to examine all ſuch places, as ſtood in need of being fortified: Bomboſt, grand bailif of Germany, the commander Lewis de Laſtic the marſhal's lieutenant, and Peter Pardo a Spaniſh engineer, being joined with him in this commiſſion.

THESE three commiſſioners, after having travelled over the whole iſland, and carefully obſerv'd all its various ſituations, made their report to the council; whereby they repreſented, notwithſtanding that the town, which was the reſidence of the convent, was fortified by the Caſtle of St. Angelo, it yet was overlooked and commanded by mount St. Julian, a ſlip of land that jutted out into the ſea; that it would be neceſſary to fortify the town on that ſide with new works, and to build a fort upon that mount, in order to hinder the approach of the enemy: that the port, or Marza Muzet, lay open, and was defenceleſs, and that the only way to keep the enemies fleets from entring it, would be to build a new town upon mount Sceberras, as being the moſt difficult place of acceſs in all the iſland; that they would do well to transfer the convent thither one time or other, and that in the mean time, they could not be too expeditious, for the ſecurity of port Muzet, in building a fort upon the point of that rock, in order to defend the entrance of the harbour: And he concluded with preſſing the grand maſter, and the council, to fortify all thoſe necks of land which were much longer than they were broad, and which, by their intervals, form'd a like number of ports, they being exactly ſhaped like the fingers of a man's hand.

THE council, after a mature examination of the report of the commiſſioners, and the ſcheme which they propoſed of the works, reſolved to ſet about them immediately. But as the order wanted a ſufficient fund to carry on ſo many different works at the ſame time, and that the very building of a new town would have drained their treaſury; all they could do was only to fortify the town with new baſtions on that ſide where it was overlooked; to add flanks and caſemates to it, to ſink and widen the ditch, ſo as to let in the ſea-water; and that till ſuch time as they might be able to build a new town upon mount Sceberras, they agreed, conſidering the importance of that poſt, to begin with building a caſtle there, with four little baſtions or bulwarks, and to place them in ſuch a manner, that they might ſerve at the ſame time for the defence of the city, which they deſigned one day to build in that very place.

AFTER the council had thus reſolved on theſe ſeveral works, the three commiſſioners divided the direction thereof between them. The grand bailif took upon himſelf the direction of the fortifications which they

propoſed

JOHN D'OMEDES.

proposed to add to the town; the prior of Capua undertook that of the castle, which was to be built on the point of the rock or mount Sceberras; and the commander de Lastic was pitched upon to have the direction of the other fort, which they proposed to raise upon mount St. Julian.

THESE three commissioners, who were inspir'd with an equal emulation, after having sent for masons and workmen from Sicily, carried on their several undertakings without the least intermission. The peasants of the island were employ'd in digging the ground and carrying the materials. The knights in general, to push on the work briskly, were continually in the work-houses, relieving one another by turns: and all the different orders of the state, as well knights, as townsmen and peasants, applied themselves to it with so much ardour, that in less than six months time, the town was in a condition not to stand in fear of a siege, and the castle of mount Sceberras was finished and well provided with artillery: they call'd it the *fort of St. Elme*, in memory of a tower of that name, which serv'd to defend the entrance of the port of Rhodes; and the other fort which was built upon Mount St. Julian, was called the *fort St. Michael*.

SO great was the diligence us'd in the carrying on of these works, that we are indispensibly oblig'd to do justice in this place to the generous disinterestedness of all the knights of that time, both of such as were actually in the convent at Malta, as of those commanders who were at a distance from it: all of these, agreeable to their vows, and from a noble contempt of self-interest, brought their money and plate to the treasury; and the private knights, who had nothing they could call their own but their gold chain, a kind of ornament which they wore at that time, gave them with pleasure to contribute to the payment of the workmen: an example which has been imitated in our days, when upon the report of a mighty armament, which, as was given out, the Turks intended to employ against Malta, several knights without waiting for a summons immediately transported their persons and fortunes thither; and some who were old and infirm sent all their effects beforehand, with their plate, which they had converted into specie.

'TWOULD be impossible to express the joy and satisfaction, which the whole body of the knights, as well as the inhabitants of Malta, broke out into at the sight of these forts; which, by the diligence of the directors, seem'd as it were by a kind of miracle to have sprung out of the earth, and to secure the whole island from the incursions of the infidels. The grand master and council were highly extolled on this account, but the sincerer and better part of the elogiums redounded to the honour of the three commissioners, and particularly to the prior of Capua, who by his skill in fortification, by his zeal and continual application, had built a fort which defended the port Muzet, and which deserv'd to be consider'd as the principal key of Malta. In the warmth of those sentiments of esteem and gratitude, which all the convent express'd for this illustrious prior, several of the chief knights of the order declared that there was now nothing wanting for their security but only to see him their grand master: and as d'Omedes was very old, all their wishes declared already in his favour.

THE grand master could not hear these reports without a secret vexation, and as if the very sight of his successor would have contributed to the shortning of his days, he, under pretence of interesting himself in making the prior's fortune, endeavour'd by all manner of artifices, to remove him from his

his preſence, and ſend him from Malta. In purſuance of which, he preſſed him in the warmeſt manner, to enter into the emperor's ſervice; but the prior, who, next to the Houſe of Medicis, hated no body ſo much as he did Charles V. their protector, told the grand maſter in plain terms, that he could never ſo much as think of fighting againſt France, and againſt a king to whom he had formerly plighted his faith; and that no hopes of advancing his fortune ſhould ever make him engage in what he conceived was contrary to his honour, whatever reſentments he might juſtly entertain againſt the miniſters of France. JOHN D'OMEDES.

D'OMEDES finding he was reſolv'd not to leave Malta, and not being able to endure him there, he, in order to ſend him from thence, and get rid of him on another pretence, propoſed to him the undertaking of an expedition upon the coaſt of Barbary, and the putting of him at the head of an enterprize which he had formed upon Zoara. This City, known formerly by the name of Poſſidono, and ſeated in the Province of Tripoli, lies thirteen miles eaſt of the iſle of Zerbi or Gelves. Its good harbour had drawn thither, at that time, a great concourſe of merchants of different nations; and this great commerce had greatly enrich'd its inhabitants. Some Moors who where ſlaves at Malta, had told the grand maſter, in hopes of recovering their liberty, that the place was not fortified on the land-ſide; that under cover of a kind of foreſt of palm-trees, which ran almoſt to the very edge of the ditch, they might advance up to it without being diſcovered, and that as the inhabitants kept no guard on that ſide, they might eaſily be ſurprized, and the City taken before they conld have time to recover themſelves.

THE grand maſter offer'd the prior a ſufficient number of knights and ſoldiers for the enterprize, and theſe ſlaves for his guides. Strozzi, who was not out of hopes of raiſing himſelf to the grand maſterſhip, readily accepted an employment which gave him an opportunity of ſignalizing himſelf in the ſight of his brethren of the order. Upon this, he immediately fitted out his gallies, and ſome brigantines that were his own, putting 1200 men on board of them; among which were upwards of 300 of the braveſt knights of the convent, who were all eager to fight under the eye of a general, who was ſo excellent a judge of valour.

THIS little fleet ſet ſail from the port of Malta on the ſixth of Auguſt, and arrived off the coaſt of Barbary on the fourteenth in the evening. By a miſtake of the pilots, they landed much farther than they propos'd to do, and in a place which was at leaſt twelve miles diſtance from Zoara. They were forc'd to march all night long over the ſands, and through ſome groves of palm-trees, with which that part of the country was cover'd. The general, before he began his march, divided his troops into three battalions. The commander de Guimeran, an old knight whom we have already mentioned, led the firſt, being preceded by the chevalier de Strozzi the prior's nephew, whom his uncle had put at the head of ſome young knights, who made a kind of forlorn-hope in this expedition. The main body of the knights follow'd at ſome diſtance, and was commanded by the chevalier Pariſot de la Valette, lieutenant-general. The march was cloſed by ſome companies of infantry, which the chevaliers de Rangif, de Bisbale, and de la Benante had levied in Italy for the ſervice of the order: the prior had reſerv'd to himſelf the principal command of theſe troops, as being the moſt numerous body, out of which he, for that reaſon, might draw detachments, and ſend them to the ſuccour of the two firſt battalions, as there might be occaſion. The army march'd forward in this order, and ſome Malteſe in a Mooriſh dreſs, who ſpoke the language of the country,

JOHN D'OMEDES.

went a mile or two before the reſt, and advanc'd up into the country, in order to ſee how things ſtood, and whether the enterprize was not diſcover'd. Every thing appear'd very quiet; but as they drew near Zoara, they perceiv'd upon the left, ſome fires in a kind of camp filled with tents and pavilions, the ſoldiers of which ſeem'd to be faſt aſleep, and without any ſentinels. Upon which, they immediately deſir'd the general to give them leave to go and view them, and afterwards attack them; but 'twas thought, as indeed was very likely, that they were only a troop of thoſe Arabs, who are generally encamped, moſt of them naked and ſorrily arm'd, ſo that there was very little to be got by them; and they likewiſe conſidered that it wou'd be impoſſible to attack them ſo near Zoara without giving an alarm, and awaking all its inhabitants. It was therefore unanimouſly reſolv'd, that they ſhould defer the attacking thoſe troops till ſuch time as they had taken Zoara; and for their better ſucceſs in that point, the general ordered his principal officers and captains, to march as ſoon as they ſhould be got within the town directly forward to the great ſquare, where all the ſtreets met; where they ſhould fortify themſelves, and not ſuffer the ſoldiers to run up and down to plunder, till they ſhould be maſters of all thoſe poſts, where the inhabitants might be able to intrench themſelves: and to compenſate in ſome meaſure for ſuch a diſagreeable, but neceſſary reſtraint, he promis'd them two crowns for every Moor's head they ſhould bring him.

AFFAIRS being ſettled in this manner, the army, notwithſtanding the darkneſs of the night, which was not yet ſpent, advanc'd in good order with great ſilence, and found the town buried in a much greater, it not having ſo much as a ſingle ſentinel, much leſs a guard-houſe, and its gates ſtood wide open. The Chriſtians enter'd it without oppoſition, when leaving ſome companies without, to ſecure the entrance, and facilitate the going out, they marched to the great ſquare, drew up in battel-array, and awak'd the inhabitants with the ſound of their drums and trumpets. The ſoldiers were then no longer to be kept in order, but diſperſe themſelves up and down the ſtreets, break open the houſes, kill all thoſe who offer to make reſiſtance, take priſoners all ſuch as are unarm'd, and with ſword in hand force the trembling townſmen to deliver their money: theſe mercileſs ſoldiers, in order to make a profit of ſuch as had none, bind them in order to ſell them for ſlaves; and without any diſtinction of age, ſex or condition, force the old men, the women and children, with blows, to march down to the ſea-ſide, to put them on board the gallies of the order: a wretched way of making repriſals, but which at the ſame time is very neceſſary to repreſs the cruelty of the infidels, and teach them to treat the Chriſtians better on the like occaſions.

THEY had by this time got together in the great ſquare, about 1500 of theſe perſons, who were bewailing their misfortune with tears, when luckily for them there arrived ſuccours, which broke their chains before they had felt all the weight of them. The commander de la Valette had been commiſſion'd to put them on board; when a Moor of the town call'd, Aly Benjiora, hearing his name mention'd, ran to him with eagerneſs, and after having made him call to mind, that he had ſerved under him in Tripoli, "Do you know, Sir, (ſays he, whiſpering to him) that "you are going to be attacked and cut in pieces?" When, to convince him of the danger he was in, he told him that what the Chriſtian general, in his way to Zoara, had taken for a flying camp of Arabs, was a body of 4000 Turkiſh cavalry, all old ſoldiers, and excellent arquebuſiers, commanded by Morat Aga governor of Tripoli, who going by orders from the

the port, to the iſland of Gelves, and having been overtaken by the night, had encamped in the place where they had diſcover'd him; that ſome of the inhabitants, who had made their eſcape from the Chriſtians, were gone to implore his ſuccour, and that he had promiſed them to be at the gates of Zoara by break of day; and therefore, continu'd he, 'tis your general's buſineſs to take proper meaſures in order to prevent his being ſurprized.

THE commander rewarded the Moor for his intelligence, and ran to give the prior an account of it. Upon which, the general, in order to call his ſoldiers about him, ordered immediately a retreat to be ſounded; but the noiſe and tumult which always attends the ſacking of a town, the cries of the women and maidens whom they tore away all trembling from the arms of their husbands, or the boſom of their mothers; all this, I ſay, prevented their hearing the ſignal of retreat: Though, after all, 'tis probable enough that the ſoldiers, in their thirſt of plunder, might only pretend they had not heard it, as not caring to deſiſt from ſo agreeable an employment.

IN the mean time Morat fancying he ſhould find the Chriſtians diſpers'd up and down in the ſeveral quarters of the place, arrives at the gates, which the Malteſe had quitted, in order to have their ſhare in the plunder: Upon this, he enters it with the ſame facility that the Chriſtians had done, falls upon ſuch as he finds in his way, kills ſeveral of them, and ſpreads a general conſternation among the Chriſtians; ſo that the general of the order could ſcarce find a ſufficient number to make head againſt the infidels. At length day-light appears, and by that means affords the knights a diſtinct view of the enemy and of their own danger. Then indeed they give over plundering, and they all endeavour to rally themſelves under the ſtandard of the order; they all croud together as well as they can (which however they do but in platoons,) and as the place they were in would allow them. Each knight, without waiting for his general's orders, makes uſe of thoſe only which his courage inſpires; the engagement becomes general, and both armies are mix'd together in combat. The Moors join themſelves to the Turks their deliverers: Moſt of the priſoners, during this diſorder and confuſion, make their eſcape, ſo that la Valette, who had the charge of them, could put no more than about 200 on board. The knights, though divided from one another, and preſſed by the ſuperior number of the enemy, ſtill make head where-ever they meet them. Some, fortified by the ſituation of the poſts they were in, pretend to maintain themſelves in their conqueſt; others think of nothing but getting to the ſea, and retiring on board their gallies: Among theſe, the chevaliers Sforza, and young Strozzi, together with ſeveral knights of great merit, fought to the laſt drop of their blood, rather than they would yield; and the infidels would not have had the pleaſure to ſee any of the knights made their priſoners, had not they, after the battle was ended, found the chevaliers de Chabrillan, Marſilly and Bracamont lying in the field of battle among the ſlain; though indeed they had only fainted away, and were afterwards ranſom'd.

IN the mean time, whilſt the engagement was ſtill carrying on, the prior, who was advancing with another body towards the ſea-ſide, having notice of the danger his nephew was in, turns back and advances to his relief: but he found, at his arrival, that fate had put it out of his power. The natural deſire of revenging his death, and the hopes which the Turks on the other ſide had of defeating this ſecond body, and thereby of gaining a compleat victory, bring on another engagement. Both ſides return to the combat with recruited fury, and behave with inexpreſſible bravery.

JOHN D'OMEDES.

very. The Chriſtians and the Turks, inſpir'd with the moſt obſtinate hatred againſt each other, neither give nor take quarter; They all fight and cloſe together; every one grapples with the enemy he meets, and of a general engagement, make as many particular duels as there are ſoldiers in each party. But at length the Turks finding themſelves too warmly attack'd by the knights, clap ſpurs to their horſes, and retire at a diſtance from that formidable battalion, when they charge their muskets again, return in good order to fire in the very faces of their enemy; when the prior, who was at the head of his troop, is diſabled by a musket-ball that is lodg'd in his thigh. Immediately the Turks advance forward to diſpatch him; but the ſurviving knights and ſoldiers make a rampart for him with their bodies. The commander Copier, Tolon de Sainte Jaille, and Soto-major are killed in repulſing the infidels. 'Tis very probable, that they would have found it a very difficult matter in the condition they were in, to reſcue the prior from the fury of the Barbarians, had it not been for a knight of Majorca, Toreillas by name; who being of an extraordinary ſtature, and of a ſurprizing ſtrength of body, took his general in his arms, carried him firſt from the front of the battalion into the center, and from thence made his way, with equal fatigue and danger, through a ſhower of musket-ſhot, which was continually levelled at him, to the ſea-ſide.

HERE this generous knight, loaded with a burden that was more honourable than it was troubleſome, met with new dangers. The ſea was low in this place, and ſome banks of ſand, which are very frequently met with along this coaſt, hindred the ſmalleſt ſhallops from coming to the ſhore. Toreillas however goes into the ſea, up to his waiſt, and with infinite difficulty goes from rock to rock, and from ſhelf to ſhelf, till at laſt he comes to a deeper water; when the long-boat of the admiral-gally coming to his aſſiſtance, they take him in together with the prior.

'TIS probable, that in any other body but that of Malta, the retreat of a wounded general would have damp'd the courage of the ſoldiers: but the knights, who, being all of them, if I may be allow'd the expreſſion, born generals, and animated with the ſame courage, were ſuſceptible of no other paſſion but that of joy, when they found their general was ſafe; indifferent as to their own fate, all the concern they had now left, was for the ſtandard of the order, which the chevalier de Caſſiere carried, and to prevent its falling into the hands of the infidels.

THE prior being thus ſafe, they next conſider'd what meaſures they ſhould take; when they agreed to keep always in a body, and make a kind of a running fight, till ſuch time as they ſhould get to the ſea-ſide. For which purpoſe, they begin their retreat, being purſued all the way by the Turks; who knowing that the ſhallops could not come near the ſhore, expected to kill all ſuch as ſhould lag behind, as well as all thoſe who being got to the ſea, were ſtill within the reach of their fire-arms.

DURING this march, which was frequently interrupted, the Chriſtians, as they drew near the ſea, met with a rock on the point of a narrow paſs, which they immediately ſeiz'd upon, in order that they might have time to take breath. They, from this place, had a full view of the gallies and the ſhallops that attended them: but the buſineſs was, how to get to them. La Caſſiere, who would have ſacrificed a thouſand lives, rather than hazard the ſtandard of the order, repreſented to the oldeſt knights, that in caſe they all kept together in a body by the ſea-ſide, the infidels, who follow'd cloſe at their heels, would fall upon them with more fury than ever; that

whilſt

whilſt ſome ſhould be endeavouring to ſave themſelves in the water, others would be engaged with the enemy, and that in ſuch a diſorder and confuſion, they would be in danger of loſing the ſtandard of St. John; ſo that in order to prevent a diſgrace of that nature, it would be proper for the knights only to ſtay behind to guard it, and make head in the paſs, to ſtop the impetuoſity of the Turks; during which, the wounded and the reſt of the ſoldiers, ſhould file off inſenſibly, and get one after another on board the gallies and veſſels of the order: and that when they once ſhould have got rid of that troubleſome multitude, it would not be impoſſible for a ſmall number of knights, who moſt of them could ſwim, to diſperſe themſelves, and by that means eſcape, one after another, the obſtinate purſuit of the infidels.

THE propoſal was very much approved of, eſpecially by the ſoldiers, who were the firſt to reap the benefit of it; and la Caſſiere pointing to the long-boats and ſhallops that lay at no great diſtance, cry'd out, "Save "yourſelves, my friends, and provide for your own ſecurity, whilſt my "comrades and I continue here, to ſtop the purſuit of our enemies: we "may, perhaps, be ſo fortunate as to follow at your heels; but in caſe we "ſhould be cut to pieces, the order will not fail to reward your ſervices, "and the ſubſtantial proofs you have now given of your bravery." Upon this, the ſoldiers march'd off, and filing one after another, got to the ſea-ſide, waded into the water, and went on board the veſſels that waited for them.

THE rage of the Turks increaſed with redoubled fury, when they ſaw that part of their prey had eſcaped them: upon which they make a freſh charge, and endeavour to force the entrance of the paſs.

BUT the knights, who were ever intrepid, made a formidable reſiſtance with their ſwords or pikes. The aga attack'd them in vain with his cavalry, when, not being able to make them give way, he orders his troopers to diſmount, and advances ſabre in hand into the paſs to force it. The Turks with their broad ſcimiters cut the wood of the pikes in two, break the ſwords of the knights, and flatter themſelves with the hopes of ſoon diſpatching that ſmall remnant of them, whom they imagined to be animated only by deſpair. But thoſe intrepid warriors, tho' moſt of them had at laſt no weapens left but their daggers, grapple with the Turks, ſlay or wound ſuch as they can lay hold on, and make themſelves dreaded, and even admired by thoſe Barbarians.

THE aga, perſuaded that he ſhould not carry his point but by the fire of his musketeers, orders his cavalry to remount on horſeback. Whilſt this was doing, Verdalle turning towards la Caſſiere, cries out to him, "What are we doing here? Are we to wait till the infidels kill us one after "another, and that the ſtandard of the order, to our eternal reproach, "fall into the hands of thoſe dogs? Believe me, brother, we are hard by "the ſea-ſide, let us follow the ſteps which our illuſtrious general has "mark'd out for us with his blood, and endeavour, after his example, to "get to our gallies. The water, you know, is low; we may all get thi-"ther, if we make ſome ſtruggle, and afterwards throw ourſelves into it; "and if there ſhould happen to be, as they tell us there is, any channels "among the ſhelves of ſand, that are deeper than ordinary, we knights "that ſurvive, will carry you by turns, with the ſtandard of our holy order; "and if any one of us can but ſave it, let death come afterwards, when-"ever it ſhall pleaſe God."

THE commander de la Caſſiere, finding that to be the only expedient they had left, reſolved to make uſe of it; accordingly he ſet out with his

JOHN D'OMEDES.

little troop, which march'd a great pace, but keeping cloſe together as uſual. When they were come near the ſea, the knights ſeparated themſelves, diſpers'd in a moment, and threw themſelves into the water in different places. La Caſſiere, ſupported by Verdalle and ſome other knights, waded into it, and with an invincible courage, holding his banner always aloft, in the midſt of a ſtorm of musket-ſhot, made his way to the ſhallops, and was taken on board with great ſhouts and acclamations: but ſeveral knights, who faced about, and ſtood their ground on the ſea-ſide, in order to gain him time to make his retreat, dropp'd and were kill'd by the continual fire of the enemy.

THE order loſt moſt of the knights and military ſerving brothers, that were in this unfortunate expedition; and among the moſt diſtinguiſh'd of that number, hiſtory has preſerv'd us the names of DupuyMonbrun, Saint Marcel, d'Avanſon, de Briançon, de Bonne, la Rochette, la Roche Montmor, de la Motte, all of them deſcended of the principal families of the province of Dauphine; Saint Sulpice, Puipatron, Gilbert, Brichanteau, Bauvais Nangis, Harancourt, le Pleſſis Richelieu, de Gordes, knights of the language of France, were kill'd in it: that of Italy loſt the two Valparges, Sforza, young Strozzi, Grimaldi, and Juſtiniani; as Spain did Berenger, Soto-major, Perez Pachieco, Montroy, Touar, and Barientos, who met with the ſame fate. We are not to omit, that the chevalier Poglieze of the language of Italy, was kill'd by the ſea-ſide with a musket-ball, as he was ſupporting with one hand the ſtandard of the order which la Caſſiere carried: he was a knight of ſingular piety, who by his example, and the whole tenor of his life, made it manifeſt, that a conſtant and faithful practice of the moſt ſevere virtues, is not any way inconſiſtent with the moſt diſtinguiſh'd valour.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE Knights Hoſpitallers OF St. JOHN of JERUSALEM, Called afterwards The KNIGHTS of Rhodes, And at this time The KNIGHTS of MALTA.

BOOK XII.

JOHN D'OMEDES. Jacques Pozani Vicentin. v. de L. Strozzi. 1552.

THE prior of Capua getting his ſhips together, ſet ſail, and return'd with the ſhatter'd remains of his troops into the port of Malta. His wounds had weaken'd him ſo much, that he was forced to be carried upon a plank to his own houſe: he was followed by the greateſt part of his officers, who were hardly in a better condition than their general. But though he had loſt a conſiderable number of knights by the unavoidable hazards of war, in this unfortunate expedition, he yet did not loſe the glory which he had acquir'd on other occaſions, nor the reputation of being a wiſe and valiant captain; both the officers and ſoldiers doing him this juſtice, that at the time he deſpair'd of being able to vanquiſh the vaſt multitude of enemies that had ſurpriz'd and ſurrounded him, they had never ſeen him give his orders with greater temper and preſence of mind, and at the ſame time fight with more intrepidity and courage. Upon teſtimonies ſo very honourable, and ſealed, as it were, with his blood, he was rechoſen general of the gallies. As the ſea was his element, he had not patience to wait till his wounds were quite clos'd, but ſet ſail again, and ſpent all the ſummer in ſcouring the Mediterranean up to the mouth of the Nile.

JOHN D'O MEDES.

HE was the terror of thoſe ſeas, every ſhip fled his preſence, and the braveſt Corſairs took all the care they could to avoid him. This, however, was very often ineffectual, ſeveral of them being taken and made ſlaves; and whole fleets of merchants, notwithſtanding their convoys, fell into his hands. He carried his prizes into the ports of the order, bringing thither, at the ſame time, plenty, luxury, and pleaſures.

WHILST they were taken up at Malta in celebrating his return with rejoicings, which always attend on good ſucceſs, there arriv'd news of a different nature, of great importance to the order, and to the Engliſh knights in particular. A ſhip of that nation, captain Hoſmadan commander, came into the harbour: that officer had the character of envoy of the queen of England, and in that quality was admitted to an audience of the grand maſter, to whom he preſented a letter from her majeſty, in which ſhe told him, that God having placed her on the throne of her anceſtors, ſhe had reſolved, for the diſcharge of her conſcience, to reſtore all the commanderies and eſtates, which king Henry VIII. her father, and Edward VI. her brother, had unjuſtly taken from the order: and ſhe concluded her letter, with deſiring him and the council to ſend immediately ſome of the knights to London, with ample powers, to take poſſeſſion of all the commanderies and places that had belonged to their order.

THIS ſurprizing news occaſion'd great rejoicings at Malta, eſpecially among the Engliſh knights, who conſider'd that happy revolution as an earneſt of the re-eſtabliſhment of the true religion in their country. But in a nation ſo jealous of its liberty, ſuch a reſtitution of church-lands was not brought about without great difficulties. For the better underſtanding of ſo important an affair, we muſt recollect what was ſaid in the tenth book, about the unreaſonable motives that had engaged Henry VIII. to uſurp the lands of the monaſteries and commanderies within his dominions. And perhaps it may not be improper, in order to the ſetting of this point of hiſtory in its full light, to give here a ſhort account of the laſt actions of that prince, and alſo of the ſeveral tranſactions that happen'd in England after his death, during the ſhort reign of young Edward his ſon, and the beginning of that of queen Mary his eldeſt daughter. Henry, finding his end drawing near, ſettled the order of ſucceſſion to his crown, which, by reaſon of his various marriages, had been changed ſeveral times. He, ſince his ſeparation from Catherine of Arragon his firſt wife, had married five other women, moſt of whom he had either put to death, or rid himſelf of them by an arbitrary divorce.

AS this ſucceſſive polygamy might cauſe diſturbances in the kingdom after his death, and occaſion civil wars between his children, the parliament, the living and ſupreme law of that nation, gave him power to ſettle the ſucceſſion of the crown as he ſhould ſee fitting. Henry, by virtue of this act, had, ſome time before his death, declared his ſon prince Edward, who was hardly nine years and an half old, and whom he had had by Jane Seymour his third wife, for his ſucceſſor: he had likewiſe, in order to ſhew the world that he ſtill maintain'd the invalidity of his marriage with Catherine of Arragon, declared the princeſs Mary, his eldeſt duughter, a baſtard; though before his divorce, he had acknowledged her as princeſs of Wales, and in that quality, preſumptive heir of the Crown. Princeſs Elizabeth, daughter to Ann Boleyn his ſecond wife, ſucceeded to this great title after her ſiſter, which ſhe alſo loſt in her turn upon her mother's execution. The king their father, to gratify his third wife, had got an act of parliament to paſs, by which they were both depriv'd of the ſucceſſion to the crown: but a few days before his death, he reſtor'd them

to

to their juſt rights, and declar'd them his heirs, in caſe prince Edward ſhould happen to die without iſſue. JOHN D'OMEDES.

THESE two princeſſes were as oppoſite to each other in their character, as they were in the different intereſts of their birth. The eldeſt brought up by a Spaniſh mother, and deſcended on her ſide from the kings of Arragon and Caſtile, was naturally proud and haughty, her education had made her a zealous roman catholick; ſhe was naturally devout, and moreover devoted to the holy ſee, as her intereſt required, which had interpos'd its authority to legitimate the marriage of the queen her mother.

AS Elizabeth's pretenſions were null, by the validity of this diſpenſation, ſome conceal'd proteſtants, her mother's creatures, had brought her up in a great eſtrangemenr, and kind of contempt for the power of the ſovereign pontiff. This was the moſt eſſential part of her religion; in other reſpects, ſhe was indifferent enough as to tenets, of a complying and eaſy temper, which could aſſume any form ſhe pleas'd, ſhe was haughty or obliging, juſt as ſuited her intereſt, and though ſcarce thirteen years old, ſhe already diſcovered a glimpſe of that capacity which became afterwards the admiration of all Europe. The king her father unhappily ended his days in the ſchiſm which he had occaſioned; and was no leſs an enemy to the holy ſee than to the proteſtants: and this prince, who raſhly employ'd himſelf in reforming religion, died in a miſerable uncertainty of the true one.

HIS death occaſion'd new troubles in England: the real catholicks longed to ſee an end of the ſchiſm, but they were the weaker party. A multitude of proteſtants, who had hitherto been reſtrain'd from declaring themſelves for fear of perſecution, threw off the mask, and over ſpread the court, the metropolis, and the counties of the kingdom. Several biſhops alſo declared openly in favour of this new opinion, and in order to eſtabliſh it on a laſting foundation, they brought up the young king in the principles of the proteſtants. The protector, the officers of his houſhold, and his preceptors in their diſcourſes with him, treated the holieſt of our myſteries, as downright idolatry.

THE prince breathed, as it were, nothing but an infected air: they prepoſſeſs'd and miſled his reaſon, at an age, when he could not judge clearly for himſelf. So that he embrac'd the proteſtant doctrine which they were continually repreſenting to him as more agreeable to the goſpel, and he was ſo unhappy as to perſiſt in it, with a confidence that ought to be inſpir'd by truth only.

THE parliament made new laws to authorize this change: the maſs was aboliſh'd, the images remov'd out of the churches, and the holy ſcriptures unfaithfully tranſlated, and ſo as to favour the prevailing opinions. Divine ſervice was ſaid in the vulgar tongue, the clergy were allowed to marry, and, what the greedy courtier had moſt at heart, ſuch church-lands as were left, became a prey to a ſet of men, all whoſe religion conſiſted in ruining religion it ſelf.

THUS England from ſchiſm was plung'd into hereſy: ſuch catholick biſhops as were left in the kingdom, exerted themſelves in vain, in order to inſpire the people of their dioceſes with a juſt horror for theſe innovations. The clergy was deſpis'd; the ſchiſm had broke that ſo neceſſary union with the holy ſee, the center of religion. Not but that ſeveral Engliſh biſhops at that time, were men of learning, and unblameable in their lives and converſations; but though they were againſt theſe innovations, they yet, either from the hopes they had of being made biſhops, or to get other preferments, had been weak enough to own the pretended ſupremacy

JOHN D'OMEDES.

of Henry VIII. Moreover, ſome of them in ſpight of their conviction of mind, had been ſo weak as to write in favour of that prince's ſeparation from the ſee of Rome. In vain did they endeavour, after his death, to ſtop the progreſs of the reformation: their zeal was imputed to them as a crime, and expos'd them to all the penalties of the acts of parliament. This ſerved them alſo for a pretence to ſtrip them of their rich benefices: ſome were depriv'd, others impriſon'd, and all of them expiated, by a long perſecution, for the fault they had committed, in having ſeparated, out of complaiſance to the court, from the unity of the church.

THE young king's death, which happened the 6th of July, occaſion'd new revolutions in England. This realm was governed at that time by the duke of Northumberland, who was regent or prime miniſter; he was a nobleman of vaſt ambition, who, in order to place his ſon upon the throne in his maſter's ſtead, had married him to the lady Jane Grey, a daughter of the duke of Suffolk, and deſcended from Mary of England ſiſter to Henry VIII. This nobleman, in order to bring this young lady nearer the throne, had a few days before king Edward's death, put him upon making a will to diſinherit the two princeſſes again, under pretence that they were born of diſputed marriages. This will, in prejudice of their rights, appointed the lady Jane Grey his ſucceſſor to the crown; when the great ſeal being put to it, that young lady, by virtue of this will, was proclaimed queen of England. But though Mary was known to be a very zealous roman catholick, yet the city of London, as well as the country, deteſting afterwards this uſurpation, declar'd themſelves with ſo much warmth and zeal in her favour, that ſhe became in a few days, without any battle or bloodſhed, miſtreſs of the kingdom, and had the perſons of her enemies in her power.

PROVIDENCE having thus led her as it were by the hand to the throne; ſhe thought that ſhe could not better ſhew her gratitude, than by employing her firſt cares to the ſettling of religion, and the reconciling her dominions to the church of Rome. For the putting of this great deſign in execution, it was neceſſary to repeal all the acts of former parliaments, which had either confirm'd the divorce of Henry VIII. the rejecting of the pope's ſupremacy, or had after his death employ'd their authority for the eſtabliſhing of the reformed religion.

THIS enterprize was attended with great difficulties; moſt of the new biſhops, (if intruders deſerve the title) the lords and great men of the kingdom, made an open profeſſion of the proteſtant doctrines; and ſuch as were not infected with thoſe principles, adhered nevertheleſs to the ſeparation from the ſee of Rome, and would not hear the leaſt mention of reſtoring the papal authority. Under theſe difficulties the queen's miniſters convinc'd her, that it would be impoſſible for her to ſucceed in ſuch great deſign, without her being ſupported by an husband that was a zealons roman catholick, and who had power and credit to go through with her projects.

THERE was no want of pretenders on this occaſion; ſeveral princes and noblemen, as well Engliſh as foreigners, were of the number. Philip of Auſtria, a young prince, and only ſon to the emperor Charles V. was one of the candidates, and his father's money had gain'd him the intereſt of the queen's chief miniſters. Moſt of the Engliſh roman catholicks wiſh'd the queen's choice would fall upon cardinal Pool, who was only a deacon; or elſe upon young Courtney her couſin. Pool was deſcended, by the mother's ſide, from the duke of Clarence, brother to Edward IV. and

Courtney's

Courtney's grandmother was daughter of the ſame Edward, and ſiſter to the mother of Henry VIII.

THE Engliſh cardinal was in great repute for his wiſdom, learning, capacity, and prudence, as well as for the regularity of his life. Courtney diſtinguiſh'd himſelf by the charms of his perſon; the queen had a ſecret inclination for that young nobleman, who inſpir'd it without any art or deſign into thoſe, whoſe hearts were the leaſt ſuſceptible of paſſion. There was ſomething ſo noble in his air, and ſo wonderfully graceful in his carriage, that this princeſs, ſevere as ſhe was, could not help looking on him with a ſecret pleaſure. His preſence alone effac'd in a moment all the political reaſonings of her miniſters, who had declared in favour of the emperor's ſon. And it is certain, that in the firſt emotions of a riſing inclination, ſhe would have preferr'd Courtney before either Pool with all his wiſdom, or Philip of Auſtria with all his power, if that young nobleman had not by his own extravagance, and the irregularity of his conduct, deſtroy'd theſe favourable diſpoſitions. He ſaw the queen's weakneſs for him, and was bold enough to ſhew her that he ſaw it, without making a return; and inſtead of being aſſiduous in making his court to her, he paſs'd his time with common ſtrumpets, in an eaſy and ſcandalous courſe of debauchery.

THIS diſſolute way of life was ſucceeded by a paſſion for the princeſs Elizabeth: he fell deſperately in love with her, and lov'd her with all the flame and ſincerity of a young man in his firſt paſſion. Several were of opinion, that ſhe lov'd him; but whatever ſentiments that politick princeſs might diſcover, the event has ſhewn, that they did not ariſe ſo much from love as from ambition, which ſhe artfully managed in order to gain herſelf followers and creatures. Nor is it altogether improbable, but that a motive of vanity, which is common enough in perſons of her age, and the ſecret pleaſure of carrying off a lover from her ſiſter, even from the throne, might have had ſome ſhare in engaging her to ſhew a greater complaiſance to the paſſion of a young nobleman, whom all the ladies of the court ſtrove to pleaſe. Be that as it will, Courtney's affection to the princeſs ſoon became publick, and he ſacrific'd the queen with as much imprudence as love. She was weak enough to reſent this preference with a jealouſy unſuitable to her age and dignity; and though ſhe had no charms to pleaſe, and was above nineteen years older than her ſiſter, yet ſhe look'd upon Courtney's preference as an injuſtice done to herſelf.

ANTHONY DE NOAILLES reſided at that time at the queen's court in quality of embaſſador of Henry II. and had ſucceeded his couſin Claude de Laval de Bois-Daufin, of the family of Montmorency, in that employment. This miniſter ſaw the approaches of Courtney's diſgrace, even before he himſelf had the leaſt notion of it. He uſed all his endeavours to make him ſenſible of his true intereſt; but he had to do with a young man who was inſenſible to every thing but what flatter'd his love. The flame and violence of his paſſion hid from him the luſtre of a crown; and in the midſt of the tranſports of his amorous phrenzy, he would have preferr'd the enjoyment of the princeſs Elizabeth before all the thrones of Chriſtendom.

'TWAS a matter altogether indifferent to France, whether the queen married either him or cardinal Pool: Henry II. had no manner of intereſt in that affair, and all his concern was to oppoſe her marriage with the emperor's ſon. His embaſſador was continually inculcating to the Engliſh nobility, that in caſe this match ſhould take place, their kingdom would be in danger of being made a province of Spain; that the inquiſition would

JOHN D'OMEDES.

would be ſoon eſtabliſhed, and that their parliaments would be quite laid aſide, or at leaſt meet leſs frequently, and ſink at laſt into meer formality and ceremony. The Engliſh, and particularly the proteſtants, were very ſenſible of all the dangers to which they would be expoſed by this alliance. They preſented ſeveral addreſſes and petitions to the queen on this account; and the oppoſition was carry'd to ſuch a length, that an inſurrection broke out in ſome counties; but the emperor's money, and the dexterity of the queen's miniſters, got the better of all theſe obſtacles. In fine, that princeſs was married to Philip of Auſtria, though an important point was ſtill wanting to compleat the emperor's ſatisfaction. He was not ſatisfy'd that his ſon had married the queen, but he wanted to have him declar'd king of England, and crown'd as ſuch. The ceremony of it, ſo eſſential to the ſovereign authority, could not be perform'd without the conſent of parliament: but it was no eaſy matter to gain over ſuch a body of men, who oftentimes ſhew'd more regard to the liberty and intereſt of the nation, than they did deference to the authority of the ſovereign. Thoſe who had ſhewn the greateſt averſion to the queen's marriage, as well as ſuch as had come into it out of complaiſance, united together upon this occaſion, when they thought the liberty of their country was in danger. The French embaſſador, without ſtirring from his own houſe, put all the various ſprings of this united party in motion, and at a time when the court was entirely devoted to the Spaniſh intereſt, he found the ſecret to bring the parliament over to that of the French: and it was owing to his activity and management, that Philip miſcarried in his deſign,

July 25. 1554. of getting the regal authority into his hands, and was forced to take up with being conſort to a queen who was much older than himſelf, and had nothing agreeable in her perſon. That princeſs, however, gain'd conſiderable advantages by this alliance: the emperor, a prince of formidable power, concerning himſelf in the queen's affairs, enabled her to put all her deſigns in execution; ſo that by conſent of parliament, proteſtantiſm was aboliſhed, and the roman catholick worſhip reſtored. Pool afterwards reconcil'd the kingdom to the ſee of Rome, being authorized for that purpoſe in quality of legate to pope Julius III. but not daring to inſiſt either on the doing penance for the ſeparation, or the making reſtitution of the church and abbey lands, he was at firſt forced to wave all reſtrictions, and grant entire abſolution for faults, which it would have been dangerous to attempt to puniſh. Haughty as the manner of this ſatisfaction was, they thought fit to take up with it; and the Engliſh received the favours of the holy ſee, with an indifference that plainly ſhew'd the generality of the nation did not deſire them.

THE project of getting the church-lands out of the hands of the proteſtants that enjoy'd them, was put off to a more favourable juncture. The queen, by Pool's advice, in order to ſet her ſubjects an example of ſuch a reſtitution, declar'd, that her conſcience would not allow her to keep any of them any longer in her hands; in conſequence of which, ſhe immediately parted with all the church-lands that the late king her father had annexed to the crown, and gave them back to the former proprietors. This was the occaſion of captain Hoſmadan's voyage to Malta. We may eaſily conceive, that this news was very agreeable to the order in general, and to the Engliſh knights in particular. The grand maſter and the council wrote about it to the queen, to thank her for the juſtice ſhe had done their order; and the commander de Montferrat was ſent into England, to carry on this great affair in concert with the miniſtry. The order upon his arrival were put in poſſeſſion of their eſtates without any trouble, and

the

the commander, by virtue of the authority he had receiv'd from the grand maſter and council, and as a teſtimony of their gratitude to the queen, conferr'd the priory of St. John, and the dignity of great croſs, upon Sir Richard Sceley an Engliſh gentleman, who was one of her greateſt favourites, and had a conſiderable ſhare in this negotiation. Upon his account likewiſe, his brother Sir James Sceley got another commandry. That of Munigton was given to Sir Oliver Starkey, that they might in his perſon do honour to polite learning, and the ſciences of which he was maſter; and at the emperor's recommendation, who, ever ſince his ſon's marriage, had had a great ſway in the councils of England, the title of bailif de l'Aigle was given to the commander Fuſter, a native of Majorca, and knight of the language of Arragon; whom we had occaſion to mention in the foregoing book, in the account we gave of the loſs of Tripoli, and the proſecution of the commander Vallier grand-marſhal of the order. JOHN D'OMEDES.

THE great maſter d'Omedes did not live to ſee this important affair entirely perfected. He died the year before in the beginning of September: he had diſtinguiſh'd himſelf by his valour at the ſiege of Rhodes, was religious, and affected a great air of regularity and devotion, but withal of an imperious and revengeful nature; he was covetous, and ſo bent to inrich his family, that he almoſt ruin'd the order by the grants he made in his life-time to his relations, in contempt of the laws and ſtatutes of the ſociety. What he left behind him was ſo very inconſiderable, that ſeveral knights, out of indignation to ſee that he had alienated his principal effects, and diſpos'd of them to his nephews, propoſed to have the care of his funeral left to them; but the lords of the council rejected this propoſal, as unbecoming the generoſity and grandeur of the order. He was buried as uſual at the expence of the order, and with a magnificence that was rather ſuited to his dignity, than his perſonal merit. Sept. 6. 1553.

A few days after his deceaſe, the chapter met to chuſe him a ſucceſſor; and the prior of Capua ſeem'd to ſtand faireſt to be elected. It had for a long time been the object of his wiſhes, and in order to carry his point, he had gain'd ſeveral of the electors, who, when they met in the chapter, did not fail to ſet forth his courage, his valour, his great skill in military affairs and experience in command, with great elogiums. But Vagion, or Gagnon, the great conſervator, and one of the principal electors, riſing up, ſpoke as follows to reſt of the committee: "If, ſays he, in the choice we are oblig'd "to make, we were only to chuſe a great general, I don't think we could "in juſtice refuſe giving our votes for the prior of Capua: but our preſent "buſineſs is not barely to pitch upon an head full of valour, but on one "who may be a common father to our whole body, one who may be void "of all ſpirit of party, who ſhall be equally induſtrious to procure us the "favour of all the princes of Chriſtendom, and above all things take "care not to engage the order in their diſputes: and this is what I dare "not hope from the prior of Capua. You know, ſays he, his paſſion for "the liberty of his country, a paſſion to which Philip Strozzi his father "fell the firſt victim; if we ſhould put him at our head, when he ſees him-"ſelf maſter of our ſhips and gallies, ought we not to apprehend that he "will find out ſome pretence or other, to turn all the forces of the order "againſt the houſe of Medicis; and that with a view of revenging his "father's death, he will fall upon their fleets, and deſtroy all the coaſt of "Tuſcany with fire and ſword? In conſequence of which, the emperor, "who conſiders the fortune and grandeur of the Medicis as the work of

" his own hands, will not fail to make us anſwerable for all the enter-
" prizes of the grand maſter. Coſmo, too, the head of that family, a prince
" of excellent capacity, will eaſily find out a way to revenge himſelf, and
" in order to make a diverſion, will raiſe us up enemies among the potentates
" of Italy his allies: nor is it improbable but that this new ſovereign,
" who is look'd upon to be the greateſt politician of his age, and has cor-
" reſpondents and agents even in Conſtantinople, may bring all the forces
" of the grand ſeignior, upon Malta. And if we ſhould once make our-
" ſelves ſuſpected and odious to the emperor, who is in poſſeſſion of the
" kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, from whence could we, in caſe we
" ſhould be beſieged, expect any ſuccours againſt the infidels?"

THIS ſpeech of the elector, which love only and a ſincere attachment for the good of the order, had inſpir'd, made a great impreſſion upon the reſt of the committee. The commanders Paſcatore and Bernardin Parpaille ſpoke with great force in favour of theſe reflections, and even ſuch as had ſecretly engag'd themſelves to the prior of Capua, and had firſt declar'd in his favour, came over to Vagion's opinion: they all exhorted each other mutually, and agreed to have no regard to any thing in the election they were going to make, *but the good of the order*. They perſiſted vigorouſly in this laudable reſolution; in conſequence of which, Brother CLAUDE DE LA SANGLE, a knight of the language of France, and grand hoſpitaller, was unanimouſly elected their grand maſter. They choſe him during his abſence, and at a time when he was actually reſiding at Rome as embaſſador of the order to the pope; which is a manifeſt proof, that there was no cabal, nor any party-intereſt in his election, and that the committee, which made it, had acted only from a principle of juſtice, and according to the dictates of their conſcience. As ſoon as the news of his election came to Rome, the pope gave particular orders to the Governor of the caſtle of St Angelo, to proclaim it by the fire of all his artillery. A kind of publick feſtival was kept in Rome on this occaſion: moſt of the cardinals, the embaſſadors, the principal prelates of the court, and the barons of Rome made their viſits, and complimented the grand maſter in form. The pope ſent his chamberlain to congratulate him on his new dignity: and when he came to the palace to take the uſual oath of obedience, his holineſs made him dine with him in publick, and paid him all the honours that were due to his merit and dignity.

CLAUDE DE LA SANGLE.

THE grand maſter, as ſoon as he had paſs'd through the ceremonial, and had made the viſits he was obliged to pay, prepared to ſet out for Malta. The gallies of the order, commanded by the prior of Capua, came to take him on board at Terracina, when they carried him to Sicily, and he enter'd the Faro di Meſſina on the 12th of December. Don John de Vega, viceroy of the iſland, was waiting for him in that city with great impatience. They were both of them at the ſiege and taking of Mehedia, as was obſerv'd in the eleventh book; ever ſince which time, they had form'd an intimacy, or rather a kind of correſpondence between them, which was more polite than ſincere. The Spaniard, who made pompous demonſtrations as a proof of the ſatisfaction which his promotion gave him, deſign'd to give him publick teſtimonies of it, both at his entry into Meſſina, and during his ſtay there. However, that he might not be ſo profuſe of the honours he intended to pay him, as to derogate in the leaſt from his own dignity, he appointed ſome of the ableſt lawyers to examine into the rights and privileges of the grand maſters, and the rank that was due to them. Oliveti, the king's advocate at Meſſina, quoted to him on this occaſion a paſſage from

IOHANNES HARVEIUS ANGLUS

CLAUDE DE LA SANGLE.

from Chaſſane *, a famous lawyer, who in his treatiſe of *The glory of the world*, ſpeaking of eccleſiaſtical dignities, gives that of grand maſter the preference, before even the dignity of cardinal. The viceroy, ſtrengthned by this authority, had, before the grand maſter's arrival, ſent an expreſs to the emperor, to deſire his orders in relation to the conduct he ſhould obſerve towards him. That prince let him know by a nobleman of his court, whoſe name was d'Acunha, that he need not be afraid of exceeding in the honours he was to pay to the head of an order, which ſerv'd for a bulwark to his dominions in Italy. But as the emperor never took one ſingle ſtep, without ſome ſecret views of intereſt, he had directed his envoy to make ſome propoſals in his name to the grand maſter, which we ſhall have occaſion to mention in the ſequel of this work.

THE viceroy being thus inform'd of the emperor's intentions, went up at the head of the council, and the body of the gentry and magiſtrates of the city, to the admiral-galley of the order, to wait on the grand maſter on board his own ſhip; and in order to do him more honour, at their going out of it, he would needs walk alone immediately before the grand maſter, as he would have done before his own ſovereign. This prince made his entry afterwards into Meſſina under the fire of the artillery, and with the garriſon and townſmen under arms: he was lodged in the fineſt palace of the city, and was receiv'd and ſerv'd in that place, both at chapel and at his table, with the ſame honours as had been formerly paid to the antient kings of Sicily.

THE emperor's envoy, who was entruſted with his orders, congratulated him in his maſter's name on his new dignity; and in a private audience which he had of him a few days after, he acquainted him with his inſtructions, and the propoſals he had been order'd to make to him. The emperor's generals, as has been already obſerv'd, had, with the aſſiſtance of the knights of Malta, beſieged and taken the town of Mehedia or Africa from Dragut the Corſair. But as this conqueſt lay at a great diſtance from the other dominions of the emperor, and that he was obliged to be at a vaſt expence in maintaining a large garriſon in that place, his deſign was to engage the grand maſter to tranſport the whole convent thither, and to make it their ſettled habitation. He was moreover in hopes that the whole order, upon this new ſettlement, would intereſt itſelf in the defence of the fort of Goletta, and be a formidable ſupport to his authority in the kingdom of Tunis, which was at that time a fief of the crown of Caſtile.

THE envoy, in order to bring this project to bear, had, in the audience which the grand maſter had granted him, aſſured him, that the emperor was ſenſibly affected with the loſs that the order had ſuſtain'd by the taking of Tripoli by the infidels; and that, in order to repair it, he was ready to give them the abſolute property of that of Mehedia; a place, as he ſaid, regularly fortify'd, and from whence the knights might extend their dominion by new conqueſts upon the continent of Africa; that as the taking of this place was owing to their valour, and that he himſelf had had ſo conſiderable a ſhare in it, he himſelf, in caſe the order ſhould remove its reſidence thither, would juſtly be look'd upon as the founder of this ſecond Rhodes; and that by way of contribution to the expences ne-

* Crederem quod iſte magnus magiſter Rhodi poſt papam præcedere deberet omnes patriarchas, cardinales, & alios pontifices eccleſiaſticos; & cùm videatur tantæ eſſe dignitatis cujus eſt patriarcha, quod poſt imperatorem & alios principes habentes jura imperii, ut ſunt reges Franciæ & Hiſpaniæ, quod præcederet omnes principes recognoſcentes ſuperiorem, & non habentes jura imperii, putà reges ſubditos imperio, & quoſcumque duces; habet enim ſub ſe magnos principes, & eſt maximè honoratus.

ceſſary

CLAUDE DE LA SANGLE.

ceſſary for the defence of the place, the emperor, who always conſider'd the intereſts of the order as his own, would aſſign them an annual penſion of 72000 livres upon the revenues of Sicily, for ever.

THE grand maſter anſwer'd him with great politeneſs, that he found on this occaſion a freſh inſtance of the favours and the benevolence which his imperial majeſty had conſtantly beſtow'd upon the order. But, that he might not engage himſelf unadviſedly in the affair, he told him, that he had no power to accept a propoſal of ſuch conſequence, without the conſent of the council: however, that if he would go along with him to Malta, the affair ſhould be debated there in his preſence, when he ſhould ſee the ſincere deſire he had of obliging the emperor in all his demands.

THE grand maſter, attended with this embaſſador, and a ſtrong guard of Italian knights, went on board the gallies of the order, and doubling cape Paſſaro, arriv'd ſafe in the channel of Malta, and landed in the road of St. Paul. As he drew near the notable city, which was at that time the capital of that iſland, they propos'd to him to enter into it: but as his election to the grand maſterſhip gave him authority over the knights only, it was neceſſary for him to have a particular grant from the compleat council, before he could exerciſe any over the inhabitants and ſubjects of the order; for which reaſon, he put off his entry into that city, till another time. The council ſoon paſs'd the acts which were neceſſary for the eſtabliſhing of his authority over the whole iſland; and he was in a few days proclaim'd prince of Malta and Goza with great ſolemnity.

HIS firſt care, after he had taken poſſeſſion of his dignity, was to give audience to the emperor's embaſſador; this ceremony was perform'd in full council. The grand maſter, in order to honour the emperor in the perſon of his miniſter, advanc'd ſome ſteps to meet him, made him ſit down by his chair, and deſir'd him to acquaint the houſe with the ſubject of his commiſſion. D'Acunha preſented his credentials, and after the reading thereof, he repreſented to the council, the great affection which the emperor bore the order; that after the taking of Rhodes, when he ſaw them abandon'd by moſt of the Chriſtian princes, and wandring up and down the various provinces of Italy, he could not help being touch'd with their deplorable circumſtances; upon which, he generouſly parted with the iſles of Malta and Goza, to gratify the knights; a noble preſent, ſays he, and worthy the piety of that great prince: That their late loſs of Tripoli had given him new concern; he therefore, out of a deſire he had of repairing the damage they had ſuſtain'd, had ſent him on purpoſe to make them an offer of the town of Africa, or Mehedia, a place ſituated on the coaſt of Barbary, ſtrongly fortified, and which lay very convenient for the enlarging their conqueſts on the continent. He went on to obſerve, that as the ſoil of Malta was barren, and incapable of bearing corn, the order was forced to be ſending continually beyond ſea to diſtant countreys, to fetch it from thoſe places for their ſubſiſtence; whereas in the territory about Africa, they would meet with very fruitful tracts of land, which abounded with all kinds of corn. He concluded his diſcourſe, with intreating the knights to conſider, that the iſland of Malta was in want of fortify'd places, and that in caſe the grand ſeignior ſhould ſend a fleet and an army to make a deſcent, and lay ſiege to the principal fortreſs, as the order had reaſon to fear; they would certainly, in ſpite of all their valour, be forced to ſubmit to the ſame unhappy fate which had attended them at Rhodes.

THE grand maſter, after thanking the emperor for the continuation of his favours, ask'd the aſſembly what was their opinion of the propoſal: theſe, before they came to a final determination in the affair, reſolv'd

una-

CLAUDE DE LA SANGLE.

unanimouſly to ſend eight old commanders to Africa, to take a view of the ſituation of the place, the ſtrength and the extent of the territory about it. Theſe commiſſioners ſet out immediately, and upon their return reported to the council, that the place was built upon a neck of land that jutted out into the ſea, which ſurrounded it on three ſides; that it was of a large extent, and was very conſiderable on account of the great number of houſes in it, and the ſtrength of its fortifications; that the town and caſtle were ſurrounded with very high walls of an extraordinary thickneſs, and flank'd with towers well provided with artillery; that there was an arſenal in it ſtor'd with a great number of cannon; that nothing was wanting but a good harbour for the ſecurity of great ſhips; that the outworks of the place, and the adjacent riſing grounds, were beautified with an agreeable variety of country ſeats, orchards, and vineyards, and that all the arable ground in the territory terminated in a mountain which croſſes it from eaſt to weſt, and that behind it they had a proſpect of vaſt plains and paſture-grounds belonging to the Arabs of the country, which was generally cover'd with their flocks and herds of cattle that were grazing there.

THE commiſſioners declar'd further, that a place of ſuch vaſt extent could never be maintain'd without keeping a large garriſon conſtantly in it, to defend it againſt the princes and people of Africa, who would never ſuffer the order to ſettle quietly ſo near their dominions; ſo that they muſt expect to be daily fighting with the Arabs, who made incurſions up to the very gates of the city; that in caſe of a ſiege, they could have no room to hope for any ſpeedy ſuccour, conſidering its great diſtance from Europe; that it was neither agreeable to the deſign of their inſtitution, nor conſiſtent with the good of Chriſtendom, to abandon, as it were, the ſea, and the defence of all Chriſtian ſhips, to make war within land, and encroach upon the frontiers of their neighbours: whereas their predeceſſors, though much more powerful than they were, had never attempted to enlarge their territories by conqueſts, which generally claſh with juſtice; and that ſince that of Rhodes, which they had taken from the corſairs, the order had never employ'd its forces, but for the aſſiſtance of Chriſtian princes, or for the ſecurity and defence of ſuch private perſons as frequented the Mediterranean. This report, made by old experienc'd officers, and knights full of the warmeſt zeal for the diſcipline of their order, determined the council to continue at Malta: The conſiderations which chiefly prevailed upon them to take this reſolution, were, the diſtance of the place from Europe, the difficulty of the paſſage thither, and the reluctance which the princes and nobility of Chriſtendom would probably have, to ſee their children, upon their being admitted into the order, confin'd as it were in the deſerts of Africa. Upon which, the order diſpatched two deputies to the emperor, and prevailed with him to approve of their conduct; notwithſtanding which, the viceroy of Sicily ſtill reſented it, and by way of revenge prohibited the exportation of the corn, with which the convent was uſually ſupplied from that iſland. But in order to pacify him, the grand maſter and council having advice that its coaſts were infeſted by a great number of corſairs, who had appeared before Palermo, ſent five gallies thither well provided, under the command of the prior of Capua. Strozzi prepar'd to ſet ſail immediately, conſidering himſelf at ſea as in his own element; but he was moreover puſh'd on by another circumſtance, which was, that he found he was look'd upon with a leſs favourable eye at Malta, ever ſince the death of the conſervator Gagnon and the commanders Paſcatore and Bernardin; Parpaille, one of his principal domeſticks, and who had the greateſt ſhare of his confidence, being ſuſpected of having poiſon'd

CLAUDE DE LA SANGLE.

them all three, out of revenge for their having thrown out his master at the last election: this made him depart in a good deal of hurry.

HE was scarce arriv'd at Palermo when he receiv'd private letters from Peter Strozzi his eldest brother, giving him advice of his being intrusted with the command of the French army in Italy, and of his being desir'd by the king of France to sollicite him to resume, at the same time, his former employment of general of his gallies. He urged further, that they could never meet with a more favourable opportunity for revenging their father's death; that they might act in concert by sea and land; for which reason, he begg'd him to sacrifice his private resentments against the ministers of France, to the love and liberty of their country. Notwithstanding the disgust which the prior had entertain'd against the court of France, it yet was over-rul'd by the pressing instances which his brother made, and gave way to the violent hatred he retain'd in his heart against Cosmo de Medicis: he made no other answer to his brother, than that he would be with him soon. The difficulty was, to get out of the port of Palermo without giving the viceroy any jealousy, or affording him any reason to guess at his design.

WHETHER it were that the king of Spain had been inform'd by his spies, that the command of the gallies of France was design'd for the prior, or that he only surmiz'd, upon seeing his brother going to command in Italy, that he would not fail to use all his endeavours to engage the prior on the same side; this prince had sent private orders to the viceroy of Sicily, to keep a strict watch over the prior, in case he came into any port of the island, and to seize him upon the least token he should discover of any intelligence that was between the two brothers. He was but just arriv'd at Palermo, when he discover'd, (through the thick disguise of civilities which the viceroy affected to shew him,) an air of uneasiness that convinc'd him he was observ'd and suspected by him. In order therefore to get out of his hands, he sent out one of his officers, in whom he most confided, very early in the morning, in a light brigantine, under pretence of going to look out along the coasts of the island, with orders to return after he had been some hours at sea; and without bringing his brigantine into the harbour, to come directly to the viceroy's, and tell him in his presence, however he might find him, that he had descried three Moorish galiots in a safe road not far off. The prior, after he had dismiss'd the officer, waited upon the viceroy in his palace, where he was to dine; and before they sat down to table, all the subject of his discourse ran upon the ill offices he had receiv'd from the constable de Montmorency, as well as of the dangerous designs which that French nobleman had, as he said, form'd against his life, and the passionate desire he had to be reveng'd of him, if ever he found an opportunity: and in order to justify his resentment, shew'd him several letters which he had receiv'd out of France, wherein some of his friends, who were not let into the secret of the king's intentions, gave him advice not to put into any port of that kingdom, if he were not desirous of being arrested.

THIS seeming confidence impos'd upon the viceroy, who gave into the snare, and, with a view of getting him into the emperor his master's service, exaggerated the ingratitude of the French; and assur'd him, that whenever he should quit the command of the gallies of the order, he would find at the court of Spain, employments worthy his birth and valour. They were now set down at table, when in the middle of the entertainment, the officer whom the prior had sent to sea, came into the room, and told him in a great hurry, that he had discover'd some galiots of corsairs

ſairs in a creek, and that provided he made haſte, they might eaſily be ſurprized. The prior roſe up ſuddenly with a ſpecious air of ſatisfaction, and turning to the viceroy, "I'll give you a good account of them, ſays "he to him, and hope to bring them in to you before you riſe from "table."

THE gallies under his command being all ready, he ſail'd out of the harbour, and put to ſea, keeping off from the coaſt; and as ſoon as he was out of ſight, he tack'd about and ſtood for Malta, where he landed without any obſtacle. Upon his return, he reſign'd the generalſhip of the gallies, which perhaps might have been owing to his having been, ever ſince the death of the conſervator and the two commanders, become ſuſpected and odious to their relations and friends; and the commander Pariſot de la Valette was appointed to ſucceed him. The prior having laid down that employment, gave out that he would go try his fortune in cruiſing with his own two gallies, and a third which belonged to his brother; and that he was reſolved to make war on his own account, upon all the corſairs he ſhould meet with. Several young knights of all nations offer'd themſelves to follow him, engag'd to it by his reputation; which was ſo great, that all young people in general were for learning the arts of war and navigation under ſo excellent a captain. He receiv'd ſuch as offer'd themſelves on board his gallies, and immediately ſail'd out of the port; but when he came off of Goza, he acquainted them with his deſign, telling them, that he was going to command the French army; but that if any of them, from any juſt reaſon, might not think it proper to accompany him in that expedition, he then was ready to give them boats to carry them back to Malta. Some Spaniſh and Italian knights left him, as being ſubjects of the king of Spain; the reſt, who were bound by no ſuch conſiderations, reſolv'd to follow his fortune, and he never fail'd to find ſoldiers, wherever there were men whoſe minds were ſuſceptible of that glory which is to be acquir'd by arms.

HE afterwards ſtood away for the coaſt of Tuſcany, and landed at Portercole. The French were in poſſeſſion of it, and the duke de Somme, who commanded for them in Groſſato, came to join him with a body of infantry. The gallies of Provence were order'd to the ſame place, to act under his command. Whilſt the prior was waiting for their coming up, he, in order not to let his men lie idle, form'd a deſign to ſeize on a ſmall place in the neighbourhood called *Scarlino*, lying within the territory of Piombino, and would needs, as was his uſual cuſtom, go and reconnoitre it himſelf; but he approach'd ſo near, that a peaſant, who lay ſnug among ſome ruſhes, knowing him by the tallneſs of his ſtature, and by the boldneſs of his coming on, fir'd at him, and wounded him with a musket-ball in the ſide: he was immediately carried on board his gallies, and the next day to Caſtillon de Piſcaya, where he died a few days afterwards. He was a nobleman whom we may juſtly rank among the greateſt captains of his order, and his very enemies gave out, that had he been only leſs haughty, he would juſtly have deſerved to have been rais'd to that rank, which he juſtly merited by his uncommon valour: his great ſpirit indeed would not ſuffer him to ſubmit to the authority of men, whom he look'd upon as the mere creatures of fortune and favour. He was buried in the great church of Portercole; and the duke of Florence, recovering that place the year following, the general of his troops had inhumanity enough to dig up his body and throw it into the ſea: a ſcandalous kind of vengeance, that redounded as much to the prior's glory, as to the reproach of ſo mean-ſpirited an enemy.

CLAUDE DE LA SANGLE.

LA VALETTE, the new general of the gallies of Malta, put to ſea as ſoon as he was in poſſeſſion of his poſt, and in a little time grew terrible to the corſairs of Barbary, whom he drove away from the coaſts of Sicily and Naples: he took ſeveral of them, and return'd into the ports of the iſland with a good number of prizes. The richeſt commanders, encouraged by this ſucceſs, fitted out privateers for cruiſing, and the private knights engaged themſelves in theſe private armaments, according as their intereſt or inclinations led them. The continual war which the order made upon the infidels, the frequent ravages upon their coaſts, the taking of ſuch numbers of corſairs and merchant ſhips, and the ſecurity which their ſuccours gave to the commerce of the Chriſtians, drew upon them the reſentment of the grand ſeignior; and a report was ſpread abroad, that Solyman intended to attack them in Malta, and had boaſted that he would drive them out of that iſland, as he had done about forty years before from that of Rhodes. But ſome expeditions which he made into Aſia, and the civil wars that roſe up in his life-time between his children, diverted his arms for ſome time another way. The grand maſter, however, in order to prevent a ſurprize, order'd the new general of the gallies to put to ſea again, and get up all the corn and warlike ſtores he could meet with in the ports of Sicily, and along the coaſts of Italy: with theſe he fill'd the publick magazines; and, as we are told, without putting the order to any expence; he ſcoured the ſea up to the very mouth of the Nile, carrying off from thence three ſhips laden with corn for Conſtantinople and Egypt.

WHILST the general and other privateers were thus bringing prizes and proviſions into the iſland of Malta, the grand maſter was employ'd in adding new fortifications to the fort of St. Elmo, to the iſle of St. Michael, and the town, the ordinary reſidence of the convent. He ſunk and widen'd the ditches, and order'd a ſpur or counterfort to be raiſed to ſtrengthen the fort of St. Elmo; but the greateſt expence he was at, and which indeed appear'd the moſt neceſſary, was that which was laid out upon the iſle of St. Michael. This narrow piece of land, which run out into the ſea, was open on all ſides, and had only a little caſtle for its defence. The grand maſter built thick walls about that part of the caſtle which lies over againſt the rock of Corradin, fortifying them with bulwarks, and baſtions with proper flanks in ſeveral places, and brought the ſea-water into the ditch; and raiſed all theſe fortifications with his own money, he being a man who had never given into any expence, but what contributed to the ſecurity and defence of the place. By way, therefore, of acknowledgment for his great diſintereſtedneſs, and for the benefits which thereby accrued to the order, the knights gave his name to that peninſula which was before call'd the iſle of St. Michael, but which went ever after by the name of the iſle de la Sangle.

BY his generous cares, and the valour of the knights, Malta grew every day more flouriſhing; when upon the 23d of September, this general proſperity was ſuddenly interrupted by an unexpected accident. There aroſe in the harbour about ſeven a-clock in the evening a terrbile hurricane, ſuch as the ſeamen call a *guſt of wind*, or *whirlwind*, and the modern Greeks *Syphon*. This ſtorm, which was occaſion'd by the violence and ſhock of ſeveral contrary winds that met together, ſwell'd the waves, ſunk ſeveral veſſels, drove others aſhore, ſhatter'd the brigantines and galiots to pieces; and, what was ſtill more deplorable, turn'd four gallies topſy-turvy with their keels in the air, ſo that moſt of the officers, the ſoldiers, and the crew, were either drown'd, or cruſh'd to pieces by the weight of the veſſels.

CLAUDE DE LA SANGLE.

veſſels. The houſes next the port were in a moment ſwallow'd up, together with their inhabitants; the caſtle of St. Angelo itſelf trembled and ſhook; the great piece of wood to which the ſtandard of the order was fixed, was torn up and carried half a mile off. The violence of the wind, the torrents of rain that fell from the sky, and the waves of the ſea, which appear'd either ſwell'd into mountains, or loſt in devouring gulphs, ſeem'd to threaten Malta with utter deſtruction; when in leſs than half an hour, this dreadful ſtorm ceaſed as ſuddenly as it had riſen, and a calm and fair weather appear'd at once; ſo that had it not been for the diſmal havock of the houſes which were blown down, and of the ſhips that had loſt their maſts and were daſh'd to pieces, one could ſcarcely have believed that the port, which was then ſo quiet, had been but a moment before, the theatre of ſuch a dreadful revolution.

THE grand maſter no ſooner heard of it, but he immediately repair'd thither, with moſt of the knights of the convent; and though the ſtorm ſtill continued, he did all that lay in his power to aſſiſt ſuch as could not ſwim, and to take up the floating bodies of thoſe who were drown'd: but as the night was coming on, they were obliged to wait till the next day, in order to raiſe up the gallies, and ſet them afloat. The return of day-light ſhew'd them this diſmal ſpectacle in all its horror: above ſix hundred perſons, knights, officers, ſoldiers, and ſlaves, were either drown'd or cruſh'd to pieces by the overturning of the gallies: and they found in the ſoldiers pockets the money which they had receiv'd for their pay the day before. The grand maſter hearing a noiſe that came from a galley that was overturn'd, order'd an hole to be made in it, and ſome planks to be taken away: the firſt thing that appear'd was a monkey, who immediately leap'd out; then they drew out the chevalier de l'Eſcut, who was afterwards ſo famous under the name of Romegas, and ſeveral other knights, who had been all night up to the chin in water, clinging to the bottom of the keel with their hands, where they had ſcarce air enough to breathe. They were taken out of this diſmal place, when they found them pale and benumb'd with cold, and rather dead than alive, moſt of them fainting away as ſoon as they were expoſed to the open air. All poſſible care was uſed for their relief, and as ſoon as they came to themſelves, they went immediately to the next church to return thanks to God for their preſervation. The grand maſter ſet to work immediately about raiſing up and refitting the gallies; they found that the largeſt of them was entirely ruin'd, and that it would be impoſſible ever to make it fit for ſervice again; the reſt were repair'd at a vaſt expence. The treaſury furniſh'd all the galley-ſlaves they had, and to make up their complement, ſeveral peaſants of the iſland offer'd themſelves voluntarily to ſerve as rowers on board: ſome Chriſtian princes, and all the commanders who had money and credit, exerted themſelves in a ſuitable manner to repair ſo conſiderable a loſs. The grand maſter, in order to ſet them an example, built a galley at his own expence in the port of Meſſina; and the pope, who was greatly concern'd at this terrible diſaſter, generouſly ſupply'd it with a crew of ſlaves taken out of his priſons, and criminals who had been condemn'd by the ſecular arm.

PHILIP II. king of Spain, conſidering Malta as the bulwark of Sicily and his Italian dominions, made the order a preſent of two gallies well provided. Philip du Broc, an old knight of the language of Provence, and prior of St. Gilles, gave the order a great gallion, which the commander Paſchal du Broc, his nephew, carried to Malta, laden with ammunition and proviſions, with a good number of ſoldiers on board, and compleatly

CLAUDE DE LA SANGLE.

fitted out for the ſea ſervice. Francis de Lorrain, grand prior of France, arriv'd about the ſame time in the harbour with two gallies, who out of zeal for his order was come to offer his ſervice to the grand maſter. This young prince heightned afterwards, on ſeveral occaſions, the reputation of valour, which ſeems to be hereditary in his illuſtrious family. The order, by reaſon of the prodigious loſs it had ſuſtain'd, ſtood in great want of theſe ſeveral ſuccours; and the rather, becauſe the corſairs of Barbary, in hopes of making their advantage of this diſtaſter, infeſted the coaſts of the iſland, and often kept the port in a manner block'd up. Above all, Dragut, that formidable enemy of the order, thinking he ſhould find their forces in diſorder, appear'd off Malta with ſeven gallies well ſupplied with land-forces, and putting them on ſhore, ravag'd the open country, taking a great number of priſoners: but before he could have time to reimbark, the commander Lewis de Laſtic, of the language of Auvergne, and grand marſhal of the order, fell upon him with a body of 300 knights, cut part of the corſairs to pieces, recover'd the priſoners and the booty, and forc'd Dragut to make the beſt of his way to his ſhips. To revenge this inſult, the prince of Lorrain immediately put out to ſea with his own gallies and two others belonging to the order, ſcour'd all the coaſt of Barbary in his turn, came up with a brigantine of Aſſanbaly's, a famous corſair, between Malta and Tripoli, which he took; gave chaſe to Uluchialy, taking from him a galley and galiot; and before he return'd back to the harbour of Malta, made prizes of two other veſſels, laden with ſalt and various kind of merchandize.

BY the valour of this prince, and the reſolution of their privateers, the order ſoon recover'd the ſame ſuperiority in thoſe ſeas, which it had enjoy'd before the fury of the hurricane had been felt at Malta; when there happen'd a new accident, which caus'd a great diſturbance, and gave riſe to very unhappy diſſenſions in the ſociety. But in order to give the reader a right notion of this diſpute, in which the pope and the greateſt princes of Europe intereſted themſelves, 'twill be neceſſary to obſerve, that upon the prior of Capua's death, ſeignior Strozzi his brother had taken poſſeſſion of his gallies as his own property, of which one indeed had always belong'd to him; but as he was at the head of a land-army, he could not command his gallies in perſon, and had therefore joined them to ſome French gallies that were in the port of Civita-Vecchia, under the command of the chevalier Sforza, prior of Lombardy, and brother to the cardinal of that name, high chamberlain to the pope. The king and Strozzi imagin'd that their gallies were very ſafe in that place; but the prior of Lombardy quitted the French ſervice at that time, to enter into that of Spain; and in order to make himſelf more conſiderable in the new party in which he had engaged himſelf, he took his meaſures ſo well, in concert with the high chamberlain, whoſe dignity gave him a great authority in all the territories of the church, that he carried off two of the king's gallies, and brought them into the port of Naples. And by his ſollicitations, and a like act of treachery, one Moret de Niſſard, a native of Piedmont, ſeiz'd on one of Strozzi's gallies, and retir'd with it into the harbour of Villa-Franca, where the duke of Savoy gave him his protection, and allow'd him to ſet up his flag.

SUCH a notorious robbery in breach of his oath, was a great blemiſh to the prior of Lombardy's honour, and rais'd the anger and reſentment of the pope. Paul IV. was at that time in the papal chair, and had the government of the church in his hands; but was himſelf govern'd by one of his nephews, a knight of Malta, whom upon his acceſſion to the popedom he had dignified with the Roman purple by the name of cardinal Caraffa.

The

CLAUDE DE LA SANGLE.

The uncle and nephew were actually at that very time negotiating a league with France againſt Spain; ſo that beſides the violation of the ſovereignty of the church by this outrage, it was their intereſt to perſuade the king that they had had no hand in it. In order to this end, they arreſted cardinal Sforza, who they threw into a loathſome priſon, and threatned to put him to death, in caſe the French king's gallies were not immediately ſent back to the port, from whence they had been carried off in ſo clandeſtine a manner. The prior, who knew the cardinal nephew's violent temper, ſent them back immediately; and was forc'd, in order to procure his brother's liberty, to give 200000 crowns ſecurity, that he ſhould not ſtir out of Rome without the privity of the pope and his nephew. But they found it a more difficult matter to get back Strozzi's galley, which Moret had carried into the port of Villa-Franca. And in order to elude the complaints and inſtances of the pope, the duke of Savoy ſent it into the Levant with his own flag, and a commiſſion under his great ſeal. Cardinal Caraffa and Strozzi, thirſting to take revenge forſo treacherous an action, no ſooner heard of Moret's being at ſea, but they ſent another galley after him under the command of a French captain called Fouroux, an excellent ſea-officer, devoted to the family of Strozzi; recommending to him at the ſame time, to employ cunning as well as valour, in order to recover the galley out of his hands. Fouroux, the better to conceal the deſign of his voyage, went firſt to Malta, where he obtain'd the grand maſter's leave to go a cruizing in concert with his gallies, and under the flag of the order. Upon which, he ſail'd out of the harbour in company with the admiral galley, and had not been long at ſea, before he met the galley he was in queſt of. Moret, who commanded her, taking the galley where Fouroux was on board for the admiral of the order, ſaluted her, got into his long boat and went on board her, in order to talk with the general: but how great was his ſurprize, when he found himſelf in the power of one of Strozzi's officers! He was immediately arreſted and put in irons, and Fouroux afterwards coming up with his galley, as if he had brought back the captain, the officers and ſoldiers not miſtruſting any thing, ſuffer'd him to approach; ſo that he enter'd the galley, and made himſelf maſter of it, before they were ſo much as ſenſible that they had receiv'd their enemy on board. 1557.

THE general of the gallies of Malta, highly incenſed to ſee the flag of the order made uſe of to ſurprize the galley of a Chriſtian prince, threaten'd to fight Fouroux, in caſe he did not releaſe her immediately, and ſet Moret at liberty: but Fouroux ſhewing him poſitive orders for that purpoſe from the king, and an expreſs commiſſion from the pope, the firſt ſuperior of the order, he did not think fit to take upon him to determine ſo critical an affair; but having made Fouroux agree to follow him with his prize to Malta, they came a few days after before the port. The French captain immediately ſent his commiſſions to the grand prior of France, and drew up a memorial, in which he gave him a particular account of the trick that Moret had play'd ſeignior Strozzi. The prince of Lorrain having laid them before the grand maſter, obtain'd leave for Fouroux to enter the harbour with his own galley and his prize. Theſe two gallies being enter'd into the port, captain Moret apply'd himſelf to the knights of Savoy and Piedmont, making bitter complaints that the flag of the order had been made uſe of to ſurprize a galley which belong'd to their ſovereign, and that only out of reſentment at his alliance with Spain. Theſe knights immediately preſented a petition to the council in his name, and the viceroy of Sicily uſed all his credit to ſupport it. They likewiſe procur'd ſome merchants of Raguſa, and of the iſle of Scio, to demand the

cargo

CLAUDE DE LA SANGLE.

cargo found on board Moret's galley, as being their property; and the officers of the treaſury put in their claim for the galley, as being part of the prior of Capua's perſonal eſtate, to which the order had a right to ſucceed. Theſe different intereſts and pretenſions cauſed grievous diviſions in the convent, every one ſiding with his own language and nation. The council, whoſe views and actions ever tended to the common good of the order, could not help blaming the grand maſter for having ſuffer'd the two galleys in diſpute, to enter the harbour without their privity; a ſtep that had involv'd them in a troubleſome affair, the deciſion of which they could have wiſh'd had been wholly left to the princes whom it concern'd: however, as there was no recalling what had paſs'd, and that the two captains had each of them a ſtrong party in Malta, the council appointed commiſſioners to examine into the claims and pretenſions of both. Moret complain'd of his having been impos'd upon, by the confidence which he had repoſed in the gallies of the order; and that that which belong'd to the prince his maſter, had been taken from him by treachery and ſurprize: he therefore demanded that it ſhould be reſtor'd to him, employing at the ſame time the moſt preſſing inſtances. Fouroux, not owning the authority of the council, gave himſelf no trouble about his defence; ſo that he only produced his commiſſions, and ſaid, that what he had done was in obedience to the pope's orders, in execution of which, he had retaken a galley that belong'd to his holineſs, and which had been ſcandalouſly carried off by Moret in the ſight of all Italy: and that in caſe the order did not think fit to puniſh that robber, the pope knew how to do himſelf juſtice, even upon thoſe, who, out of politick conſiderations, and in oppoſition to the obedience which they owed him, ſhould refuſe to take notice of ſo flagrant a robbery.

IT appearing upon proof, that the galley in diſpute had been carried off out of the pope's harbours, the council order'd Moret, who had managed that affair, to be arreſted, but left Fouroux only in the cuſtody of the grand prior; who, upon his giving his parole, anſwer'd readily for keeping him. The grand maſter immediately diſpatch'd an embaſſador to the pope, to receive his orders in relation to this diſpute; and wrote at the ſame time to the king of Spain, and his miniſters in Italy, to acquaint them alſo with it: the pope and the king of France demanded by concert, that Fouroux ſhould be ſent to them with his prize, and the robber be deliver'd into their hands, to be puniſh'd by martial law. There was no diſputing the pope's authority, they were forced to obey, and ſend back the galley to the port of Civita-Vecchia, and the cargo was reſtor'd to the owners. As for Moret, they kept him for ſome time in priſon; but at laſt, out of regard to the king of Spain, they let him make his eſcape, which the council was glad to connive at; and the duke of Medina Celi, then viceroy of Sicily, ſent a brigantine upon the coaſt to take him on board. The council examin'd witneſſes about his eſcape, and ſent an account of it to the pope, who, after the reſtitution of his galley, ſeem'd to be well enough ſatisfied.

NOTWITHSTANDING that this affair had been managed and terminated with great prudence, nevertheleſs the diviſion it occaſion'd in the convent, and the reproaches which dropp'd from the council with regard to the grand maſter's conduct in it, gave him ſo ſenſible a concern, that it threw him into a fit of ſickneſs. He never look'd up afterwards, but pin'd away, and died as became a good Chriſtian. He would not diſpoſe of any of his effects, though he had obtain'd leave to do ſo from a general chapter; and, notwithſtanding the great ſums he had laid out, in fortifying

Auguſt 18. 1557.

the

48

HENRICUS IIII. FRANCIAE ET NAVARRAE REX
GERARDUS MALBODIUS
Caro sculp.

the iſle of Malta, he nevertheleſs left upwards of ſixty thouſand crowns behind him. The council could not but admire a ſpirit ſo nobly diſintereſted; and to ſhew their ſenſe of it, ſent twelve thouſand livres into France, to augment the portion of madamoiſelle de Mont-Chanar his niece. They founded, purſuant to the intention of the deceaſed, a maſs for ever in the chapel of the caſtle of St. Angelo; and laid out part of the money in ornaments for the church of the convent, of crimſon velvet embroider'd with gold, on which they put the grand maſter la Sangle's arms, as a monument both of his piety, and of the gratitude of the order.

THERE was no great difficulty in the choice of a ſucceſſor; the bailiff of Lions, nephew to the marſhal Vallier, had indeed ſome votes at firſt, notwithſtanding that he was abſent; but no ſooner had one of the electors propos'd the commander DE LA VALETTE, but all the votes united in his favour. This nobleman had never left Malta ſince the time of his reception into the order, and had gradually fill'd up all the offices of it; he had been a ſoldier, a captain, a general, an able politician, firm in his reſolutions, and as much eſteem'd among the knights, as formidable to the infidels. The order, under his adminiſtration, recover'd its antient authority, which had been much impair'd in ſome provinces of Germany, and in the territories of the republick of Venice.

JOHN DE LA VALETTE. Auguſt 21. 1557.

EVER ſince the time that the Huſſites had ruin'd moſt of the commanderies of Bohemia, the common treaſury of the order could never draw any thing from that kingdom, and the adjoining provinces. They had been engaged in continual wars either in Hungary, or in the hereditary dominions of the houſe of Auſtria; which following cloſe upon the inſurrections raiſed by the Huſſites, had interrupted the payment of the reſponſions, which the knights of that country were obliged to ſend either to Rhodes or Malta; and the priors of thoſe large provinces, had aſſum'd to themſelves a right of nomination to the commanderies that fell vacant within their reſpective priories. The grand maſter, unable to ſuffer abuſes, which he ſaw were growing up into cuſtoms, and which would in time plead a right of preſcription, wrote about it in the ſtrongeſt terms to thoſe provinces; and in order to put an end to them the more effectually, he apply'd himſelf to the emperor, and to Ferdinand king of the Romans, his brother. Theſe princes, who knew what an excellent uſe the order made of its revenues, ſignified to the ſeveral priors and commanders whoſe commanderies lay within their territories, that it was their intention, they ſhould give entire ſatisfaction to the grand maſter. The German knights met in a chapter, and immediately diſpatch'd away Wenceſlas de Heſſe-Aſſemburg, prior of Bohemia; Sigiſmond Romer, commander of Mielperg; and Henry de Rietchenau, commander of Eſtugna, as their Deputies to Malta; who, in the name of all the knights of their language, took the oath of obedience to the grand maſter; promiſed to pay their reſponſions, and the taxes which ſhould be laid upon their provinces by general chapters; and by an inſtrument in form, made, in the name of all the priors of Germany, a ſolemn renunciation of all manner of right to diſpoſe of the commanderies within their reſpective priories, one only excepted; which, according to the general cuſtom of the whole order, they had a privilege of conferring once in five years.

THE Venetian commanders, by virtue of the protection which the ſenate gave them, were for following the example of the Germans, in getting themſelves excus'd from paying their reſponſions, under pretence that they ſerv'd their country againſt the Turks. But as theſe kinds of contributions were employ'd only in armaments againſt the infidels, the

JOHN DE LA VALETTE.

grand master represented the duty they ow'd, and their primary obligations in so clear a light, and demanded their obedience with so much resolution and authority, that they all submitted to his orders: and a little after sent their responsions to Malta, as did likewise the Germans, both of which were ever afterwards regularly paid.

AFTER this regulation, which related to the provinces, and as it were the out parts of the convent, the grand master undertook an affair, which had made a great noise at Malta, and indeed over all Europe; but which, like the greatest events, was now grown so out of date, that it was talked of no more. The marshal de Vallier, governor of Tripoli, whom the grand master D'Omedes had prosecuted with so much vigour, was still living; and this old commander, whom before that unhappy affair, most of the knights intended to have chosen for their grand master, was then pining away in obscurity, but which suited with his misfortunes. 'Tis indeed true, the grand master de la Sangle had set him at liberty; but various considerations, and the tenderness and regard which he thought himself obliged to shew to the memory and friends of D'Omedes, had hinder'd him from restoring him to his honours.

BUT the grand master de la Valette being naturally more intrepid, and thoroughly persuaded of the marshal's merit and good conduct, thought it his duty to do him justice; and after having taken an exact review of the proceedings against him, and made an impartial enquiry into the merits of the case, he clear'd him of the unjust accusations which his enemies had brought to blacken him, conferring upon him at the same time, the title of grand bailif of Lango, as an attestation, and the seal of his innocence. He did not stop here, but that he might revenge him and the whole order, for the insults and ill treatment they had met with from the infidels at the taking of Tripoli, he enter'd into a project, which John de la Cerda, duke of Medina-Celi, viceroy of Sicily, had propos'd to him for the recovery of that place.

DRAGUT was at that time in possession of it: this famous corsair not succeeding in his views of obtaining from the Sultan, the title of basha, and the post of lord high admiral of his empire, a dignity which had been conferred on Barbarossa, had resign'd the sangiacship of Santa Maura; and under pretence of zeal for his master's service, and of defending the coasts of Africa against the incursions of the knights of Malta, had contented himself with the title of governor of Tripoli: but as the place lay at a vast distance from the port, it was in reality a kind of little principality, which he govern'd with an authority that was in a manner absolute, altho' he, in order to continue himself the benefit of the grand seignior's protection, affected to shew himself entirely subservient to all his orders.

THIS corsair, ever since his settlement at Tripoli, had wholly employ'd himself in repairing its walls and in fortifying them with ramparts, designing to make it his place of arms and the seat of his dominion. He had taken care to strengthen the fortifications with several bastions, and with all the works which the ground would admit of, or that art had invented at that time. Nor was the castle less strongly fortified; and notwithstanding that its situation was not very advantageous, he, by his continual pains and a prodigious expence, had made it one of the strongest fortresses of Africa. The entrance of the port was secur'd by great towers, well provided with artillery, so that it serv'd for a secure retreat to the vessels of Dragut, and other corsairs, who cruiz'd under the grand seignior's flag; and 'twas from hence that all those infidel rovers sail'd, who infested the coasts of Sicily and Naples, and insulted even those of Spain.

THE

JOHN DE LA VALETTE.

THE new viceroy of Sicily, in order to ſignalize his acceſſion to that dignity, form'd a ſcheme for beſieging Tripoli; and the better to carry his point, endeavour'd to engage the grand maſter in it: nor did he find it a difficult matter, to bring him into a deſign which was calculated to deſtroy that neſt of pirates. They, by concert, wrote to Philip II. king of Spain, upon this ſubject; who, tho' he was not a very warlike prince, yet as the ſecurity of his coaſts, and the tranquillity of his ſubjects was concerned in it, and that moreover he was apprehenſive leſt Dragut ſhould attempt to reduce Goletta, approv'd a project which came recommended by the grand maſter's approbation; of whoſe valour and capacity he was highly ſenſible, and whoſe knights were to ſhare in the expence and the dangers of the enterprize.

PHILIP ſent orders to the duke of Seſſa, governour of the Milaneſe; to the duke of Alcala, who commanded in the kingdom of Naples; and to John Andrew Doria, general of his gallies, to join their forces, and 1559.
tranſport them to Sicily. The general command of the army was given to the duke of Medina-Celi, with expreſs inſtructions to follow the grand maſter's advice in the whole conduct of this enterprize. But as the three noblemen abovemention'd, by their diſtance from court, had taken upon themſelves to obey no farther than they thought proper, and being jealous withal of the authority which the king their maſter had veſted in the viceroy of Sicily, they found out various pretences to retard the execution of his orders; ſo that Philip was at laſt forced to ſend the commander de Guimerans, an old knight who chanced to be at his court, into Italy, in order to haſten the march of theſe ſeveral bodies of troops, and to lead them to Sicily.

THE grand maſter ſeeing it very late in the year, was for putting off the enterprize to the next ſpring, and wrote to the viceroy to that purpoſe; but as that nobleman was afraid leſt the king ſhould change his mind, or that ſome court-cabal ſhould ſupplant him in a commiſſion, which he fancied would afford him an opportunity of acquiring no little ſhare of glory, he made all the haſte he could to ſet out; when, appointing the general rendezvous of the fleet in the iſland of Malta, he, notwithſtanding the rigour of the ſeaſon, came thither about the middle of December, where he was receiv'd with all the honours due to his dignity, and the potent monarch he repreſented. The troops he had brought with him were put into good quarters, and the grand maſter review'd in his preſence thoſe he deſign'd for the expedition: they conſiſted of four hundred knights of the order, and fifteen hundred men in their ſervice, beſides volunteers. The chevalier d'Urre de Teſſieres, a great captain, and at that time general of the gallies, was made their commander in chief; and the grand maſter and council repoſed ſo much confidence in his valour and experience, that they left him the choice of his lieutenant, and the officer he ſhould ſubſtitute in his place, either to command the land-forces, in caſe he ſhould think fit to keep always at ſea; or to ſtay on board the gallies, in caſe he ſhould take upon himſelf the command of the troops which were to form the ſiege.

THE viceroy thanked the grand maſter for this ſtrong reinforcement, and was particularly overjoy'd at the ſight of that body of brave men, being no leſs than four hundred, who were to go on board, all of them antient knights, that had grown old in the ſervice. Nor was he leſs edified with the charitable care, which the other knights afterwards took of his officers and ſoldiers that fell ill; for during the two months that theſe foreign troops continued in the iſland, their ſick were look'd after and at-

JOHN DE LA VALETTE.

attended with a pious zeal, from which the order has never once deviated ever ſince its foundation.

IN fine, the Milaneſe and Neapolitan troops arriving at Malta in the beginning of February, ſeveral councils of war were held, in order to conſider upon the operations of the campaign. The ſiege of Tripoli was, as we have ſaid, the principal deſign of this armament; but as the viceroy had been inform'd of the new fortifications which had been made to the place, and particularly that Dragut, a formidable commander, had thrown himſelf into it with all his beſt troops, and a prodigious quantity of ammunition and proviſions, the dangers of the enterprize, and the uncertainty of the ſucceſs enervated his courage; and as he was a much better courtier than a general, he propos'd the conqueſt of the iſle of Gelves, where he was in hopes of acquiring glory unattended with danger.

THE grand maſter readily agreed, that they indeed would meet with no great difficulties in reducing a ſmall iſland, that was open on all ſides, and which had no fortreſs in it, but one ſingle caſtle, that was but poorly fortified; but he alſo repreſented at the ſame time, that what render'd it ſo exceeding weak, and made the conqueſt of it ſo very eaſy, would likewiſe make it impracticable for them to keep it, and thereby put the infidels, as ſoon as the fleet ſhould be retired, upon making an attempt to recover it; that the open country was peopled with Moors or Arabs, who would not fail to lay ambuſcades in the foreſts of palm-trees, and hinder them in that dry country, from fetching water out of ſome wells, which had been dug in the iſland; that moreover there was ſome reaſon to fear leſt the grand ſeignior's fleet, with which they were threaten'd, ſhould come upon them, whilſt they were in the midſt of the enterprize, and ſink their gallies: whereas, if they could but reduce Tripoli, they ſhould be ſecure in that port, and the banks of ſand and flats, which lay along the coaſt thereabouts, would be of uſe to them againſt the great veſſels of the Turkiſh navy.

THE viceroy, who thought his honour oblig'd him to adhere to his opinion, would not hearken to theſe reaſons which were brought againſt it, but ſtill maintain'd that he would reduce the iſland before ſuch time as the grand ſeignior could be able to fit out a fleet, and ſend it to ſea; and that, in order to ſecure their conqueſt, they had nothing to do but to fortify the caſtle with four baſtions, which would put both it, and the whole iſland in a ſufficient ſtate of defence. The members of the council of war were divided between theſe two oppoſite opinions; but as the greateſt part of the officers had their dependance on the viceroy, very few durſt declare themſelves of a ſentiment contrary to his. The grand maſter urg'd to him, that he, by changing the project and plan of the campaign, was going to act directly contrary to the intentions of the king his maſter, and the inſtructions which had been given him; but all in vain, la Cerda was obſtinate, and adhered firmly to his opinion. La Valette, who foreſaw all the ill conſequences which they might juſtly expect from this enterprize, told him plainly, that he might, if he pleas'd, employ his maſter's troops as he thought proper; but that in caſe he laid aſide the firſt project which had been approv'd of by the king of Spain, and communicated to the council of the order, he would not ſuffer a knight to ſtir out of the iſland. The viceroy was vex'd to find the grand maſter ſo reſolute; but not being able to purſue his deſigns without his reinforcement, he ſeemed to come over to his ſentiments, and pretended to apply himſelf entirely to the firſt project. All the talk was now of the ſiege of Tripoli; but as the grand maſter diſcover'd, that he had ſtill ſome doubt of the ſincerity of his

his intentions, the viceroy, in order to remove his ſuſpicions, ſwore in a ſolemn manner by the life of the king his ſovereign, and by the head of Gaſton de la Cerda his ſon, a young nobleman, whom he had brought along with him, that he would ſail directly for Tripoli, which he promis'd to inveſt. This however was the furtheſt off his thoughts, but he reſolved to conceal his real deſign, till ſuch time as he ſhould be out at ſea, where he would have the ſole direction of the army, and in conſequence of that, ſteer which way he ſhould judge proper.

THE imbarkation was made on the tenth of February; the grand maſter put, over and above the troops of the order, two hundred Malteſe pioneers on board, to ſerve at the ſiege of Tripoli. The chevaliers Flotte and de la Roche had the charge of the artillery that was to be put on ſhore; and the hoſpital for the ſick and wounded officers and ſoldiers, was committed to the care of the commander Garcia de Contreras, with ſome other knights for his aſſiſtants. The Chriſtian fleet ſteer'd away for the coaſt of Africa, and arrived at Seches de Querquene. The iſle of Gelves had been always ſubject to its own princes; but Dragut, ever ſince his being ſettled in Tripoli under the grand ſeignior's authority, had made thoſe petty ſovereigns tributary to the port. That corſair, as ſoon as he had advice of the viceroy's being off of the iſland with his fleet, ſailed thither with two gallies, and put into the channel of Cantara, of which mention has been already made in the eleventh book. The Chriſtian general ſpying theſe two gallies, detach'd a greater number to take them; but the commodore of the Chriſtian gallies ſeeing two merchant-ſhips coming from Alexandria, bore down upon them, and took them; a thirſt after booty making him neglect the purſuit of Dragut's two gallies. Whilſt he was buſy in plundering theſe veſſels, Dragut with his gallies got out of the channel, and diſpatch'd one of them, commanded by the corſair Uluchiali, to give advice to the port, that a ſtrong fleet, compos'd of the ſquadrons of the king of Spain, and the knights of Malta, was ravaging the coaſt of Barbary, and threaten'd to lay ſiege to Tripoli. By the ſame expreſs he deſired that ſuccours might be immediately ſent him, during which, he, after having left orders for the defence of the iſle of Gelves, return'd with as much diligence as he had come, and ſhut up himſelf in Tripoli. Soliman, as ſoon as he receiv'd the news, ſent ſtrict orders to all the ports of the Archipelago, to fit out immediately all ſuch ſhips and gallies, as were in a condition to be put to ſea: Cara Muſtapha, his high admiral, who was to command the fleet, took the ſame care in the port of Conſtantinople.

IN the mean time, the viceroy was forced to land ſeveral times to take in freſh water, and never made a deſcent but he found the people of Gelves ready to oppoſe him. Theſe, indeed, hated the Turks in their hearts, and were very uneaſy under their yoke; but this hatred gave way to the reſentment which they conceiv'd at the ſeizure of the merchant-ſhips which belong'd to them: full of rage on that occaſion, they fell upon the viceroy's detachments, and in the ſkirmiſhes between them, Alvarez de Sande, one of the principal officers of the army, was wounded, and the Chriſtians were forced to reimbark with the loſs of two hundred men, and five captains of foot. The fleet put to ſea again, and made towards Tripoli, but ſtopp'd at the *Flats of Palo*, ſo call'd by reaſon of ſeveral currents, which ſometimes leave that part of the ſea dry. The viceroy came to an anchor near theſe currents, in expectation of the coming up of part of his troops, which could not ſet out from Malta with the body of the army; when he landed ſome men on the neighbouring coaſt, to dig

JOHN DE LA VALETTE.

wells in ſeveral places. The water they met with here being clear and agreeable to the taſte, they carried a great quantity of it on board the fleet; both the officers and ſoldiers drinking of it with greedineſs: but experience ſoon ſhew'd them its ill effects; moſt of thoſe who drank of it falling ill, and a great number of them died; among whom, were ſeveral of the moſt conſiderable knights of the order. Their fleet was at the ſame time attack'd with a furious ſtorm, and the admiral galley of Sicily, ſtriking againſt the gallion of Malta, was ſhatter'd to pieces, and ſunk to the bottom. Theſe accidents, which are common enough at ſea, were only as ſo many preludes to a more deplorable misfortune.

THE viceroy, when the weather grew calm, propos'd, in a council of war, the quitting of that ſtation. The commander de Teſſieres, purſuant to his inſtructions, propos'd to him the going firſt to Langir, an healthy place, where there was good anchorage, and which lay very convenient for their paſſage to Tripoli; he repreſented further, that they by taking that place, and particularly by being maſters of the port, would thereby ſecure the fleet not only againſt ſtorms, but alſo againſt the armada, which they ſaid was coming from Conſtantinople; not to mention that the Moors and inhabitants of the country would declare themſelves againſt the Turks with more confidence, when they ſhould ſee the Chriſtians maſters of that place; and that after the reducing of Tripoli, that of Gelves would coſt them but a viſit.

BUT the viceroy, who was in no wiſe fond of difficult enterprizes, rejected the motion, under pretence that the winds were contrary: the officers who compos'd the council, being his dependants, durſt not appear to be of a different opinion. Hereupon they return'd to Gelves on the ſeventh of March; from whence the general of the Malteſe gallies diſpatch'd a frigate to the grand maſter, to give him an account of all that had paſs'd; informing him at the ſame time, that the viceroy had not courage enough to advance to Tripoli.

THE Chriſtians landed in the iſland without the leaſt oppoſition, not a ſingle Moor offering to diſpute their deſcent: upon which, they advanc'd up into the country, to a place where there were ſome wells of freſh water, but they were fill'd up; when opening them, though with a great deal of difficulty, they found the water had a very bitter taſte, occaſion'd by the great quantity of aloes-leaves which the people of Gelves had thrown into them. The Chriſtian army encamp'd in this place; during which, ſome deputies, or rather ſpies, from the cheick or lord of the iſland, arriv'd; who demanded an interview with the viceroy, under pretence of complaining of war having been made upon them without any occaſion given on their part, or any declaration of it on his. They propos'd in his name, that the army ſhould quit the iſland, and that a conference ſhould be held at la Rochette; where, they ſaid, the Chriſtians would find plenty of good water. The viceroy, without either directly accepting, or entirely rejecting this propoſal, told them, that he was ready enough to enter into a conference with their maſter, but that it muſt be at the foot of the caſtle, whither he was going to ſet out immediately. Theſe deputies, having by this means an opportunity of obſerving his forces, made their report of them accordingly to the cheick; who, finding it impoſſible for him to hold out ſo weak a place, againſt a body of troops, conſiderable both for their number as well as their experience, was diſpos'd to capitulate. But his principal officers, and their young men, called out aloud for an engagement; and whether it were that he had a mind to try the fate of a battle before he came to a treaty; or that, perhaps, not having

the

the inhabitants entirely at his command, he was not ſorry that ſome loſs and diſappointment ſhould make them more tractable for the future; be that as it will, he gave them a permiſſion to do what it was not in his power to hinder: when theſe Barbarians ſallied out in a rage, thinking to ſurprize the Chriſtians, and advanced with more impetuoſity than order towards the camp; however, they did not ſurprize them, the viceroy having had notice from two Chriſtian ſlaves, who had made their eſcape, that he ſhould be attack'd the next day. He did not think proper to wait for the coming up of his enemies, but regulating the march of his troops, advanc'd in good order to meet them. The knights of Malta, with two companies of Germans, were in the van; the main battle was compos'd of 3000 Italians and Sicilians, and the rear of 3000 Spaniards. Such was the order this little army obſerv'd in its march; when the people of Gelves, to the number of about 2000, ſallied out from behind an hill that cover'd them, and ruſhing on with their uſual ſhouts, attack'd the vanguard ſword in hand. But as they had neither horſe, nor arquebuſiers, the knights, with one ſingle fire of their muskets, kill'd a great number of them, and ſoon put all this multitude of peaſants to flight. Upon this, the cheick, in order to prevent his own ruin, and the ravage of the iſland, enter'd into a treaty with the viceroy; deliver'd up to him the keys of the caſtle; acknowledged the king of Spain for his ſovereign, and engaged to pay him tribute. La Cerda, all in raptures at his ſucceſs, fell into extraordinary tranſports of joy: he boaſted of his being the firſt general of his nation, who had made any conqueſt to enlarge the king his maſter's dominions, ſince his acceſſion to the crown of Spain; and in order to preſerve ſuch a monument of his valour, he reſolv'd to build a fort there, in order to curb the fickle and mutinous temper of the Moors. This fortreſs, according to the plan he drew of it, was to be compos'd of four baſtions: Andrew Gonzaga undertook the building of that which look'd towards the eaſt, as the knights of Malta did that which was of the oppoſite ſide, and which lay towards the weſt; the viceroy employ'd the Sicilian troops on that which lay ſouthward; and John Andrew Doria, general of the gallies, ſet his crew to work on the laſt, which lay between that of the knights of Malta, and that of the viceroy. The ſide which ran from the weſt northward, was defended by the ſea; and a thick wall, with good ramparts, was to encloſe that ſide which ran from the north eaſtward.

THE knights, who had brought 200 pioneers, made a conſiderable progreſs in their work, but it went on heavily in other places thro' the greedineſs of the ſoldiers, who, meeting with great plenty of wool and oil in the iſland, ſtole off from their work to run it privately on ſhipboard, being much more pleas'd with this employment, than the laborious one of carrying earth and materials for the fort. Moreover, both the army and the fleet began to be again infected with diſtempers, occaſion'd by the exceſſive heats of the climate, by the noxious qualities of the air, by the bitterneſs of the water, and particularly by their feeding on a kind of long-tail'd mutton, which prov'd very unwholeſome. This threw John Andrew Doria into a fit of ſickneſs, and prov'd the death of Quirico Spinola and ſeveral knights; moreover, ſo great a number of the men were afflicted with ſuch a variety of diſtempers, that the commander de Teſſieres, general of the gallies of the order, was oblig'd to give the grand maſter advice of their condition, and to deſire his orders how to act. The grand maſter was greatly troubled at the ill news; and as a long experience had made him well acquainted with the country, and the ſeas about it, he ſaw

with

JOHN DE LA VALETTE.

with infinite concern, that in caſe the viceroy ſhould make longer ſtay in the iſland, he would probably be ſurpriz'd by the Turkiſh fleet. He wrote Teſſieres word, that he was entirely againſt the building a fort in ſuch a barren place, which lay out of the way of all ſuccours, and which moreover was without water, or any harbour for veſſels to put into. At the ſame time he diſpatch'd a knight to the king of Spain, to acquaint him of the danger to which the viceroy expos'd his army by his too long ſtay in the iſland. He gave the like notice to la Cerda by an expreſs which he ſent to Africa, ſending orders at the ſame time to the commander de Teſſieres, that in caſe the viceroy ſhould be reſolv'd to carry on his work, and ſtay in ſuch a dangerous poſt, he then had no more to do, but to take his leave, and return immediately to Malta, where his troops would be more ſerviceable, in caſe the Turks ſhould think fit to make a diverſion and attack the iſles of the order. A few days afterwards he diſpatch'd a ſecond expreſs, with advice that he had juſt receiv'd an account of the grand ſeignior's having ſent away forty gallies to relieve Tripoli, which he imagin'd was beſieg'd; that this ſquadron was to be reinforc'd by twenty ſhips of the corſairs, which at its coming off the coaſt of Barbary was to be join'd by 22 others under the command of Dragut; and that there was a body of freſh troops on board the fleet, which, upon the junction of theſe ſeveral ſquadrons, would be much ſuperior to that of the Chriſtians, whoſe ſoldiers being moſt of them in a ſickly condition, would for that reaſon fall an eaſy prey to their enemies.

THE commander de Teſſieres and John Andrew Doria labour'd ſtrenuouſly to engage the viceroy to quit his deſign for ſome time of building a fort, and adviſed him to embark all his troops, and advance to meet the ſquadron of Conſtantinople in the Archipelago, and give the Turks battle before they ſhould be joined by the gallies of the corſairs; repreſenting to him at the ſame time, that they, after having defeated the grand ſeignior's fleet, might return into Barbary, and lay ſiege to Tripoli, the reducing of which place would ſecure that of the iſle of Gelves. But the viceroy was ſo prepoſſeſs'd by the paſſion he had to finiſh his work, and to leave a fortreſs of his own name in Africa, that he was deaf to all remonſtrances on this ſubject, and imagin'd that their advice proceeded only from a ſecret jealouſy of his glory; ſo that it was impoſſible for them to get the better of his obſtinacy. The commander de Teſſieres ſeeing his ruin unavoidable, and moſt of the knights, ſoldiers and ſeamen in a dying condition, took leave of him, and ſet ſail with his troops, in order to return home. He loſt in his paſſage nine knights more, who died of ſickneſs, and he himſelf expired a few days after his arrival, the greateſt part of his ſoldiers, mariners and ſlaves being ſwept away by the mortality; inſomuch, that thoſe gallies were not, for a long time after, in a condition to put to ſea.

THE grand maſter, having always the ſafety of the Chriſtian fleet at heart, ſent three other gallies to Africa to ſupply their places, with a reinforcement of freſh troops on board, and mann'd with a new crew of ſlaves. The chevalier de Maldonat was to command at ſea, and the commander de Guimeran was general of the land forces. This ſmall reinforcement arrived at Gelves on the 27th of April, at the very time that two brigantines arriv'd from the viceroy of Naples's lieutenant; who, fearing leſt the Turks ſhould make a deſcent in that kingdom, had ſent them into Africa to bring back the old Spaniſh ſoldiers, whom he thought neceſſary for the defence of the country. Upon the 10th of May there arrived another brigantine from Malta, having the chevalier Hugh de

de Copones on board, whom the grand maſter had ſent to Doria, with advice that the Turkiſh fleet, conſiſting of eighty-five gallies had appeared off the coaſt of Goza on the 7th of that month. Doria, who was ſick, ſent his letters to the viceroy, acquainting him at the ſame time, that in caſe he did not immediately put his troops on board in the night time, and before day-break, it would be impoſſible for him to eſcape the formidable power of the Turks. But nothing could remove the viceroy's infatuation, who, though he had no longer room to doubt of the arrival of the Ottoman fleet, ſtill flatter'd himſelf that the admiral would go firſt to Tripoli to confer with Dragut, and that he, during that interval, would have time enough to embark his troops and artillery. Fatal was the event of this unſeaſonable obſtinacy, the enemy's fleet appearing at day-break, under the command of Cara Muſtapha; Piali baſha, the grand ſeignior's favourite, being general of the land forces. When Doria ſaw this fleet bearing down upon him in good order, he cry'd out; "Well! "the obſtinacy of one man has ruin'd us all; but nevertheleſs we ſhall "have this ſatisfaction, that we ſhall not be vanquiſh'd without having "foreſeen our defeat."

THE ſight of the Turkiſh armada threw the Chriſtian fleet into a terrible conſternation and diſorder. The mortality had ſwept away ſuch a number of the ſeamen and ſoldiers, that the gallies were not half mann'd, and in this confuſion no body conſulted any thing but his fears: they did not offer at an engagement, and every captain made the beſt of his way to get out of the reach of the artillery of the enemy. The Turks took twenty gallies and fourteen great ſhips with their crew, and all they had on board; ſome other Chriſtian gallies were detained for want of water, among the banks of ſand, which they called *les Seches*, or *the Flats*: theſe the infidels (manning their boats with ſoldiers) ſeized on without reſiſtance. The commander de Maldonat ſeeing all the fleet routed and diſperſed, and his own three gallies purſued by the enemies, behav'd himſelf like a man of bravery, and judgment; and being as excellent a pilot, as he was a brave officer, he work'd his veſſels with ſo much art, and with ſo many feints, that making as if he would run aground, he at laſt doubled the cape of Sphax, when tacking about to the right, he ſtood out to ſea, and got ſafe to Malta.

THE Turks ſeeing no enemy left to diſpute the victory with them, celebrated it with a diſcharge of all their artillery, and other publick demonſtrations of joy; reſolving to land their troops the next day, to ſeize upon the iſland, and make ſlaves of all ſuch Chriſtians as ſhould be left upon it. Whilſt all the men on board their fleet were celebrating their conqueſts with ſhouts and acclamations, the viceroy, overwhelm'd with trouble for his defeat, and aſham'd and confounded at his not having followed Doria's advice, reſolved to apply to him in this extremity; when coming to his bed-ſide, where he lay ſick, "Doria, ſays he, you who "are the only perſon that has judged wiſely on this occaſion, what would "you adviſe me to do? Sir, replies Doria, as you are general of the "land forces, 'tis your buſineſs to take ſuch meaſures, as you ſhall "think moſt conducive for their ſafety. As for our unhappy fleet, I "have taken a reſolution to be put on board a light brigantine this "very night, when I will endeavour to get in the dark through the e-"nemies fleet; and if I ſucceed in my attempt, will rally together as many "of our ſcatter'd veſſels as I ſhall meet with, when I will ſail for Meſſina, "and there wait for orders from court."

JOHN DE LA VALETTE.

THE viceroy told him that he would go along with him, and abandon himſelf entirely to his conduct; and tho' there remain'd ſtill near 5000 men in the fort, and other parts of the iſland, he yet choſe to deſert them, and fly, to ſurvive his diſgrace, rather than bury himſelf bravely in the ruins of the fortreſs. He left Alvarez de Sande, an excellent officer, who had gain'd great reputation in the wars of Piedmont, to command them, after which, he went on board, together with ſome general officers; when, by Doria's skill and dexterity, he got clear of the Turkiſh veſſels, and touching at Malta, went from thence into Sicily, there to conceal his defeat and misfortunes: But thoſe of the Chriſtians, who were left behind in the iſland, did not end with the rout of the fleet; for the Turks landing their troops and artillery, laid ſiege to the fort, which they batter'd with 18 pieces of cannon. Had theſe been the only enemies whom de Sande had to oppoſe, his caſe would not have been ſo deſperate; but he, during three months that he ſuſtain'd the ſiege with invincible courage, had not only men to fight with, but alſo famine, thirſt, and all the elements, as it were. All the water in their ciſterns was ſpent, and there was no wood left in the fortreſs to dreſs their victuals. The greateſt part of the ſoldiers, chuſing rather to deſert than die with thirſt, deliver'd themſelves up to the enemy. De Sande ſeeing his own cannon diſmounted, and the fortifications of the place beaten down by that of the Turks; and moreover, finding himſelf deſtitute both of wood and water, and the ſoldiers he had left ſick, emaciated and in a languiſhing condition, reſolv'd to make a gallant ſally, and either open himſelf a paſſage, or die honourably ſword in hand. When repreſenting to his men that their ſafety depended on their courage, he put himſelf at their head, and ſallied out at a time when he thought to ſurprize the infidels; but the Turks having been informed of his deſign by ſome deſerters, were ready to receive him, ſo that he was ſcarce out of the fort, when he was ſurrounded on all ſides, and overpower'd by different bodies of troops, who fell upon him. He had not even the ſatisfaction of dying in the field, but was taken by the infidels, and ſent to the gallies with the reſt of his officers and ſoldiers. The baſha hereupon took poſſeſſion of the place, but order'd all the fortifications to be demoliſh'd, for fear leſt the Chriſtians ſhould recover it after his departure; after which, he ſet out on his return to Conſtantinople, cover'd with glory; and leading an infinite number of priſoners, together with the Chriſtian gallies, in triumph. Near fourteen thouſand men periſh'd in this unhappy expedition; who were either deſtroy'd by the ſword, or by ſickneſs, or elſe carried away into ſlavery. The Spaniards alone loſt 28 gallies and 14 ſhips of burden, beſides thoſe of the pope, and two which belonged to Coſmo duke of Florence. Peter Machiavel, who commanded them, ſav'd two other gallies at firſt, but meeting afterwards with thirteen Algerine gallies near the iſle of Giglio, they were forced to run upon the rocks that lie off of the iſland of Corſica. The officers and ſoldiers however ſav'd themſelves aſhore, but the infidels ſeized the hulls of the gallies, and ſet the crew of ſlaves, who were all Mahometans, at liberty.

'TWAS about this time, that Coſmo duke of Florence, in order to ſecure himſelf for the future againſt their incurſions, form'd a body of ſeamen, and the better to engage the officers of it in his intereſt, inſtituted an order of knighthood, which ſerv'd afterwards as a nurſery for the knights of Malta. This new order was dedicated to pope St. Stephen, whoſe feaſt is kept on the ſecond of Auguſt, a day that was propitious to this prince, and on which his generals had a little before defeated the exiles of Florence,

Florence, at the battle of Marciano. Coſmo ſettled the great convent of the order at Piſa, which he endow'd with great revenues, and drew up the laws and ſtatutes of it himſelf: and, as it might be of dangerous conſequence in a new government, to leave a body of gentry under any other authority than his own, he made himſelf the head and grand maſter of it; and the princes his ſons, who were three in number, were the firſt knights of the order. Francis, whom he deſign'd for his ſucceſſor, and whom he afterwards ſent to the court of Spain; John, who was hardly ſixteen years of age when he was made a cardinal; and Garſia, the youngeſt of the three, who was a prince of a ſavage temper. The two laſt had, from a ſpirit of jealouſy and emulation, which began from their cradle, entertain'd a violent hatred againſt one another, that they could never be prevail'd upon to lay aſide, and which broke out at this time in a very fatal manner. Whilſt Coſmo, attended with all his family, in order to ſettle his new body of knights, was viſiting the ports and maritime places of his dominions, theſe two young princes quarrelling at a party of hunting, which they had made in the foreſts near Groſſetto, ſtole off by concert from their attendants, and retir'd into the middle of a wood, where they fought; when Garſia kill'd the cardinal with a dagger. This being done, he comes up to the reſt of the company, and with a very unconcern'd air, and as if he had only loſt his way, asks what was become of his brother. As that young prince did not appear, and the night was drawing on, his officers diſpers'd themſelves different ways to look for him; and he, who was particularly entruſted with the care of him, after having travers'd all the foreſt, found him at laſt lying dead upon the ground, and weltring in his gore. Upon which, he ran with all imaginable ſpeed to acquaint Coſmo with the diſmal news, who immediately ſuſpected the perſon that had given the deadly blow; yet, notwithſtanding his being in the higheſt tranſports of grief, he ſtill had command enough over himſelf to diſſemble it; upon which, he order'd the officer to keep it a ſecret, and when it was dark, to wrap his ſon's body in a carpet, and to bring it into his cloſet unſeen to any one.

No ſooner were his orders executed, but he ſent for Garſia, and ſhutting his cloſet-door, ask'd him what was become of his brother. The young prince, with an aſſurance very uncommon at his age, anſwer'd him very gravely, that he had loſt ſight of him in the chace, in his eager purſuit of the ſtag. Coſmo then order'd him to lift up the carpet which cover'd the cardinal's body, from whoſe wounds the blood was ſtill guſhing out in great abundance. At this ſad ſpectacle, the duke, no longer able to ſtifle his grief and reſentment, cried out in a rage, "Thou wretch, ſee there "the blood of thy brother, that cries to heaven for vengeance againſt "thee! Have I given life to a parricide, who, by the murder of his bro-"ther, has open'd to himſelf a way to aſſaſſinate his father alſo?" Garſia, in a fright, threw himſelf at his feet, confeſs'd his guilt; and to leſſen the horror of his crime, alledged, that his brother had attack'd him firſt, and that he had been forced to kill him in his own defence. But Coſmo rejecting this poor excuſe, and giving him a furious look, "I "muſt, ſays he, myſelf revenge the death of the innocent by the de-"ſtruction of the guilty, and you muſt give back your life to him who "gave it you." As he was ſpeaking theſe words, he ſnatch'd the dagger, with which he had kill'd his brother, out of his hand, and ſtabb'd him to the heart. They were both buried afterwards in a very private manner; and, in order to conceal ſo diſmal a cataſtrophe from the world, it was given out, that they died at a country-houſe of a contagious diſtemper,

which

JOHN DE LA VALETTE.

which at that time raged in Tuſcany. Their obſequies were afterwards celebrated with great pomp in the cathedral church at Florence; and in the funeral oration, which was made on that occaſion, the orator, by Coſmo's order, affected to expatiate chiefly on the praiſes of Garſia, purpoſely to take away all ſuſpicion of the murder. 'Tis in this manner that monſieur de Thou has related this tragical event in the 32d book of his hiſtory; though 'tis pretended that this fact is not mention'd in his firſt edition, but that it has been ſince inſerted by the publiſhers of the later editions. Eleonora of Toledo, mother to the young princes, from whom they could not conceal the circumſtances of their death, died of grief; but Coſmo, without ſinking under the weight of his misfortunes, endeavour'd to divert the thoughts of them by a cloſe application to the affairs of government. His great buſineſs at this time was to put his new order on a flouriſhing foot; and in order to make this badge of diſtinction, a means of uniting the principal families of Florence in the intereſt of his houſe, this able prince, one of the greateſt politicians of his age, obtain'd leave from pope Pius IV. to diſpenſe his new knights from the obligation of celibacy, which was obſerv'd in the order of Malta; and even ſuch as had been twice married, had the favour of being admitted into it. He gave them likewiſe the privilege, in default of legitimate iſſue, of bequeathing their eſtates to their baſtards, upon condition however that they ſhould leave the fourth part thereof to the order. His intereſt did not allow him to conform in all theſe points, to the rigour and ſeverity of the ſtatutes obſerv'd by the knights of Malta; and he only exhorted thoſe of St. Stephen, to imitate them at leaſt, in the valour and zeal, which they had ſhew'd for ſo many ages againſt the Turks and infidels.

'TWAS with this view, and for the perfecting of them in military diſcipline, that he order'd the commodores of his gallies, whenever they ſhould meet thoſe of Malta, to join and keep company with them, and fall by concert upon all ſuch corſairs as they ſhould meet with. Purſuant to theſe orders, Baccio Martelli, knight of St. Stephen, being at ſea with four Florentine gallies under his command, and meeting off of Cape Lupo with Vincent de Gonzaga, prior of Barletto, general of the gallies of the order, who had ſeven under him, ſaluted him firſt, and went on board, deſiring leave to follow him: he readily obtain'd his requeſt; and during all the time they were out a cruiſing, was exact in obſerving the orders, which he gave afterwards to his ſubaltern officers. The general, with this reinforcement of four gallies, finding himſelf at the head of a ſquadron of eleven gallies, all well provided, ſcour'd the Levant over, reſcued a great number of veſſels, that were chaced by the infidels, took ſeveral corſairs; and, when the campaign was over, he parted with the Florentines off of Corfu, and return'd into the port of Malta; where, agreeable to the ſpirit of the order, he was welcom'd with greater congratulations for the Chriſtian veſſels he had defended and reſcued, than for thoſe which he had taken from the infidels.

THIS was the reaſon why the gallies of the order were almoſt continually at ſea. The grand maſter built likewiſe two new ones at his own expence, and his example was daily follow'd by the richeſt commanders; they always employing themſelves generouſly, according to their ſeveral abilities, in fitting out different ſquadrons: ſo that the order had never been ſo powerful at ſea as at that time. But nothing ſtruck theſe infidels with greater terror, than all theſe ſquadrons being commanded by knights of great experience, who were grown old in the ſervice, and who were moſt of them qualified to command conſiderable fleets: ſuch were the com-

commander Gozon de Melac, general of the gallies of the order; the commander de Guimeran, whom the king of Spain had deſir'd of the grand maſter, to command thoſe of Sicily; the commanders de Giou and d'Elbeines, and the chevaliers de Thiange and la Motte, all excellent ſeamen, and of great reputation for their valour and experience. But among theſe ſeveral officers, there was not any one who took ſo many prizes, and ſo conſiderable at the ſame time, as the commander de Romegas, a knight who had follow'd cruiſing from his youth; no body was ſo well acquainted as he himſelf, with all the coaſts, the ports, and even the ſmalleſt creeks in the Mediterranean: he was likewiſe brave and intrepid, was fearleſs of danger, and would never ſuffer any officers or ſoldiers to be aboard him, that had not as much courage and reſolution as himſelf. The life which he had chiefly ſpent at ſea, had given him a ſavage look, and he was accus'd of treating his priſoners with cruelty; but he pretended that he had acted ſo only by way of repriſal, and in order to force the corſairs to treat the Chriſtian ſlaves with more humanity. This apology, however, did not entirely remove the ſuſpicion the world had entertain'd, viz. that he, in uſing theſe repriſals in that manner, had not committed any great violence upon his nature; and that his temper, which was naturally cruel and violent, had perhaps contributed as much to it as his politicks.

BE that as it will, he, at this time, met off of the coaſt of Sicily, with a large galiot, under the command of a famous corſair, Yſuf Conciny by name, a Calabrian renegado; a man, who was the tyrant, or rather the executioner of the Chriſtian ſlaves. Of theſe he had 200 in his crew, together with 250 ſoldiers, on board: they were pretty near equal in ſtrength, and the corſair did not decline the combat; the two gallies bore down upon one another, and after firing their broad-ſides, came to a cloſe engagement. The fight was maintain'd a long time with equal advantage, ſo that there was no diſtinguiſhing which ſide would be victorious. When at laſt, Romegas, enrag'd at ſuch a long reſiſtance, put himſelf at the head of his braveſt officers, leap'd into the galiot ſword in hand, and forced the bend or wale of it. The corſair receiv'd him with the ſame courage, and kill'd two knights with his own hand: happening to fall, by a blow which he receiv'd, upon one of the rower's benches, the ſlaves, to revenge the ill treatment they had receiv'd from him, no ſooner ſaw Romegas maſter of the veſſel, but they handed the corſair from one to another without his oppoſing it. Every one of them gave him a blow; ſome were ſo furious with revenge, that they tore him with their teeth; there was not one but would have a piece of him, ſo that before he was got to the laſt bench, there was ſcarce the leaſt bit of him left. A renegado of Melazzo in Sicily, did not meet with a better treatment; under him, ſeveral corſairs had ſurpriz'd and plunder'd that little place, carried off ſeveral inhabitants of both ſexes; and to add laſciviouſneſs to robbery, an infamous wretch, one Marabout, had raviſh'd ſome young Chriſtian virgins; of which, the gallies of Malta, in conjunction with thoſe of Sicily, having advice, they purſu'd after the pirates, but could not come up with them. After this attempt, the ſquadrons ſeparated, and the Malteſe gallies, being lighter than the Sicilian, and their crews freſher, came up with the principal galley of the corſairs, which had the booty and ſlaves on board. As a ſingle galley, which ſhould pretend to reſiſt a whole ſquadron, would probably only expoſe itſelf to be ſunk, the infidels ſtruck immediately. The prior of Barletto, who commanded on this occaſion, ſet the Chriſtian ſlaves at liberty, put fourſcore Turks to the oar in their ſtead, and brought back to Melazzo the men and women who had

JOHN DE LA VALETTE.

been carried off from thence. The people, after having made him their acknowledgments in their way, and by great ſhouts and rejoicings, deſir'd him to deliver up into their hands the renegado their countryman, who had guided the corſairs, and that inſolent fellow Marabout, who had abuſed their daughters. The prior had no ſooner given up the two villains, but the mob in a rage did juſtice upon them with their own hands, and tore them to pieces in a moment. Romegas, who was then at ſea, gave more favourable treatment to a gallion which he met near the iſland of Scarpento, and lying between thoſe of Candia and Rhodes. This gallion came from Satalia, and was commanded by Rais Seid Mahomet Ugly, an officer of courage, and who had a great number of brave old ſoldiers on board. Romegas had at that time but two gallies, which belong'd to the grand maſter; and the chevalier de la Motte commanded the leſſer. This knight, whoſe veſſel was the lighter of the two, began the engagement: Romegas coming up, and drawing near the gallion, ſurvey'd it carefully, and ſeeing it well provided with artillery, and the deck cover'd with muſketeers, he plainly perceiv'd, that in caſe he did not change the manner of the attack, it would be impoſſible for ten ſuch gallies as thoſe which he commanded, to take that ſtately veſſel, which was ſo high, that it look'd like a floating caſtle in compariſon of the gallies. But as the knights never regarded the number and forces of their enemies, and that his own temper was ſuch, that he had rather die than that any body ſhould be able to reproach him juſtly with having quitted an enterprize he had once engaged in, he reſolv'd to cannonade this great carrack at a diſtance. Happily a calm ſucceeded, which hinder'd it from making any way, and the two gallies advancing near the gallion, by the help of their oars, pour'd a broad-ſide into it, and made off; and then charging again, return'd with the ſame agility to fire another. Romegas taking his advantage of the calm, continu'd this way of fighting ſo long, that the gallion after having loſt abundance of men by his courſey guns, was forced to ſtrike; when the knights boarding it, found it was laden with rich merchandize: but they had ſcarce taken poſſeſſion of it, when it ſunk, having receiv'd ſome ſhot in its upper works; and all that they could do was to ſave the men, among whom was a venerable old man, ſeventy-eight years of age, who was ſangiac of Grand Cairo; and near 600 perſons, Turks, Moors, and Negroes, who, like him, were all bound for Conſtantinople.

WHILST the knights of Malta were continually expoſing their lives againſt the infidels, the roman catholick church aſſembled in a general council at Trent; its prelates exerted all their zeal and learning to oppoſe the innovations of the proteſtants: the grand maſter was alſo invited thither, as well as the other ſovereigns of Chriſtendom; and in conjunction with the council of Malta, he deputed the chevaliers de Villegagnon, and Royas de Portalrouge, to go thither in quality of embaſſadors of the order. But the former could not attend, by reaſon of his great age, and a ſevere fit of ſickneſs that ſeized him; ſo that Royas went thither alone, who, before he could be admitted, had great difficulties to ſurmount, from the oppoſition of the body of biſhops, who repreſented, That it was not juſt, that a private religious, who was but deputy to a ſociety of lay brothers, ſhould have his ſeat among the embaſſadors, and as ſuch, take place of the biſhops. The affair however was made up, and it was agreed that the embaſſador of Malta ſhould be plac'd among the other embaſſadors of the Chriſtian princes, without prejudice however to the proteſts of the epiſcopal order: in conſequence of which regulation, Royas was admitted in the congregation that was held on the 7th of September A. D.

JOHN DE LA VALETTE.

A D. 1563. He began his ſpeech by an apology for the grand maſter and council, for their not having ſent embaſſadors ſooner to the holy ſynod; the reaſon of which, he ſaid, was, that the iſland and channel of Malta were continually infeſted by corſairs, who ſeem'd to be in expectation of the grand ſeignior's fleet, in order to attempt an entire conqueſt of the iſland. He next took notice of the original of the order, which, as he ſaid, had been founded forty years before the firſt cruſade. He next ſet forth the heroick exploits of their anceſtors, ſaying, that if they did not equal them at that time, it was owing to the proteſtants having ſeiz'd on ſome of their commanderies; as well as to the roman catholick prelates and princes, who, contrary to the uſage and privileges of the order, often got the pope to beſtow the richeſt priories and commanderies upon them. He entreated the fathers, in the name of the whole order, to conſider its antiquity, its nobility, and the ſervices it had done to Chriſtendom, during a ſeries of ſo many ages, to order the commanderies which had been uſurp'd to be reſtor'd, and to provide by a decree, that they ſhould not for the future be ever enjoy'd by any body but the knights, according to their ſeniority; deſiring them at the ſame time, to paſs a ſolemn confirmation of all the privileges, that had been granted to the order ever ſince its foundation.

THE proctor anſwer'd in general terms, and in the name of the council, told him, that the fathers allow'd his excuſe for the order, for its having been ſo long in ſending its embaſſadors; and that they would not be wanting in the preſervation of the commanderies and the privileges of order, that was ſo uſeful to the church.

THE embaſſador preſented ſome memorials to the legates of the council, relating to the confirmation of the immunities of the order; and particularly to get a decree, to diſqualify all perſons, of what dignity ſoever, from enjoying any priories and commanderies, till after their having made the three vows of their inſtitution, in the order of St. John of Jeruſalem. The legates durſt not propoſe ſuch a decree in the congregation, till ſuch time as they had firſt conſulted the pope about it, and were acquainted with his intentions: accordingly, they wrote to him upon that ſubject; but Pius IV. who then ſat in the papal chair, and who was very vigilant to let nothing paſs in the council, that might limit his authority, was not ignorant that ſeveral of his predeceſſors had claim'd a right of collating to the priories and commanderies, which fell vacant at the court of Rome, or within their territories; though indeed ſeveral other popes had made contrary declarations in favour of the order. He therefore wrote back to his legates, that the decree for which the grand maſter was ſoliciting, did not concern the council, and that it was no body's buſineſs, but his, to make ſuch a regulation, when he ſhould judge proper. But after the breaking up of the council, which had always given him a great deal of uneaſineſs, he entirely forgot the knights of Malta, and the continual ſervices they were doing the Chriſtian world; particularly to the people who inhabited the coaſts of Sicily, Naples, Italy, and Spain; the laſt eſpecially, who, ſince the concluſion of the council, had been put in a ſtate of ſecurity, by the ſhare they had had in the taking of Gomera de Velez, a place ſituated on the coaſt of Barbary, and not above forty leagues diſtant from Spain.

THE harbour indeed was not capable of holding great ſhips, but it conſtantly ſent out a number of fuſts and galiots; and whenever they fitted out more conſiderable ſquadrons, the king of Fez, their neighbour, furniſh'd them with ſoldiers, drawn chiefly out of the mountainous country

JOHN DE LA VALETTE.

try adjoining; all of them bold fellows, and fearleſs of danger, when booty was the prize. About a mile from this town lay Pignon de Velez, in a little iſle, or rather a rock, which there is no going up, but by a way hewn in the rock itſelf; which is divided from the continent by nothing but a very narrow channel, that ſerves for a kind of port to it, and which can hold no more than ten or twelve little veſſels at moſt. This fort was a great ſecurity to the corſairs, who, whenever they were purſued, uſed to retire hither, when the cannon of the place kept their enemies at a diſtance. The king of Spain had made an unſucceſsful attempt upon it the year before; but reſuming the ſame deſign this year, he aſſembled all his naval forces; after which he wrote in very preſſing terms to the grand maſter, and to ſeveral princes of Italy his allies, deſiring them to join their gallies with his. With theſe ſeveral ſquadrons he made up a ſtrong fleet, the command of which he gave to Don Garſia de Toledo, viceroy of Catalonia, who had the direction of the enterprize. This general ſet ſail from the port of Malaga on the 10th of Auguſt, with a favourable wind, and arriving in two days on the coaſt of Barbary, landed his troops and artillery without any oppoſition: The van-guard was compos'd of Spaniſh troops and the knights of Malta; the Portugueze and Italians made the main body; and the Germans were put in the rear. The Chriſtian army marching in good order, advanc'd up to the town of Gomera, which was not above ſix miles from the place of their landing. The Chriſtian general, in order to cut off all communication between this town and the garriſon of Pignon, and to prevent their receiving any ſuccours from thence, reſolv'd to begin his enterprize with the ſiege of that place. Gomera, like moſt of the inland towns of Barbary, was without any fortifications, and lay between two hills. The inhabitants had abandon'd it upon the approach of the Chriſtians, and were fled with what they could carry off into the faſtneſſes of the mountains. Garſia taking advantage of their conſternation, ſeiz'd upon the town; when fortifying his camp with lines and good redoubts, he rais'd a battery of ſix great cannon upon an adjacent hill, which play'd upon the fort for a whole day together; at the ſame time that the gallies of Malta and a great gallion batter'd it ſo furiouſly from the ſea, that a large pannel of the wall, and part of the tower, or plat-form, were demoliſh'd. The governor in a fright, ſeeing no ſuccours appear, reſolv'd to abandon the place, and fly away with his family, and his moſt conſiderable effects: But as he had only a little skiff to carry them, which was hid at the foot of the rock, he fearing leſt the garriſon ſhould either ſtop him, or offer to follow him, told them that he was going to raiſe the mountaineers, that he would put himſelf at their head, when he would either loſe his life in the attempt, or force the Chriſtians to raiſe the ſiege. But the garriſon, which conſiſted only of thirty men, ſeeing no effect of his promiſes, and not troubling themſelves about defending a place, which had been deſerted by its governor, conſulted only their own ſafety. Such ſoldiers as could ſwim, got to ſhore at as great a diſtance as poſſible from the Chriſtian camp; and ſuch as could not, open'd the gates, and ſurrender'd up the fort. Thus a place, which was look'd upon as impregnable, and which the year before had held out againſt all the forces of Spain, was taken in a few days: this victory was as much owing to the cowardice of the governor, as to the valour and capacity of the Chriſtian general.

THE noiſe of this conqueſt gave a terrible alarm to all the corſairs of Barbary, who carried the news to Conſtantinople; when they complain'd about it to Solyman, to whom they repreſented, that as the Spaniards

niards were maſters of Goletta, Pignon de Velez, and Tunis, they kept all the coaſt of Barbary, as it were, in chains. Solyman ſignified to them, that he would break them in a little time; and as they inform'd him that the Malteſe gallies had greatly contributed to the reducing of the place, he reſolv'd, in order to ſecure the liberty of Barbary, to begin by the conqueſt of the iſle of Malta; and from that time, without communicating his deſign to any body but his miniſters, he made preparations with all poſſible ſecreſy, for the fitting out of a ſtrong naval force; the effects of which will be ſeen in the following year. But now, a new prize, which the knights took a little after, rais'd the grand ſeignior's reſentment to the higheſt pitch, and made him more eager in fitting out his armada. After the taking of Pignon de Velez, the five gallies of the order, commanded by general de Giou, and the grand maſter's two gallies, under the particular command of Romegas, joining together, and cruiſing in company, met, between the iſlands of Zante and Cephalonia, with a ſtong gallion, laden with the richeſt commodities of the eaſt, and mounted with twenty large braſs cannon, and a great number of a leſſer ſize, having a body of good officers of artillery, and above 200 janizaries on board, all of them excellent arquebuſiers. This veſſel was commanded by rais or captain Bairan-Ogli, and belong'd to the kiſlir-aga, chief of the black eunuchs of the ſeraglio; this eunuch was the miniſter of his maſter's pleaſures, and the guardian of thoſe young ladies and beauties who were reſerv'd for his uſe, ſeveral of whom had a ſhare in the gallion. General Giou, ſeeing himſelf at the head of a ſquadron of ſeven gallies, firſt fir'd a cannon without ball, to make the captain of the veſſel bring to; but the Turks anſwer'd him with a ball, and immediately hoiſted up their flag, and all their colours, by way of defiance, and as a declaration of their being reſolv'd to fight.

GENERAL Giou and the commander Romegas, finding there was no likelihood of their taking the veſſel but by force of arms, agreed to attack it firſt themſelves; that after they had pour'd in their broad ſides as cloſe as poſſible, the two commodores ſhould be reliev'd by two other gallies, and theſe again by the three laſt, ſo as to make a continual fire without any intermiſſion. But this order of battle was ill obſerv'd, from the jealouſy and emulation of the two generals, who, forgetting their firſt agreement of acting together in concert, each ſtrove to engroſs the whole honour of the victory to himſelf. De Giou's galley coming up under the ſtern of this great veſſel, was cover'd in a moment with fire-works; the knights and ſoldiers were plied warmly with volleys of ſtones and musket-ſhot; and the cannon, loaded with cartridges, made ſuch havock amongſt them, that the general was forced to remove to ſome diſtance. Romegas, on his ſide, attack'd the gallion with his uſual intrepidity; but a ball, which was ſhot from it, demoliſh'd the wale of his galley, and kill'd two and twenty of his men; and by another, twenty more of them were forced to leap into the ſea. Romegas, fearing he ſhould be ſunk by a great cannon, which he ſaw was levell'd to take him betwixt wind and water, thought proper, though ſore againſt his will, to retire further off; after which, the two next gallies advanc'd in their turn, and in concert fell upon the gallion each on its ſide, and pour'd in ſuch a terrible fire, that they kill'd and diſabled ſeveral of the janizaries: but thoſe brave fellows, who were part of a body of troops, in which the chief force of the Turkiſh empire conſiſts, fought on with the ſame intrepidity. The three laſt gallies were then forced to advance to the ſuccour of the reſt, and the two commodores, getting their gallies in readineſs, return'd to

JOHN DE LA VALETTE.

the engagement with new fury. The battle lasted five whole hours before any judgment could be form'd of the issue of it; and notwithstanding the great bravery of the knights, they would perhaps have been forced to retire with loss, had the Turks but been able to make use of all their artillery. But unfortunately for them, their best pieces, by the avarice of the merchants, were encumber'd among the bales of goods, so that they were of no use to them; and the gallies making a superior fire, the knights at last boarded the vessel, and made themselves masters of it. The victory was bloody; for above sixscore Christians, either knights or soldiers, lost their lives in it: among the former, those chiefly regretted were la Fonde, a Provençal; Berzet an Italian, and Pacieco a Spaniard; Anthony Fernandes Posselin and Diego d'Inestrosa were mortally wounded, and died a few days afterwards at Saragossa: Fernando Ruis de Correali, Ernand de Zuniga, Jerom Caraffa, a Neapolitan, and a great many more were wounded in this long and obstinate engagement. The Turks, besides their wounded, lost fourscore janizaries, and several officers; particularly an engineer, who, by his courage and skill in pointing the cannon, had contributed more to their making this gallant defence, than even the captain of the gallion himself.

THIS capture made a greater noise at Constantinople, especially in the seraglio, than the loss of an important place would have done. The kislir-aga, and the odalichi, or favourites of the grand seignior, who had shares in it, threw themselves at the sultan's feet, and entreated him to revenge them on the knights. Solyman, looking upon this capture as an insult offer'd to his own household, swore by his head, that he would extirpate the order; and in order to comfort the ladies, and the kislir-aga, for their loss, he indemnify'd them by making them rich presents out of his own coffers. The greatest part of his officers, and the Mahometan priests, enter'd into his resentment; and the mufti, their chief, represented to him in a private audience, that as all musulmen were obliged to go once in their lives to visit their prophet's tomb, it would be impossible for his European subjects to discharge that duty any longer, without exposing themselves to the being taken by the Christian corsairs; that Malta was crouded with Turkish slaves; and that a prince, who had so high a sense of religion, and whom providence had raised to so eminent a degree of power, ought to scruple the leaving so great a number of the faithful in slavery, and exposed to the danger of changing their religion. The kislir-aga, who was more incensed than any body else, and who carried on all this intrigue, in order to determine the grand seignior to lay aside all other enterprizes, and to fall upon the island of Malta, engaged the iman, or preacher of the principal mosque, cunningly to insinuate a discourse upon that subject into his sermon. Solyman, who was a religious prince, going thither the friday following, which is the Turkish sabbath, this orator, under pretence of treating of the charity which ought to be shewn to the poor and wretched, did not fail to begin by deploring the disgrace and wretched state of those musulmen who were in slavery among the Christians. He did this at first in general terms, when, directing his discourse to the grand seignior, he, after extolling his valour, his conquests, and the mildness of his government, in such a manner as they justly deserv'd, added, that there was nothing wanting to complete his glory, but only the delivering of such a great number of unhappy musulmen, as had been depriv'd of their fortunes and liberty by the Maltese. He afterwards enter'd into the particulars of all their captures, of which, 'tis probable, they had furnish'd him with an exact account; and shew'd, that their rovers had

JOHN DE LA VALETTE.

had within the laſt five years taken upwards of fifty veſſels laden with the richeſt commodities of the eaſt; not to mention the feluccas, brigantines, gallies, and galiots employ'd in the cruiſing ſervice: "Theſe veſſels, "ſays he to him, together with their cargoes and the men on board, have "been all ſeized by thoſe mercileſs corſairs; and nothing, ſir, but your "invincible ſword can reſcue ſo many poor creatures out of ſlavery; the "ſon calls upon you to reſtore him his father, and the wife her husband "or her children: all, all expect from your juſtice and power, the ven-"geance which is due to their cruel enemies."

SUCH a bold and pathetick diſcourſe, rais'd a confuſed murmuring in the congregation, which at laſt broke out into loud complaints, contrary to what is generally practiſed in their moſques, where a profound ſilence is always obſerv'd. Solyman ſeem'd ſurpriz'd and troubled at this unuſual incident; but being told the reaſon of it, he, in order to quiet the people, ſignified to them by his grand vizier, that they ſhould have their revenge and ſatisfaction in a little time; and accordingly went out of the moſque fully reſolv'd, in caſe he was not prevented by the Hungarian war, to fall with all his forces upon Malta.

SOLYMAN had for a long time been warmly ſollicited to undertake this enterprize, by Haſſan baſha, or viceroy of Algiers, ſon and ſucceſſor to the famous Barbaroſſa; and by Dragut, governor of Tripoli. Both of theſe had frequently remonſtrated to him, particularly ſince the taking of Pignon de Velez, that the Chriſtians, unleſs ſome remedy ſhould be thought upon, would infallibly make themſelves maſters of all the coaſt of Barbary; that ſo long as Malta ſhould continue in the hands of the knights, it would be impoſſible to ſend out any reinforcements to them, or for them to receive any from their reſpective governments, without running a great hazard of their being intercepted; and that this iſland, which was no more than a rock, was the only barrier that brav'd his power, and which, by the privateers and ſquadrons that it ſent out, was continually interrupting the communication of Barbary with Aſia and the iſles of the Archipelago. Thuan. Hiſt. l. 37.

SOLYMAN was ſenſible of the importance of this conqueſt; but as it might be attended with difficulties, he, like a prudent and wiſe prince, would not engage in it till ſuch time as he had conſulted his principal generals. For this purpoſe he, according to the Turkiſh cuſtom, held a great council of war on horſeback in the open field. The firſt thing debated in it, was the neceſſity they were under of driving the knights out of an iſland where they diſturb'd the commerce of the grand ſeignior's ſubjects and interrupted the pilgrimages to Mecca and Medina. They agreed that their religion, as well as the ſtate, were equally intereſted in their extirpation; after which, the next point to be examin'd, was the means of putting this project in execution.

THE greateſt part of the baſhas, who gueſs'd at the ſultan's inclinations, like true courtiers, told him that the conqueſt of the iſle of Rhodes, might aſſure him of ſucceſs, in the enterprize of Malta; that the knights, whom he call'd a pack of raſcally corſairs, would never be able to hold out againſt the moſt inconſiderable part of the forces of his empire; and that he had no more to do than to ſend the gallies of Algiers and Tripoli, with a body of troops, to ſeize on ſome forts which thoſe rovers had built for the ſecurity of the ports and coaſts of the iſland.

ALY, one of Dragut's lieutenants, whom he had ſent on purpoſe to Conſtantinople, was preſent at this council, and repreſented in the name of his general, that in caſe they ſhould make their firſt attempt by beſieging Malta,

JOHN DE LA VALETTE.

Malta, there was no doubt but the knights would receive conſiderable ſuccours from Goletta, Pignon de Velez, and from the Moors of Tunis, who were vaſſals to the crown of Caſtile, and enemies to the Turkiſh government; that Dragut was of opinion, they ſhould open the campaign with the ſieges of Goletta, and Pignon de Velez; and that when they ſhould have clear'd the coaſt of Barbary of the Chriſtians, and reduced the inhabitants of the country, they then might employ the grand ſeignior's troops the year following in beſieging Malta. Mahomet, the moſt antient of all the baſhas, an old experienced general, who was afterwards advanc'd to the dignity of grand vizier, was entirely againſt the enterprize of Malta; and beſides the reaſons which Dragut's agent had alledg'd, he urg'd, that there was a great difference between the iſle of Rhodes, and that of Malta; that the former was ſituated in the midſt of his territories, at a great diſtance from Europe, and out of the way of all ſuccour from the Chriſtians; and as its ſoil afforded plenty of corn and paſture, it eaſily furniſh'd ſubſiſtence for his army: whereas, on the contrary, as Malta lay near Sicily, it could receive ſuccours from thence every moment, and that the king of Spain, who conſider'd it as the bulwark of his Italian dominions, would not fail to employ all his forces to relieve it; that moſt of the Chriſtian princes would enter into the war, out of a principle of religion; that they would meet with nothing in Malta, but a ſteep barren rock, without either corn or paſture-ground, and a body of brave knights to defend it, who were all reſolv'd to die on the ſpot, rather than ſurrender; and that even ſuppoſing they ſhould take it, they yet ought to be ſure of getting ſubſiſtence for the army, whilſt they ſhould be repairing the old fortifications, and making new ones; that they had reaſon to be apprehenſive of a new cruſade, and a league between the princes of Chriſtendom, who, in that caſe, would be able to ſend a numerous fleet in the ſpring with freſh troops on board, to block up the Turkiſh veſſels in the iſle of Malta; and that it would redound much more to the grand ſeignior's glory, and be more advantageous to his empire, to employ his troops in Hungary, or to attempt the conqueſt of Italy; nor indeed could he do better than to begin with Sicily, which being reduc'd, Malta would fall of courſe into his hands; and that after all, without his engaging in ſuch a difficult enterprize, as that propos'd againſt the knights of St. John, they might eaſily provide for the ſecurity of the merchants of the ſultan's empire, and the pilgrims, who went out of devotion to Mahomet's tomb, by ſending out convoys along with them.

NOTWITHSTANDING the ſolidity of theſe reaſons, Solyman, who was eaſily wrought upon by motives of conſcience, and who, moreover, was touch'd with the complaints and tears of his favourites, declar'd himſelf for the enterprize of Malta: the hopes too of raiſing his glory, might probably have determin'd him to undertake it; and that after driving the knights out of Rhodes, and the other iſles of the Archipelago, which depended on it, and the caſtles and lands they poſſeſs'd upon the continent of Aſia Minor, he might have flatter'd himſelf, that the conqueſt of Malta would make his name famous, and his power formidable in Europe and Africa. Whatever might be his motives, he ſent expreſs orders over all his empire, for equipping all the ſhips and gallies that could be found in his ports fit for the ſea-ſervice. Uluchialy, a Calabrian renegado, brought him ſeveral from Alexandria; the governor of Rhodes furniſh'd what gallies he had; and Haſſan and Dragut, baſhas or viceroys of Algiers and Tripoli, were order'd to join the Ottoman fleet with all the corſairs of Barbary, as ſoon as they ſhould hear of its arrival before Malta. Whilſt theſe prepa-

preparations were carrying on, he ſent ſome able engineers thither in the habit of fiſhermen, who, under pretence of throwing their lines into the ditches, and ſelling their fiſh in the town, view'd the fortifications and the height of the walls, and took an exact plan of the place, which the grand ſeignior laid before his generals.

OUT of theſe, he made choice of two to head this expedition; viz. Pialy and Muſtapha. Altho' Pialy's extraction was unknown, he yet had a great ſhare in this prince's favour, who had married him to one of his grand-children. Solyman returning from his firſt campaign in Hungary, and after the taking of Belgrade, had found him in ſwadling-clothes lying upon a plough-ſhare, where probably his mother had left him in her fright at the march of the army. The grand ſeignior, who diverted himſelf with hunting on the road, gave orders that he ſhould be brought to him, and finding in his features, which were not yet form'd, ſomething that pleas'd him, he took care to give him a good education; and after he had paſs'd gradually through all the poſts of his army, he gave him one of his grand-daughters. He made him likewiſe baſha of the ſea, and as ſuch he had the general command of the fleet, on this occaſion.

MUSTAPHA, who had acquir'd Solyman's eſteem and confidence by ſeveral conſiderable victories, which he had gain'd, was appointed general of the land-forces. He was an old officer, aged threeſcore and five, was harſh and ſevere in command, cruel and bloody to all ſuch enemies as fell into his hands, and particularly was not aſham'd to glory in breaking his word and oath with the Chriſtians. Solyman, who had an equal confidence in both theſe generals, recommended to them to live in good underſtanding with one another, to act always in concert, and above all, not to attempt any thing without firſt conſulting Dragut, whom he conſider'd not only as a ſworn enemy to the knights, but as the greateſt ſeaman he had then in his empire.

THE fitting out ſuch numbers of ſhips and gallies, the marching of troops from all quarters to the ports of the Morea, and the various motions which were made all over the Ottoman empire, gave great uneaſineſs to thoſe Chriſtian princes, whoſe territories lay near thoſe of the grand ſeignior; tho' they were ignorant at the ſame time, where the ſtorm would fall. Some pretended that this armada was deſign'd againſt the fort of Goletta, which was the key of the kingdom, and particularly of the city of Tunis; or elſe againſt Pignon de Velez, which likewiſe open'd an entrance into the kingdom of Algiers; others ſuſpected that this enterprize was intended againſt Malta only; and this opinion was confirm'd by various letters that came from the Levant. In this uncertainty, the king of Spain, being particularly intereſted in the preſervation, and defence of Malta, as it ſerv'd for a bulwark to Sicily, order'd the viceroy Don Garſia de Toledo to paſs by Malta in his way to Goletta, and confer about it with the grand maſter. They communicated to each other all the different advices they had receiv'd, and agreed, in caſe of an attack, to aſſiſt one another with all their forces; and as the grand maſter repreſented to him, the want he ſhould be in both of corn and ſoldiers, in caſe he ſhould be forc'd to ſuſtain a ſiege, the viceroy promis'd, upon his return into Sicily, to ſend him a conſiderable quantity, with two companies of Spaniſh ſoldiers; and in the mean time left one of his ſons with him, as it were in hoſtage, for the performance of his word, who afterwards took the habit of the order.

HE was but juſt gone from Malta, when freſh advices arriv'd from ſome truſty ſpies, whom the grand maſter kept at Conſtantinople:

JOHN DE LA VALETTE.

By their letters they aſſur'd him, that the Turks would infallibly open the campaign with the ſiege of Malta, and that after reducing the whole iſland, which Solyman took for granted, he had given orders to his generals to go into Africa, and employ all his forces to drive out the Spaniards from thence.

THE grand maſter was not in the leaſt daunted at the news; however, he communicated it to the council of the order, and by their conſent ſent a general ſummons to all the knights who were diſperſed up and down the different provinces of Chriſtendom, to repair forthwith to Malta. The agents whom the order employ'd in Italy, levied a body of 2000 foot, and the viceroy of Sicily ſent the two Spaniſh companies he had promis'd him. The ſhips and gallies of the order, were, till the beginning of the ſiege, continually employ'd in tranſporting arms, powder, ammunition and proviſions to Malta; and the knights were daily arriving there, in conſiderable numbers, eager to diſcharge the obligations of their profeſſion, to ſignalize their zeal and courage againſt the infidels.

LA VALETTE made moſt of theſe knights captains and officers, who, by his order, diſciplin'd the inhabitants of the towns and country, and form'd them into new companies of ſoldiers fit for ſervice; the greateſt part of them being good arquebuſiers, and there being very few among them but what had been out a cruiſing, and ſerv'd on board the gallies of the order. Theſe companies made up a body of 4000 foot; the grand maſter diſtributed them into different poſts, where there was occaſion for them; and that he might not omit any thing which might poſſibly contribute to his defence, he ſent copies of the letters he had receiv'd from Conſtantinople to the pope and to moſt of the Chriſtian princes, to repreſent to them the danger with which the order was threatned, and to deſire them to ſend ſuccours to the knights, who wanted them only, to make head againſt the formidable enemy of all Chriſtendom. Pius IV. who then ſat upon the papal throne, paid in a ſum of 10000 crowns to Cambian the Malteſe embaſſador at Rome. Nothing was to be got from France, which was at this time weakned with inteſtine wars and diviſions; but the king of Spain, out of fear leſt the Turks ſhould advance ſo near Sicily, reſolv'd to employ all his forces to keep them at a diſtance. He wrote to his miniſters in Italy, and to ſeveral princes of that nation, his allies, to form immediately a body of 20000 foot, which ſhould be ready to embark upon the firſt accounts of the deſigns of the infidels; and by the ſame expreſs, he order'd the viceroy of Sicily to take as much care for the defence of Malta, as he would uſe for the preſervation of Sicily it ſelf.

THE viceroy, perſuaded that in the anxiety the grand maſter muſt needs be in, the giving him aſſurance that he would ſend him ſuccours, would be in a manner the ſame as if he actually ſent them him, imparted to him the orders he had receiv'd from the court of Madrid. The grand maſter could not help being pleas'd with ſuch fine promiſes; however, he did not depend upon them ſo far, as to neglect preparing himſelf to ſuſtain all the efforts of the formidable power of the Turks, with the forces of the order only. The perils which he foreſaw were inevitable, ſerv'd only to inſpire him with greater bravery: he was inform'd with a reſolution that was ſuperior to all events; his natural courage had inſpir'd him with a noble indifference for life; he had paſs'd ſucceſſively through all the employments of the order, and this gradual riſe to new dignities, had always been the teſtimony and recompence of the many memorable actions, which at laſt rais'd him to the dignity of grand maſter.

SUCH

JOHN DE LA VALETTE.

SUCH was brother John de la Valette, whoſe character will be better known by the relation of the ſiege of Malta, than by all that could be ſaid before hand, of that magnanimity and courage, which diſtinguiſh'd him in the midſt of the greateſt dangers. Purſuant to the general ſummons, and in obedience to his orders, upwards of ſix hundred knights were already arriv'd at Malta, moſt of them attended with domeſticks, who were brave in their perſons, and who afterwards prov'd good ſoldiers. Such commanders as could not leave their provinces, by reaſon of their age or infirmities, not being able to go thither in perſon, generouſly ſent the beſt part of their effects to Malta; and ſome old priors were order'd by the grand maſter to ſtay in Italy, in the kingdom of Naples, and about the perſon of the viceroy of Sicily, in order to haſten the ſuccours he had promis'd, and to forward the imbarkation of ſome French, Spaniſh, and German knights, who were not yet ſet out from their reſpective provinces. The grand maſter receiv'd them all with that pleaſure which a good father feels upon ſeeing his children again, and had taken care to provide lodgings and ſubſiſtence for them beforehand. In all the vaſt variety, as well as importance, of the ſeveral affairs he had to manage, nothing was able to diſconcert him, he would himſelf be acquainted with every ſingle circumſtance, and enter'd into the minuteſt particularities; he diſcharg'd at the ſame time the offices of ſoldier, captain, officer of the artillery, overſeer of the ſick, and engineer; with the ſame hand that he trac'd out a new fortification, he acted the pioneer in throwing up the ground; he was ever in motion, and in ſeveral places as it were at the ſame time; now he was among the workmen, the next moment he was viſiting the magazines, and then immediately at the infirmary, buſying himſelf in relieving the ſick. Upon ſome freſh letters he receiv'd from different places, confirming the former accounts that had been ſent him, relating to the deſign the Turks had upon Malta, he aſſembled the knights who were then in the convent, in order to acquaint them with their contents; nor did he on this occaſion, either leſſen the greatneſs of the danger, to which they were expos'd, or the uncertainty of the ſuccour, with which they had been flatter'd. "A formidable army, (ſays he to them, with an heroic boldneſs,) "and an infinite multitude of Barbarians are coming to thunder down up-"on us; they are, my brethren, enemies to Jeſus Chriſt; 'tis our buſi-"neſs to ſtand up manfully in defence of the faith, and if the goſpel muſt "ſubmit to the alcoran, God on this occaſion demands back of us a life, "which we have already devoted to him by our profeſſion; thrice happy "they, who ſhall firſt fall a ſacrifice to ſo good a cauſe. But in order to "make ourſelves worthy of that honour, let us go, my brethren, to the "altar, there to renew our vows, and partake of the bleſſed ſacraments, "and let the blood of the ſaviour of mankind inſpire us with ſuch a no-"ble contempt of death, as can alone make us invincible."

HE ſet forwards at the ſame time towards the church, attended by all his knights, where the holy ſacrament was at that time expos'd. Not a knight among them all, but was zealous to follow the grand maſter's example; they employ'd that, and the following days, in going to confeſſion, and in partaking of the bleſſed euchariſt; and they all roſe from the lord's table like new men. By their partaking of that ſtrengthening food, all their weakneſſes were repair'd, all diviſions, all private reſentments, were now laid aſide; and, what was ſtill more difficult, they broke off all their tender engagements, ſo dear to the heart of man. From that day they left off all correſpondence with perſons of a different ſex, how innocent ſoever it might be; they were dead to all views of intereſt or ambition;

JOHN DE LA VALETTE.

tion; the certain danger to which they were expos'd, and the conſideration of death, which was in a manner unavoidable, had revived in them a contempt of life, and all the other virtues of their predeceſſors; they all embraced each other with that tenderneſs, which charity inſpires, and proteſted that they would loſe the laſt drop of their blood in the defence of their religion and altars.

THE grand maſter was overjoy'd to find them in this excellent diſpoſition, and in order not to be prevented, and ſurprized by the enemy, he reſolv'd to aſſign every language the poſts which they were to defend: For the better underſtanding of this diſtribution of the ſeveral employments, and of the actions which happen'd in ſeveral parts of the iſland, it may not perhaps be improper, notwithſtanding our having already given ſome account of the ſituation of Malta, in the foregoing book, to give a more particular one in this place.

MALTA is an iſland ſituated between Sicily and Africa in the 39th degree of longitude, and the 35th of latitude. 'Tis the moſt ſouthern iſle in Europe, lying about ſixty miles from cape Paſſaro, and two hundred and ſeventy from Tripoli in Africa. Its circumference is ſixty miles, its length twenty, and its breadth about twelve. 'Tis waſh'd on the Eaſt by the ſea, which lies towards the iſland of Candia; it has the little iſles or rocks of Pantalorea, Linoſa, and Lampaduſa on the Weſt; Sicily on the North; and the kingdom of Tunis on the South. On the South coaſt towards Tripoli nothing is to be ſeen but great rocks, without either roads or ports; but we meet Eaſtward with the road of Marza-Scala, when turning back on the right towards the South-Weſt, we find another road or creek called Marza-Sirocco, capable of holding ſeveral veſſels. In going ſtill forward towards the South-Weſt, we meet with two large bays, the one called Antifega, and the other Muſiarro; and at the extremity of the iſland on that ſide Weſtward, there is a creek very proper for ſhips to ride in, called Meleca, which is divided from the iſle of Goza, by a channel about four miles over. In the midſt of this channel lie the little iſles of Cominо and Cominote. If we coaſt along the iſland, when we come to that part of it, which lies over againſt Sicily, we meet with the road of St. Paul, ſo called, becauſe the ſhip, in which that apoſtle was carried priſoner to Rome, was driven thither by a ſtorm. The road of St. George, which looks towards the North, is not far from that of St. Paul. In fine, as we go on towards that part of the iſland, which lies directly oppoſite to cape Paſſaro, we meet with two large ports, one of which lying on the left, is called Marza Muzet, or port Muſet, in the middle whereof lies a ſmall iſland, near which, all ſhips coming from the Levant, or ſuſpected places, are oblig'd to perform quarantain; the other is called barely Marza, or the great port, and lies towards the Eaſt.

THESE two ports are ſeparated by a narrow ſlip of land, upon which the prior of Capua, as was before obſerv'd, built the fort of St. Elmo, to defend the entrance of them both. In the great port there are two narrow ſlips of land, parallel to each other, which run out into the ſea in the form of two fingers, and are of a much greater length than breadth. The caſtle of St. Angelo was built on the extremity of that which lies neareſt the mouth of the harbour, and was the only fort that was on the iſland, at the time when the knights took poſſeſſion of it: The grand maſter de l'Iſle Adam had fortified it with new ramparts, baſtions, and ditches; it had likewiſe been ſupplied with ciſterns, an arſenal, and magazines. This caſtle had ever ſince that time been the reſidence of the grand maſters; but in this juncture, la Valette took up his lodging in the town, the better to have an oppor-

opportunity of ſending ſuccours to all places, where there might be occaſion. What they call Il Borgo, was a little town lying behind the caſtle of St. Angelo, wherein the whole body of the convent had ſettled itſelf.

WE have already obſerv'd, that upon the point of the other narrow ſlip of land or rock, which runs out into the great port, and which lies upon the left hand, they had built a fort with a town; and that it was called the iſle of La Sangle, after the name of the grand maſter who fortified it; tho' it was in reality no more than a peninſula. Between this town and the caſtle of St. Angelo, lay the port for the gallies, which was ſhut up every night with a great iron chain, that reach'd from the plat-form at the foot of the caſtle of St. Angelo, to the point of the iſle de la Sangle, where it was faſten'd with a large anchor, and was ſupported and carried croſs the water by empty casks and beams of timber laid croſs-wiſe at certain diſtances. In fine, behind this port de la Sangle, there was another, for ſuch foreign ſhips as reſorted to the iſland, either for the ſake of commerce, or that were forc'd to put in for fear of the corſairs. I ſhall wave ſaying any thing in this place about the *notable city*, the capital of the iſland, which I have already mention'd in the foregoing book; and ſhall only obſerve, that it lies about ſix or ſeven miles from the two great ports above-mention'd, which in all probability was the reaſon of its not being firſt attack'd, as the other places and forts of the iſland were.

SUCH was its ſituation, which we have deſcribed, only in order to enable the reader to form the better judgment of what paſs'd during the courſe of the ſiege. The grand maſter, before the enemy appeared, was deſirous of knowing exactly what troops he had to oppoſe the infidels, in order to diſtribute them afterwards into the places and forts that ſhould be attack'd. Accordingly, he made a general review, and found that they conſiſted of about 700 knights, beſides ſerving brothers, and 8500 men, who were either ſoldiers of the gallies, and foreign troops in the ſervice of the order, or elſe townſmen and peaſants, who had been form'd into companies. All the languages undertook to defend the ſeveral poſts that ſhould be aſſign'd them, and the ſoldiers and militia were divided among them. The three languages of France had the guard of the town, the moſt important place of the iſland; and as it was of a large extent, they were join'd by part of the language of Caſtile.

THE admiral de Monte, with all the knights of the language of Italy, undertook to defend the iſle de la Sangle. The language of Arragon, which comprehended the knights of that kingdom, and thoſe of the provinces of Catalonia and Navarre, took up all the quarter of the gate of Bormola, with the platform of earth adjoining to it. The language of England, part of that of Caſtile, with the Portugueze and German knights, were poſted upon the mole towards the town, and extended themſelves as far as the ditch of the caſtle of St. Angelo. The commander Garzeranros, a Catalonian, was put with fifty knights and five hundred excellent ſoldiers in the caſtle; and the chevalier Meſquita, a Portugueze, in the *notable city*, which being a poſt of great conſequence, they gave him, over and above the ordinary garriſon, five companies of the country militia, under the command of the commander Vagnon. The commander Romegas, ſo famous for his captures, and ſo terrible in the Mediterranean, undertook, with the ſoldiers of his gallies, to defend the entrance of the great port; and the commander Guiral, a Caſtilian, and excellently well skill'd in the management of the artillery, rais'd a battery of nine cannon, to play upon the enemy, in caſe they ſhould attempt to break the chain that barr'd up the port, where the gallies lay. The fort of St. Elmo, had

JOHN DE LA VALETTE.

generally no more than ſixty ſoldiers garriſon'd in it, under the command of the chevalier Broglio, an old Piedmonteſe officer; but before the enemy appear'd, the commander Deguarras, bailiff of Negrepont, was thrown into it with ſixty knights: and the grand maſter knowing the importance of that poſt, put likewiſe into it a company of Spaniſh foot, commanded by the chevalier John de la Cerda. The cruelties and havock the Turks had made in the iſle of Goza, before their going upon the expedition of Tripoli, made ſeveral knights of the council propoſe the demoliſhing of the caſtle, in order to prevent its falling a ſecond time into the hands of the infidels. But la Valette oppos'd it, and was of opinion, that they ought rather to augment the garriſon; maintaining, that it were to be wiſh'd the enemy would firſt fall upon thoſe ſeparate forts, before they attack'd the town and caſtle of St. Angelo, where the convent and the ſtrength of the order reſided; and that they would have juſt ſo much time, as they ſhould employ in it, to wait for the coming of the ſuccours which they were promis'd; and that in caſe the remote poſts could but hold out till the end of September, the Turks would hardly be able to keep the ſea during that tempeſtuous ſeaſon. He added, the better to enforce his opinion, that as the caſtle of Goza, the *notable city*, and the caſtle of St. Angelo were all ſeated upon hills, which were pretty near of the ſame height, and which lay not far from one another, it would not be difficult, in caſe the Turkiſh fleet ſhould keep the mouth of the two ports block'd up, as undoubtedly they would, to make ſignals from theſe caſtles, and to advertiſe the order of all that paſs'd at ſea, eſpecially when the ſuccours ſhould be coming up. He concluded, by declaring, that they ſhould immediately ſend a governor to Goza; that they ſhould make choice of a man of reſolute courage for that purpoſe, who ſhould be capable of reſiſting the enemy as long as poſſible, and who, rather than ſubmit to a capitulation, ſhould ſacrifice his life for the preſervation of his order. All the council readily aſſented to the grand maſter's opinion, and however dangerous that poſt might be, there was ſuch a noble emulation among the knights, that there was not an old officer, but made great intereſt to procure it for himſelf, or at leaſt to ſerve under the perſon who ſhould be nominated to it. The grand maſter and council at laſt pitch'd upon the chevalier Torreglias, a Majorcan, whoſe valour and intrepidity, which had been try'd on many occaſions, had juſtly qualify'd him for that employment.

BESIDES theſe various diſpoſitions, the commander Copier, of the language of Auvergne, and grand marſhal of the order, an old officer, was appointed to obſerve the fleet of the enemy, and to oppoſe their deſcents as far as lay in his power; to regulate his motions by theirs; and when they ſhould land, to fall upon ſuch as ſhould ſtraggle from the main body of their army. He, in order to put theſe deſigns in execution, took with him a good number of knights, together with two hundred iſlanders on horſeback, and a body of ſix hundred foot; with theſe he coaſted along the ſea-ſhore in all thoſe places, where a deſcent ſeem'd moſt practicable.

SUCH wiſe precautions were very neceſſary, againſt ſo formidable a power as that of the Turks; but the main ſecurity of the iſland lay in the grand maſter's preſence, who always appearing with an air of tranquillity, and the ſame intrepid look, inſpired an heroic confidence into the knights and ſoldiers. He was continually viſiting the ſeveral poſts, fortifying thoſe places which he thought weakeſt, telling each commander the motions he was to make, in caſe of an attack, and the places to which he ſhould ſucceſſively retire, in caſe of his being forced out of his poſt; and wherever he came, he left an impreſſion of his courage, that rendred his knights and ſoldiers invincible.

JOHN DE LA VALETTE. May 18. 1565.

AT length the Turkiſh fleet appeared off of Malta on the 18th of May. It conſiſted of 159 veſſels with oars, as well gallies as galiots, having 30000 land-forces on board, compos'd of janizaries, ſpahi's, and the braveſt ſoldiers of the Ottoman empire. The fleet was follow'd by a conſiderable number of ſhips of burden, laden with the heavy artillery, the horſes of the ſpahi's, and the ammunition and proviſions for the forces. The chief pilot ſail'd half a mile before the reſt of the fleet, in order to view the coaſt, and to find a ſafe place for it to put in at, and made an attempt to bring it into a creek or road called *Marza Sirocco*, which lies on the eaſtern ſide of the iſland. But a Greek and Levant wind blowing at that time, he did not think proper to put in there; but firing two cannon-ſhot to give notice that they were not to ſtop there, he kept on his way, paſs'd with all the fleet between the iſland of Malta and the rock of Forfola, and about ſun-ſet the Turks came to an anchor at the entrance of the creek or bay of Mugiarro. The marſhal Copier, at the head of 200 knights and a thouſand arquebuſiers, advanc'd with as much diligence as poſſible, to oppoſe their deſcent; but the Turkiſh admiral detaching five and thirty gallies of his rear-guard with 3000 men on board, in the night time, they landed without any oppoſition in the road of *St. Thomas*, call'd by others the *Port de l'Echelle:* on which occaſion it may not be improper to obſerve, that though moſt hiſtorians dignify the creeks and bays which are in this iſland with the title of ports, yet they are generally, if we except the great port, and port Muſſet, no more but ſo many roads, which are at moſt ſhelter'd only from the land-winds.

WHILST the Turks were in the bay of Mugiarro, the chevalier de la Riviere planted himſelf with twelve knights in ambuſh behind ſome old rubbiſh, in hopes of ſurprizing ſome enemy who might be tempted to come aſhore. But a Portugueſe knight, who had been ſent on the ſame ſide to get intelligence, diſcovering la Riviere, and advancing towards him, receiv'd a musket-ball from a party of Turks who lay conceal'd in the neighbouring rocks, and died upon the ſpot. La Riviere imagining he was only wounded, ran immediately to aſſiſt him; but the Turks firing another volley, diſpers'd his little convoy, and killing his horſe, came upon him and took him priſoner. They carried him immediately to the general, who examin'd him about the diſpoſition of the grand maſter and of the knights, and the number and condition of their forces. La Riviere anſwer'd, that the knights were all to a man reſolv'd to loſe the laſt drop of their blood in the defence of an iſland, which they conſider'd as their country; that all the forts were mann'd with ſtrong garriſons, and well provided with ammunition and proviſions; and that they expected from all the Chriſtian princes of Europe, a ſtrong fleet, either to give him battle or force him to retreat. The Turkiſh general looking upon this diſcourſe as a kind of bravado in his priſoner, commanded him to be put to the rack, in order to extort from him a more particular account of the ſtate of the iſland. The knight bore the torture for a long time with an heroic conſtancy; but, at laſt, as if he had been overcome by the rigour of the torments he ſuffer'd, he, affecting an ingenuous air, own'd to Muſtapha, that if Malta was to be taken, it could be only at the poſt of Caſtille, which he ſaid was the worſt fortified in the whole town, and indeed in the whole iſland.

THE baſha relying on the ſincerity of a confeſſion drawn from him, as as he imagin'd, by the violence of the torture, reſolv'd to begin the ſiege of the town in that quarter: but as he had a mind to reconnoitre the place himſelf before his engaging in the attempt, he ſent the chevalier de la Riviere loaded with irons on board a galley deſign'd for the priſoners. The wind

JOHN DE LA VALETTE.

wind changing, all the fleet weigh'd anchor the night following, and with their lanthorns lighted ſtood for the bay of Marza Sirocco, where the army landed early in the morning in good order. The firſt thing the general did, was to order the building of two redouts on each ſide at the entrance of this large bay; after which, he put a good number of ſoldiers in them, and provided them with artillery for the ſecurity of his ſhips, as well as to keep the Chriſtian fleet at a diſtance. The Turkiſh army advanc'd afterwards higher up into the country, and encamp'd near a village called St. Catherine. Muſtapha, in order to take a view of the ſituation of the town, the caſtle of St Angelo, and other forts, took ſome engineers with him, and went up an hill called *Mont Calcara*, from whence he had a proſpect of almoſt the whole iſland. He oblig'd the chevalier de la Riviere his priſoner to follow him, whom he commanded to point out to him the forts St. Elmo and la Sangle, the caſtle of St. Angelo and the town, and to give him likewiſe an exact account of the fortifications in every place, and the number of troops that were poſted in them. The chevalier did not fail to make them twice as many as they were; but the baſha at length asking him which was the poſt of Caſtille, which he had repreſented as the weakeſt in the whole iſland, he had no ſooner ſhewn it him, but Muſtapha ſeeing it fortified with a large bulwark, a ravelin and caſemates at the bottom and in the ditch, was preſently convinc'd that la Riviere had impos'd upon him, and had only pointed out that place to him in order to make him miſcarry in his enterprize: this put him into ſuch a rage, that he gave him a blow with his cane, after which the ſoldiers of his guard knock'd him on the head.

WHILST this cruel ſcene was acting upon Mont Calcara, the Turkiſh army ſpreading it ſelf over the country, ſet fire to the villages, murder'd the peaſants, and carried off the cattle which they had neglected to ſecure in time within the fortified places. The marſhal Copier was all this while obſerving the enemy narrowly, and whenever any of them happen'd to ſtraggle from the main body for the ſake of plunder, he fell upon them, and either cut them to pieces or took them priſoners; ſo that he, on two or three occaſions and in different skirmiſhes, kill'd above 1500 of their men, without loſing above fourſcore of his own, among whom the chevalier d'Elbene, of an illuſtrious family in Florence, who was killed with a musket-ball, after having ſignaliz'd himſelf in theſe private rencounters, was particularly regretted.

THE grand maſter permitted at firſt his ſoldiers to engage in theſe skirmiſhes with the Turks, in order to enter them as it were, and to accuſtom them to their looks and ſhouts: but as the reſult of theſe rencounters decided nothing, and that the leaſt loſs on his ſide would have been more prejudicial to him afterwards, than the killing of a much greater number of Turks could be of advantage, he recall'd all his troops, and ſent them back to their reſpective poſts, judiciouſly reſerving them for the defence of ſuch forts as ſhould be attack'd.

THE next day the Turks held a great council of war, in order to conſider of the place where they ſhould begin their attack. Admiral Piali, purſuant to the grand ſeignior's orders, was for attempting nothing till the arrival of Dragut, who was daily expected; but the baſha, who was uneaſy at what the chevalier de la Riviere had told him concerning the ſuccours that were preparing, maintain'd, that they, before they thought of conquering, ought without loſing a moment of time, to take their meaſures ſo well, as to prevent their being ſurpriz'd or vanquiſh'd themſelves; that in caſe the Chriſtian army ſhould come ſuddenly upon them, the grand

ſeignior's

ſeignior's fleet would be block'd up in the creek in which it lay, and that ſuppoſing they ſhould have nothing of that nature to fear, it yet was not ſecured from eaſterly winds; and therefore his opinion was, that they, without any further delay, ſhould immediately lay ſiege to the fort of St. Elmo; which, according to his calculation, could not hold out above five or ſix days: urging further, that they, by the taking of it, would become maſters of the port of Marza-Muzet, which was large enough to hold all their fleet; when this being once ſecured, they ſhould go on with more confidence to attack the other forts and places of the iſland. This advice was carried by a plurality of votes, and accordingly the ſiege of fort St. Elmo was reſolv'd upon.

THIS fort, as we have already obſerv'd, was ſeated on the point of a rock, at the extremity of a narrow piece of land, which divides the two ports; it had been built by the prior of Capua, but he had made it too ſmall; and whether it were that the order was not at that time able to defray the expences neceſſary for making it larger and more regular, or that the prior, at his placing it on the point of a rock, had conſider'd it only with reſpect to the ſea, and the uſe that might be made of its batteries for defending the entrance of the harbour; the event ſhew'd, that he had not enough reflected upon providing for its ſecurity on the land-ſide, he having built it in a place, where the ground was ſo very ſtrait and narrow, that there was no making any out-works, or adding the neceſſary fortifications to it. However, as the iſland is one continual rock, and only cover'd over in ſome places with a ſtony ſoil, two or three foot in depth, the Turkiſh engineers foreſaw, that the opening and carrying on of their trenches, would be a tedious and difficult work; and the rather, becauſe the fort was well ſupply'd with artillery, and likewiſe that it would be impoſſible for them to hinder the grand maſter from ſending ſuccours to it in light barks, by the way of port Muzet, and his relieving and changing the garriſon from time to time. What made their anxiety ſtill greater, was, that the viceroy of Sicily gave out, tho' with much more oſtentation than real effect, that he would appear very ſoon before Malta, with the fleet of the king his maſter, in order to fight that of the ſultan, and give battle to his forces.

BUT the Turkiſh general, who was an excellent officer, not any way diſcouraged by all theſe difficulties, reſolv'd to purſue his deſign. For this purpoſe, he firſt went to take a view of the place himſelf, after which, he brought on his troops, inveſted it on the land ſide, and mark'd out the ſpot for his camp, and the ſeveral places where he would have his batteries erected. Hereupon his troops ſet to work about opening the trenches, and making their approaches: The baſha was laviſh of the lives of his pioneers, and notwithſtanding the continual fire of the place, and the hardneſs of the rock, upon which the fort was built, they at laſt cover'd themſelves in ſome places, and in others, where they could not cut the rock, he made them raiſe parapets, which ſerv'd inſtead of trenches, they being made with thick planks and beams, ſtuff'd behind with earth, which they fetch'd at a great diſtance, and afterwards moiſten'd; and to cement it together, they mix'd it with ruſh and ſtraw, and by that means form'd a kind of wall, which cover'd the ſoldiers.

THE Turks likewiſe, by help of the oxen they had taken in the iſland, carried their cannon as far as Mont St. Elmo; and after raiſing their platforms, gabions and ſheds, the baſha on the 24th of May began to fire from a battery of ten cannon, which carried a ball of fourſcore pound weight. Beſides theſe cannon, he had two culverins, that were ſixty pounders, and

JOHN DE LA VALETTE.

a baſilic, or great cannon, of a prodigious ſize, which 'tis pretended fired ſtone-bullets of 160 pound weight. This artillery made a dreadful fire, and though it was anſwer'd by that of the place, nevertheleſs, as the fort was ſmall and narrow, there was ſcarce a ſhot but beat down ſome part of its works and defences. The infidels ſtill increas'd their batteries; ſo that the bailiff of Negrepont, who commanded in it, ſaw plain enough, that it would be ſoon ruin'd by ſuch a continual fire; and that as the fortifications would be beat down, it would be impoſſible for him to preſerve the fort, but by the number and courage of the garriſon.

WITH this notion, he ſent the chevalier la Cerda to deſire a reinforcement from the grand maſter; and in order to obtain it, that knight, whoſe fear made him eloquent, greatly exaggerated the danger the place was in. The grand maſter ſeem'd ſurprized at it, and what heighten'd his indignation againſt him, was, his being ſo imprudent, as to tell him in the preſence of a great number of knights, that he muſt not expect that a place, which was ſo weak, could poſſibly be tenable above a week longer. "Pray what loſs have you ſuſtain'd, (replies the grand maſter) that you "cry out in this manner for ſuccours? Sir, (anſwer'd la Cerda) the "caſtle is to be conſider'd as a ſick perſon reduced exceeding low, who "cannot poſſibly be ſupported, but by continual remedies and cordials. "I myſelf (ſays the grand maſter, with a ſecret indignation) will be "the phyſician, and will take others with me, who, if they cannot "prevail ſo far as to cure you of your fear, their bravery at leaſt ſhall pre-"vent the infidels from making themſelves maſters of the caſtle."

LA VALETTE indeed did not flatter himſelf ſo far, as to imagine it would be poſſible to hold out ſo weak a place, for any conſiderable time, againſt the continual attacks of the Turks; he was in reality concern'd from the bottom of his heart, at the dangers to which the knights in that poſt were expos'd: but as the ſafety of the whole iſland depended on the length of the ſiege, and that a brave defence was neceſſary, in order to allow the viceroy of Sicily time to advance to his ſuccour, he reſolv'd to throw himſelf into the fort, and there bury himſelf, rather than ſee it loſt by a weak defence, and an over-haſty capitulation, which would enable the infidels to attack the town, and the caſtle of St. Angelo, the laſt reſſource the knights and the order would have left. La Valette was preparing to lead this ſuccour into the fort, but the council, and all the convent in general oppos'd it; when immediately ſo great a number of knights offer'd themſelves, and preſs'd to be ſent on this commiſſion, that the only trouble was, who to make choice of for that purpoſe. The officers, whom the grand maſter pitch'd upon to lead this reinforcement, were the chevaliers Gonçales de Medran, and la Motte, who enter'd the fort at the head of the companies of foot under their command. Several knights got leave to go along with them, and hiſtorians have tranſmitted to us, the name of one John de Sola, a Navarreſe, a ſerving brother, and a brave ſoldier, who carried ſeveral others along with him, whom he inſpired with the ſame intrepidity and reſolution as himſelf; they all, like him, bravely loſing their lives in one attack or other. Their places were afterwards ſupply'd by ſeveral knights of different nations; viz. Engliſh, French, Flemmings, and Germans, who, by reaſon of the diſtance of their reſpective provinces, did not arrive in Sicily, till after the Turks were landed at Malta, and that the caſtle of St. Elmo was beſieg'd. The greateſt part of them were ſo impatient to ſhare with their brethren, in the perils of the ſiege, that they would not ſtay for a convoy; but got into light barks, and filed off one after another, as opportunities offer'd. Upon their landing

at

at the town, they desired the grand master to give them leave to throw themselves into the fort that was attack'd; when being gratified in their request, they immediately got into boats, that had neither masts nor sails, for fear of being discover'd, cross'd port Muzet, and got into the fort besieg'd. The grand master, to favour their passage, was continually canonading the camp of the enemy, from the castle of St. Angelo, which stood upon an eminence. A cannon-ball fired from thence, falling into the trenches, struck upon a large stone, and shatter'd it to pieces; one of the shivers chanc'd to hit admiral Piali, as he was visiting the works, and wounded him dangerously. His soldiers thought he was kill'd, and the grand master observing the army and fleet were prodigiously alarm'd at this accident, he, in order to draw some advantage from the confusion they were in, thought it a proper opportunity for the sending out a vessel to press the coming up of the Sicilian succours, and prevent the loss of the fort: Accordingly, he dispatch'd the chevalier de la Valette Cornusson, his nephew, and the commander Salvago, a Genoese, to the viceroy in the night, to beg him to lose no time in advancing with the reinforcements which the king his master had promis'd; and to send him at the same time two gallies of the order, which were return'd from cruising, and were at Messina, and likewise all the knights that had rendezvous'd there, who, by the help of the Spanish fleet, might find an opportunity of getting into the harbour. The commander de la Valette deliver'd him at the same time, a particular memorial, with respect to the course which it would be proper for the Christian fleet to hold; with a copy of the signals to be made on both sides, either at Goza, or in the adjoining roads that were proper for landing. The viceroy immediately sent him an express, to assure him of a speedy reinforcement, and that he would ship it off by the 15th of June at fartheſt, desiring him in the mean time to be always supplying the fort of St. Elmo with fresh troops, in order to prevent the Turks from getting possession of it. The grand master, to encourage the garrison, acquainted them with the news he had receiv'd from the viceroy. The chevalier de Medran, who led the last reinforcement, that had been sent thither, made a sally to retard the approaches of the Turks; fell into their trenches, surprized them, and by the help of the artillery of the castle, which was continually firing upon them, he at first cut to pieces all that stood in his way. But the Turks recovering from their surprize, rallied in great numbers, charg'd again, and after an obstinate engagement recover'd their trenches, and forc'd the Christians to retire into the fort. Unhappily for the Christians, the wind blew very strong, and drove back the smoke of the artillery, which gather'd like a thick cloud over the counterscarp. The Turks, assisted by this obscurity, seiz'd upon it unperceiv'd, where they made a lodgment with trees, beams, wool-sacks, and gabions, which they had in readiness, and at the same time rais'd a battery upon it.

As soon as the smoke was blown off, the soldiers in the fort were strangely surprized to see Turkish colours planted upon the counterscarp, and the infidels beginning to play from thence upon the ravelin, which, not being of a due height, was expos'd to all the fire of their small arms, so that not a man of the besieg'd could shew his head, but he was immediately kill'd by the janizaries, who were excellent marks-men; for which reason, captain de la Cerda propos'd the undermining and blowing of it up, for fear, as he said, lest the infidels should make a lodgment in that advanc'd work. But they rejected this advice, which did not much redound to his honour, as they suspected it was given by a man, who was uneasy at the sight of danger, and who did not value what became of the siege, provided he could but see it at an end.

WHILST

JOHN DE LA VALETTE.

WHILST the Chriſtians and infidels were thus continually engag'd, Uluchialy a renegado, a famous corſair, join'd the Turkiſh fleet with ſix gallies, which he had brought from Alexandria, having 900 land-forces on board; and a few days after, Dragut viceroy of Tripoli came up with 1600 more, on board thirteen gallies and two galiots. We have already obſerv'd, that the grand ſeignior had ſo high an eſteem for his valour and capacity, that he had given expreſs orders to his generals, both by ſea and land, not to undertake any thing without his advice. His perſonal merit, and particularly the credit he had at the port, was the occaſion of their receiving him with a ſalvo of all the artillery, and the higheſt marks of deference and diſtinction; and as ſoon as he was landed, he went to viſit the camp, and the principal places of the iſland.

WHATEVER meaſures he might keep with the generals with reſpect to civility, he yet could not help diſcovering that he diſapprov'd their having begun the enterprize with the ſiege of fort St. Elmo: he pretended that they ought firſt to have attack'd the caſtle of Goza, and afterwards the notable city, which ſupplied the town and the caſtle of St. Angelo with proviſions; alledging, that they, by the taking of thoſe places, would not only have cut off the breaſts that fed the reſt of the iſland, but, which was of much greater conſequence, would have ſtopp'd up all the avenues by which the Chriſtians pretended to throw ſuccours into the iſland.

THE baſha, though inveſted with the poſt of general, was nevertheleſs afraid of the corſair's credit; and therefore repreſented to him, that they, in order to ſecure the grand ſeignior's fleet from the violence of the winds, and from being ſurpriz'd by the Chriſtian forces, had been oblig'd to begin with attacking the fort, as the taking of it, would open them a paſſage into port Muzet; that however the ſiege was not ſo far advanc'd, but they might raiſe it, and tranſport the army to Goza, or inveſt the city, if he thought proper. "That would not be an improper ſtep, replied Dragut, "if things had not been carry'd to too great lengths; but after the opening "of the trenches, and attacking the fort for ſeveral days, there will be no "raiſing the ſiege without expoſing his highneſs's glory, and perhaps diſ-"heartning the ſoldiers." His opinion therefore was, that they ſhould employ all the forces of the army in order to go through the enterprize with honour; and as a proof that the liberty he had taken of ſpeaking his ſentiments, did not ariſe from any mean envy and a ſpirit of malignity, the common vice of courtiers, he, from the moment it was reſolv'd that they ſhould continue the ſiege, employ'd himſelf in it with as much courage and aſſiduity as if he had been anſwerable for its ſucceſs. No general officer ſcarce ever ſhew'd greater intrepidity: he ſpent whole days together in the trenches and on the batteries. He was maſter of a great many talents, but was particularly skill'd in the direction and management of the artillery, in which no one excell'd him; this had been his firſt profeſſion, as has been already obſerv'd in the foregoing book: by his orders, they on the firſt of June rais'd a ſecond battery parallel to the firſt, but which was nearer the fort; and in order to keep up a continual fire, they play'd ſucceſſively one after another upon a cavalier that cover'd the fort. He likewiſe planted four cannon towards port Muzet, to batter it on that ſide, and two others on the counterſcarp, which ſhot downwards into the ditch, and play'd upon the caſemate; and moreover, ſent four culverins from his gallies to the point at the entrance of port Muzet, which ever ſince that time has been call'd *Cape Dragut*, or Dragut's point, where he planted them in order to batter the flank of the ravelin and the cavalier, and all the weſtern-ſide of the fort.

THE

THE Turkiſh musketeers firing continually upon the ravelin, their engineers ſallied out of the trenches under the cover of the fire, and advanc'd openly with great reſolution to the foot of the ravelin, in order to view the effect of their batteries, without meeting with the leaſt oppoſition. Whether it were that the centinel was kill'd or aſleep on his poſt, or whether it was the fault of the officers in not going the rounds themſelves, but leaving it to the common ſoldiers; no one appear'd, or offer'd to diſturb them, ſo that theſe engineers view'd the ravelin at their leiſure, and obſerv'd that there was no going from the cavalier to that outwork, but by a kind of bridge made of a few planks. They likewiſe diſcover'd a port-hole for cannon made ſo very low, that one of the engineers getting upon another's ſhoulders, look'd through it, and ſaw the Chriſtian ſoldiers lying careleſſly extended on the ground and faſt aſleep. Theſe made their report, and a body of the Turks ſoon advanc'd, who clapping their ladders to the ravelin, got into it by the port-hole, and cut moſt of the Chriſtians to pieces: thoſe who awoke firſt, ſeeing ſuch a number of enemies about them, took to their heels; and ſeveral, to avoid falling by the Turkiſh ſabres, threw themſelves headlong from the bridge into the ditch. The Turks purſued their advantage, and leaped upon the bridge, in order to get into the cavalier, but were ſtopp'd by the ſerjeant-major Guerara, who, upon hearing the noiſe, had ran thither with ſome ſoldiers. He was ſoon ſuſtain'd by the chevaliers de Vercoyran and de Medran, who came up with their companies, as did the bailif of Negrepont at the head of ſeveral knights. They now fought on a more equal foot, and the Turks were preſently repuls'd; and as the ravelin had no defence on the ſide next the cavalier and the fort, the Chriſtians levell'd two cannon to play upon it, which, as it made ſome havock among the infidels, gave the Chriſtians room to hope that they ſhould recover it. But Muſtapha order'd ſeveral detachments of foot to advance, who, not valuing the fire, threw themſelves into the ravelin, and the pioneers coming up with wool-ſacks, gabions, faſcines, and planks, they made a lodgment, and all the efforts of the Chriſtians could not drive them out.

THE Turks did not ſtop here, but ſeeing the bailiff and the knights retire into the cavalier by a way that led up to it from the bottom of the ditch, they with a boldneſs which the hopes of victory inſpir'd them with, threw themſelves into it ſword in hand, and purſued them with an eagerneſs which nothing could ſtop but the artillery of the fort, and a ſhower of fire-works, ſtones, musket and cannon-ſhot, which made ſuch ſlaughter among them, that they were forc'd to give over the purſuit, and retire out of the ditch. 'Tis ſaid, however, that they after rallying again and receiving a freſh reinforcement, return'd into it a ſecond time by a breach which was in the counterſcarp; when clapping their ladders to the fort, they mounted in ſhoals, and with ſuch intrepidity and reſolution, that it would have been hard to judge of the ſucceſs of this laſt attack, had not their ladders by good luck prov'd too ſhort. In fine, they were at laſt forc'd to abandon them, but not without loſing abundance of men; this engagement, which laſted from day-break till noon, coſt them, as we are told, near 3000 of the braveſt troops in their army. The order likewiſe, beſides the loſs of the ravelin, had twenty of its knights and near an hundred ſoldiers kill'd. The bailiff of Negrepont, the ſerjeant-major Guerara, the chevalier Adorne, and la Roche Perura, a young Caſtilian knight, were wounded. Hiſtorians relate, that the chevalier Abel de Bridiers of la Gardampe being ſhot in the body, with a musket-ball, and ſome of his brother knights offering to help him, and carry him to a place where he might have

JOHN DE LA VALETTE.

his wound dreſs'd, he, after having thank'd them for their offer, ſaid, "Don't trouble yourſelves about me, I am a dead man; your care will "be better employ'd in the defence of our ſurviving brethren." After which, he crawl'd to the chappel of the fort, and commending his ſoul to God, expired before the altar, where he was found dead. The wounded were by the grand maſter's leave carried in the night-time to the town, in order to their being look'd after; and an hundred men were ſent the ſame way to ſupply their places, under the command of the chevalier Vagnon. The artillery of the fort, and the batteries of the caſtle of St. Angelo and the iſle de la Sangle, were very ſerviceable in ſecuring their paſſage; and though the Turks had planted two cannon on the top of the grotto of Alicata, which play'd upon that part, where there was entrance into the fort, and that the janizaries, who were excellent arquebuſiers, and who uſed muskets of a large bore, that carried at a great diſtance, were continually firing upon the ſhore that lay neareſt to the fort; they, nevertheleſs, had not yet been able to cut off this communication, nor hinder the paſſage of the little reinforcements, which the grand maſter ſent thither.

'TWAS with great concern that he, upon the return of the wounded, receiv'd the particulars of the loſs of the ravelin, and the ſeveral circumſtances in this laſt engagement; nor was his indignation leſs, to ſee that la Cerda, under pretence of a ſlight wound, the marks of which were ſcarcely viſible, had put himſelf in the number of the wounded. This cowardice, the like of which had never been known before in the order, was a ſenſible affliction to la Valette; and though he pitied his weakneſs, he nevertheleſs had him arreſted, and ſent to priſon; a puniſhment ſtill too mild for a man, who, during the whole time of the ſiege, had us'd all the cunning and addreſs he was maſter of, only to get out of the way of danger.

THE bailiff of Negrepont, and the commander Broglio, had leave ſent them by the grand maſter to return to the convent; but they, tho' wounded, and very antient, refuſed it with great reſolution, and anſwer'd, that they only deſired leave to loſe their lives in their poſts, and die in the bed of honour. Theſe venerable knights, whoſe faces were burn'd and disfigur'd by the heat of the ſun, were always under arms, and never ſtirr'd from thoſe places, where there was moſt danger, and though they were almoſt worn out with old age, they nevertheleſs labour'd in carrying earth to thoſe places that ſtood in need of being fortified, and were continually lending a helping hand to the other knights, ſome of whom, by reaſon of the narrowneſs of the place, were continually wounded. Nothing was there ſeen but cripples, arms hanging in ſlings, and mangled limbs that had been ſhot off, and which lay ſcatter'd up and down, for want of their having had time to bury them; and nevertheleſs theſe men, the greateſt part of whom had but half of themſelves left, ſtill preſerv'd their courage entire, did ſervice about the artillery, crawl'd to the breaches, and appear'd with intrepidity in all places.

THE grand maſter ſent them from time to time all the reinforcements the place could contain; but as there was ſcarce a day, in which the continual fire of the enemy did not deſtroy a conſiderable number of the knights and ſoldiers, he ſent off a bark in the night-time for Sicily, with letters to the viceroy, by which he acquainted him with the extremity to which the fort was reduced, and expreſs'd his ſurprize, at his not having yet attempted to ſend back the two gallies of the order to Malta, with the knights who waited only for that opportunity, in order to repair to their

reſpective

reſpective poſts, as their duty requir'd; he likewiſe deſir'd him to ſend him an immediate reinforcement of a thouſand ſoldiers, in order to ſupply the loſs of thoſe who periſh'd daily in the fort. The viceroy's conduct, and the little eagerneſs he diſcover'd to get the king of Spain's ſquadrons together, made him apprehenſive, that he would never reſolve with himſelf to try the fate of a ſea-engagement, and therefore told him at the concluſion of his letter, that provided he would only land 8000 men in the iſland, he did not queſtion but he ſhould be able, with that reinforcement, and the troops he had left, to force the enemy to raiſe the ſiege, and reimbark on board their ſhips. The viceroy had no ſooner receiv'd it, but he immediately ſent back Salvago, who, by the grand maſter's orders, had continued near his perſon, to haſten the ſuccours, and another knight along with him, call'd Miranda, one of the moſt diſtinguiſh'd, as well as the moſt zealous of the whole order; charging them to aſſure the grand maſter, that he would not loſe a moment's time in getting together ſuch a fleet, as ſhould be ſufficient to bring him the ſuccours he expected: but that he had not as yet ſhips and gallies enough to hazard a battle with the Turkiſh fleet; that he wanted thoſe of the order, which he deſired him to ſend forthwith, the better to forward the imbarkation of the troops.

THE two knights went on board a light brigantine, and took the two Malteſe gallies, which the viceroy had detain'd in the port of Saragoſſa, by way of convoy, till they had doubled cape Paſſaro; when they ſent them back, becauſe they could not advance nearer the port without being diſcover'd: after which, they made a ſhift to get in the dark to port Muzet, and landed as near as they could to fort St. Elmo. They ſtay'd there all the next day, and after having viſited the ſeveral poſts of the place, and ſeen the ill condition it was in, they went on board again the night following, and landed at the town, to wait upon the grand maſter. He was prodigiouſly ſurprized to ſee them arrive without any reinforcement, and eſpecially without the two gallies of the order, and to find that the viceroy, not ſatisfied with detaining them, demanded likewiſe the five others, though the ſoldiers and crew belonging to them, were continually at work upon the fortifications of the town and the iſland de la Sangle. This conduct confirm'd him in his ſuſpicions, that the viceroy, notwithſtanding his promiſes and the boaſtings he had made of a mighty ſuccour, durſt not hazard a battle; and that he, by his affected delays, and his unſeaſonable demand of the gallies, was only looking out for a pretence, in order to excuſe himſelf from coming to attack the Turkiſh fleet. Upon this, he diſpatch'd Salvago back again, who, in his zeal for the order, deſpis'd the danger he ran of being taken by the infidels, and paſs'd backwards and forwards ſeveral times through their fleet, during the whole courſe of the ſiege. The grand maſter order'd him to repreſent to the viceroy, that it would be impoſſible for him to ſend him the gallies of the order, without putting at leaſt fifty ſoldiers on board of each, with a good number of officers, to keep the crew and ſlaves from making an inſurrection; that he was not in a condition to ſpare either ſoldiers or officers; and that he did not think he ſhould be able to maintain the iſland, and hold out againſt the continual attacks of the infidels, till the arrival of the great ſuccours which he had promis'd him, if he did not in the mean time ſend him a reinforcement of troops. La Valette, before his departure, deliver'd him a commiſſion for the prior Gatinara; by virtue of which, he and the council empower'd that old commander, who was one of the moſt conſiderable of the order, to borrow money in their name of the publick banks, to collect and receive

reſponſions,

JOHN DE LA VALETTE.

reſponſions; to buy up ammunition, and to ſend it without loſs of time to Malta, with the two gallies, and the knights who were come to Meſſina in their way thither, and who were waiting in that city with impatience for the departure of the great fleet.

SALVAGO ſet out alone for Sicily: la Miranda, prompted by his zeal, obtain'd leave of the grand maſter to throw himſelf into fort St. Elmo; he was receiv'd there with the regard due to his valour. La Miranda was an old knight, who had ſignaliz'd himſelf on ſeveral occaſions, and was as much reverenc'd for his piety as his courage. The knights in the fort inveſted him, by common conſent, with the poſt of major, and he diſcharg'd the duties of it with his ordinary valour and capacity: his experience, his preſence in all places where it was neceſſary, and above all his example, raiſed the courage of the ſoldiers: he taught them the way, when the cannon of the enemy fir'd upon them, to ſecure themſelves from their ſhot, and to anſwer at the ſame time with the fire of the place, without expoſing themſelves to theirs. He took care to get in a great ſtock of wine, of proviſions, and remedies for the ſick and wounded; he was a kind of father to the ſoldiers, and in a word, nothing eſcap'd his attention but the care and preſervation of his own perſon.

DRAGUT, to prevent the ſending of continual ſuccours to the fort, and cut off the communication between it and the town, propos'd, in a council of war, the erecting of a new battery upon the eaſtern point of the great port, upon the ſame ſpot where the gallows ſtood. But Muſtapha repreſented to him, that the place was too remote from the camp, and too near the town; that the knights would carry off the cannon, or at leaſt nail it; that it would be impoſſible to maintain this battery without forming a kind of camp on the ſpot, and having always a conſiderable body of troops there ready to oppoſe the ſallies and attacks of the knights; that his army was ſo much weaken'd by the loſſes and fatigues of the ſiege, that he could not poſſibly divide it before the putting of that project in execution; and that therefore it were proper to ſtay for the arrival of the viceroy of Algiers, who was daily expected with all the forces of his government, and who would be overjoy'd to head that enterprize. The council agreed to this advice, and the Turks in the mean time continu'd their batteries day and night on that ſide where port Muzet lay; and at the ſame time, by the help of faſcines, gabions, and wool-ſacks, raiſed the ravelin higher than the parapet of the place; ſo that they could ſee every thing that paſs'd within. The next thing they did, was to plant two cannon upon it; the continual fire of which, with that of their ſmall arms, hinder'd the ſoldiers from coming near the parapet, ſo that they were forced to run trenches up to it, and march through a ſubterraneous paſſage in order to get thither. The baſha, to ruin this defence, employ'd ſome maſts, ſail-yards, and large planks, to frame a bridge broad enough for ſix men to go a-breaſt; and for fear the Chriſtians ſhould throw fire-works upon it, in order to burn it down, they cover'd it with earth to a certain height. The Turks, by the help of this bridge, and the continual fire from the ravelin, pierced as far as the parapet, and fell to ſapping as well as undermining the wall. La Miranda, who ran to every place where there was moſt danger, perceiving their deſign, was not very uneaſy about the mine, which the infidels were endeavouring to run under a place, where, he was very ſenſible, they would meet with a rock that would be too hard for their tools to enter.

BUT as their ſap would inſenſibly ruin the parapet, he made them raiſe another behind it, which he fortified with a good ditch, and lin'd it with artillery;

artillery; and the night following, he made a ſally at the head of the braveſt ſoldiers of the garriſon. Whilſt one part of them amus'd the enemy with a falſe attack, by pretending to fall upon their trenches, the reſt crept under the bridge, ſet fire to it, and never ſtirr'd till they ſaw it all over in a flame. The Turks, however, with indefatigable labour repair'd it the next day, and in the evening got down into the ditch, and clapp'd their ladders to the foot of the wall, as if they intended to make an aſſault, when the knights immediately preſented themſelves upon the breach with their uſual intrepidity. The infidels thereupon retir'd on a ſudden, having made that motion only to oblige them to ſhew themſelves; and, at the ſame time, their artillery, which was charg'd with cartridge-ſhot, made ſuch a terrible fire, that there were more knights of the order loſt on this occaſion, than had been before in the warmeſt attacks.

THOSE who were left, ſeeing the ravelin taken, which laid all the fort open and commanded it; moſt of their cannon diſmounted, and their defences ruin'd; large breaches made, and few ſoldiers to defend them; ſent a deputation to the grand maſter, by which they repreſent to him, the deplorable condition of the place, and deſire him to ſend boats to carry them over to the town, and by that means prevent their being taken by ſtorm. The beſieged pitched upon the chevalier Medran for this diſagreeable commiſſion, as being a perſon whom the grand maſter greatly eſteem'd for his valour; ſo that his report could not be ſuſpected of weakneſs or cowardice. He told la Valette plainly, that the fort was no longer tenable, and that if they ſhould obſtinately reſolve to continue there but even a few days more, ſuch a defence would be of no uſe, and only ſerve to deſtroy the reſt of the garriſon; and that nothing could poſſibly be of greater advantage to the Turks, than the order's ſending from time to time new reinforcements into a place, which was ſo diſmantled, that it would inſenſibly conſume the troops neceſſary for the defence of the other fortreſſes of the iſland: He concluded with declaring, that he was nevertheleſs commiſſion'd to aſſure him of the blind and implicit obedience of the knights and garriſon, whatever reſolution he might think fit to take.

THE grand maſter acquainted the council with the occaſion of the chevalier de Medran's coming, and the condition of the fort and garriſon. Moſt of the great croſſes, who compos'd the council, were for abandoning a place, that ſwallow'd up, as it were, its defenders, and which by inſenſible degrees, under a pretence of being reinforc'd, would drain the other fortreſſes of their garriſons. Theſe motives were juſt and reaſonable; notwithſtanding which, the grand maſter was of a contrary opinion: he agreed indeed that the fort was not tenable, and even own'd that he could not help bewailing the fate of the knights, who, in ſo dangerous a poſt, were expos'd to be daily knock'd on the head; but he inſiſted that there are ſome circumſtances, in which it is neceſſary to hazard ſome of the limbs, in order to ſave the whole body; that he had receiv'd good information of the viceroy's having declared that in caſe the fort ſhould be either taken or abandon'd, he would not hazard the fleet and forces of his maſter, to ſave the reſt of the iſland; ſo that the whole ſafety of Malta depended entirely on the length of the ſiege, and that it was abſolutely neceſſary, let it coſt the order what it would, to ſpin it out as long as poſſible. The council came over to his opinion; when he, in concurrence with them, order'd Medran to repreſent in his name to the knights within the fort, that the preſervation or utter loſs of the iſland, and perhaps of the order it ſelf, depended on the time they ſhould hold out the place; that they ſhould call to mind the vows they had made at their profeſſion; and that they

JOHN DE LA VALETTE.

were oblig'd to ſacrifice their lives for the defence of the order; that he would not fail to ſend them reinforcements, which ſhould be as ſtrong as the ſmallneſs of the fort would admit of; and that he was reſolv'd, whenever it ſhould be neceſſary, to throw himſelf into the place, and there die with them.

WHEN Medran reported this anſwer, ſeveral knights, eſpecially the moſt antient among them, proteſted they would bury themſelves under the ruins of the fort, rather than abandon it; but the greateſt part of them, as well as ſome officers of the garriſon, thought the anſwer harſh and cruel, and complain'd that the council, and a ſet of men who had no ſhare in the danger, were for expoſing them to the ſlaughter, and to certain death, without the leaſt proſpect of advantage. Theſe murmurs roſe higher on occaſion of a mine, which the Turks were endeavouring to run under the firſt parapet; upon which, they drew up a letter to the grand maſter, by which they deſired leave to retire into the town; it was ſign'd by fifty-three knights: they further declared, that in caſe they did not ſend boats for them the next night, in order to carry them off from a place, where they were all going to be deſtroy'd, they were abſolutely bent to take a deſperate reſolution, to ſally out and be kill'd ſword in hand, rather than continue in the fort to no other purpoſe, than to be ſmother'd under its ruins, or, in caſe of its being taken by ſtorm, to have their throats cut like ſo many beaſts, and be expos'd to all the torments, which the ingenious cruelty of the Barbarians are ever ſure of inventing.

THE commander du Cornet was the bearer of this letter, the grand maſter read it with great trouble and indignation; but as he was inform'd with a courage that was ſuperiour even to the worſt events, he wrote them word back, that it was not enough for them to loſe their lives ſword in hand, in order to die with honour, which they ſeem'd ſo fond of, but that they muſt likewiſe loſe them in the practice of the obedience which they ow'd him, and in the occaſions which he ſhould preſcribe them; that in caſe they ſhould deſert the fort, and he ſhould ſend boats to fetch them off, they muſt never expect to be reliev'd by the viceroy; that the Turks would not fail to inveſt and beſiege the town the next moment, where they would inevitably meet with death, they ſo vainly hoped to eſcape, by ſcandalouſly deſerting a poſt, the defence of which had been committed to them by the order; and that after all, they had no reaſon to be under any apprehenſions from mines, as they were in a fort that was built on one continued rock. In fine, la Valette, in hopes of reviving their drooping courage, or rather in order to gain time, ſent three commiſſioners thither, with orders to bring him a juſt account of the condition of the place, and how many days it might hold out longer.

The commander de Medina, a Spaniard; the chevalier de la Roche, a Frenchman; the chevalier Caſtriot, an Italian.

THESE commiſſioners, upon their arrival, ſpoke in terms of the higheſt civility and mildneſs to all the knights who were aſſembled to receive them; they highly extoll'd the courage and reſolution which they had hitherto ſhewn, and exhorted them not to tarniſh the luſtre of their glory and reputation by an over-haſty retreat. Such of the knights as had ſign'd the letter to the grand maſter, before they would make any anſwer, deſir'd them to viſit all the poſts of the place. They ſhew'd them, that it was entirely commanded by the exhauſſement, or high work, which the Turks, ſince their taking of the ravelin, had rais'd cloſe to it; and that they might judge from the ſmallneſs and narrowneſs of the fort, that it was impoſſible but they muſt loſe abundance of men every day, though indeed they could not be ſo thoroughly ſenſible of it, as if they had felt all the fury, and ſeen the havock of their great and ſmall

ſhot;

ſhot; and that after all, the more men they ſhould ſend thither, the greater would be the loſs, as it was a place where they had not room and earth ſufficient to intrench themſelves.

TWO of the commiſſioners, both men of judgment and experience, were for trying what complaiſance could do; and in order therefore to bring over the malecontents, they own'd that they could not poſſibly imagine how they had been able to hold out ſo long in a little fort, which was ſo diſmantled, that it appear'd to be no more than a heap of rubbiſh; after which they added, that they ſtill flatter'd themſelves, that they, who were ſuch brave knights, would rouze their innate valour, which alone would enable them to hold it out ſome days longer, and by that means give the viceroy time to come to their relief, and raiſe the ſiege. The third commiſſioner was nam'd Conſtantine Caſtriot, a Greek prince, and deſcended, as we are told, from the houſe of the famous Scanderbeg, the hero of Albania, and of all Chriſtendom. Caſtriot, who was naturally hot and furious in his zeal, without any regard to the temper and complaiſance of his collegues, warmly maintain'd, that the place was not yet reduced to ſuch extremity, but that it might hold out ſome time longer; that there were ſeveral ways of ſecuring the fort from the artillery of the ravelin; that there was room on the inſide of the breach, to make cuts and intrenchments, which might be well ſecur'd with paliſadoes; and that every body knew it was impoſſible to undermine a place which was built upon a rock.

THE knights, to whom he directed his diſcourſe, took it for an affront, as if he had intended to reproach them with either not underſtanding the arts of war, or their not having courage enough to put in practice the dangerous expedients and remedies it preſcribes. This alone was ſufficient to raiſe the moſt unhappy diſputes; every one maintain'd his ſentiments with vehemence; the diſpute grew hot, when ſome of the moſt paſſionate knights cried out, that they muſt abſolutely keep ſuch an able man in the place, and oblige him to put his own leſſons in practice; and accordingly they ran to the gate of the fort in order to ſeize it, and keep him in. A dangerous tumult, of which the Turks might have taken advantage, was going to break out, when the bailiff of Negrepont and la Miranda found a way to appeaſe it, by cauſing an alarm to be ſounded, which obliged all the knights to run to their reſpective poſts.

THE commiſſioners, at their return to the town, gave the grand maſter an account of the ill condition the place was in, and told him frankly, that they did not believe the garriſon could be able to ſtand an aſſault. Caſtriot, on the contrary, either through fondneſs for his firſt opinion, or perhaps through reſentment at what had paſs'd between him and the knights, pretended that the place was ſtill tenable; and at the ſame time offer'd the grand maſter, provided he would give him leave, to levy ſome troops in the iſland, to throw himſelf into the fort, and hold it out againſt all the efforts of the infidels, till the ſuccours ſhould arrive.

PROBABLY there might be more courage and reſolution in theſe aſſertions, than knowledge of the real condition of the place, and the grand maſter knew very well what he had to truſt to; but as he was under an abſolute neceſſity of prolonging the ſiege at any rate, he accepted Caſtriot's offer, hoping to make uſe of it for ſeveral purpoſes. Accordingly, he gave him great encomiums in publick, and the biſhop of Malta, actuated by a zeal ſo becoming his dignity, in concert with him, advanced the ſums neceſſary for making the new levies that were to relieve the knights;

JOHN DE LA VALETTE.

knights; and accordingly, they immediately bear up for them in the town and fortreſſes. A conſiderable number of the inhabitants of the country, and ſome of the chief citizens liſted themſelves, and there was an emulation who ſhould enter into the ſervice firſt. The knights who were in the fort heard this news with a ſurprize that was mix'd with vexation; and what increaſed it ſtill more, was the grand maſter's writing to them afterwards in harſh and dry terms, and with an air of ſtate, that he was ready to give them their diſcharge; that for one knight, who ſeem'd to deſpair of holding out the ſiege any longer, ten brave ſoldiers offer'd themſelves, who were inform'd with a true ſpirit of zeal and courage, and eagerly ſought to obtain leave to throw themſelves into the fort; that he would immediately ſend the new garriſon to relieve them; that they had no more to do but to deliver up their poſts to the officers who were to head it, and that they might come back to the town in the veſſels on which the others were to be tranſported. "Return my brethren, ſaid he, to the convent; "you will be more in ſafety there; and as for me, I ſhall then be leſs in "pain about the preſervation of fort St. Elmo, tho' it be of ſuch impor- "tance, that the preſervation of the iſland, and all our order, depends "entirely upon it."

THESE few lines were written with an air of ſo much indifference, and even contempt, that the diſcontented knights were piqued to the laſt degree. They could not ſo much as think of delivering up the place to the new ſoldiers and recruits, without being ſenſible of the ſhame and confuſion they were going to bring upon themſelves in the ſight of the whole order. "How (ſaid they one to another) ſhall we be able to "bear the ſight of the grand maſter, and the reproach of our fellow- "knights? And if this new garriſon ſhould have the good fortune to "hold out the place till ſuch time as the ſuccours arrive, what corner of "the earth ſhall we be able to find, remote enough from all human ſo- "ciety to retire to, and there to bury our ſhame and confuſion?" Full of theſe ſad reflections, they reſolv'd to loſe their lives to a man, rather than give up their poſt to the new ſoldiers, or abandon the place to the Turks; and accordingly intreated the bailiff of Negrepont, and the commander Broglio, to acquaint the grand maſter with their repentance, and the reſolution they had made to loſe the laſt drop of their blood in the defence of the place. As it was ſtill day-light, and that they were deſirous of preventing the arrival of the boats, the governor diſpatch'd an excellent ſwimmer with a letter to him, in which he took notice of the happy change; and, in the name of the malecontents, begg'd him to pardon their fault, and give them leave to wipe it out by an intrepidity and reſolution that would be proof againſt the greateſt dangers.

THIS repentance was juſt what the grand maſter wanted to bring the malecontents to; and tho' he had foreſeen it, and even pav'd the way to it by the jealouſy and emulation which he inſpir'd, he nevertheleſs thought proper not to comply with the governor's requeſt at firſt; and therefore told him in his letter, that he would always prefer a body of new troops that obey'd the laws of military diſcipline, to a number of old warriors, who pretended to be above controul. The knights, in a conſternation at his ſteadineſs and reſolution, begg'd pardon in the moſt ſubmiſſive terms. La Valette, conſidering that it would be dangerous to drive them to deſpair, ſuffer'd himſelf to be wrought upon, and was pleas'd to be pacified: accordingly, the new levies were diſmiſs'd, and the inhabitants were ſent back to their reſpective poſts which had been aſſign'd them before Caſtriot's propoſal.

DU-

DURING theſe tranſactions, the commander Salvago was return'd back into Sicily, and landing at Syragoſa, he found the viceroy ſtill ſtarting one excuſe or other, to defer the departure of the ſuccours; for which reaſon, he, in the grand maſter's name, order'd the commander de Cornuſſon, that prince's nephew, and the commander de St. Aubin, captains of the two gallies of the order, which were in that port, to embark immediately for Malta, and to carry thither all the knights and volunteers who were arrived in that place, together with a company of foot which had been levied at the order's expence, and was commanded by the chevalier Auguſtin Ricca. Theſe two gallies, with this little reinforement on board, got, after various workings, into the iſle of Goza. Their deſign was to land in the ſafeſt creek or road of Malta. But they were prevented by Dragut, who had notice of their departure from the ſpies he kept in Sicily, and had therefore ſent ſeveral ſquadrons along the coaſts, to hinder the Chriſtian veſſels from coming near them.

THE knights who commanded the two gallies, not thinkiug proper to hazard the reinforcement they were carrying to Malta, againſt the ſuperior forces of Dragut, reſolv'd to return to Syragoſa. Their departure was a very ſenſible affliction to the grand maſter, he having depended on that little reinforcement in order to repair the continual loſſes he ſuffer'd in the defence of the fort. Accordingly, he reprimanded his nephew in the ſevereſt terms upon that account, and told him in his letters with a kind of contempt, that glory was very ſeldom the ſhare of a captain who acted with ſo much caution; and added, that it was the duty of a knight of Malta, to dare more than any other warrior.

HE wrote by the ſame expreſs, to the commander Salvago, who continued near the viceroy's perſon, in order to haſten the ſuccours and preſs the departure of the fleet; ordering him to acquaint that nobleman with the extremity to which fort St. Elmo was reduc'd, and to beſeech him, in caſe all his forces were not yet join'd, to ſend him at leaſt the two gallies of the order; to reinforce them with two others of the ſquadron of Sicily, and to put on board them all ſuch knights and volunteers as were at his court, and in the ports of that iſland, together with a regiment of foot, to fill up the places of ſuch ſoldiers of the order, as were either dead or diſabled by their wounds.

THE viceroy, who ever made pompous promiſes, and who, in hopes to frighten the Turks, was eternally talking of the great preparations he was making for the relief of Malta, would in ſome meaſure have given himſelf the lye, had he declin'd ſending ſo ſmall a reinforcement. In order therefore to keep the world ſtill in a belief of the advantageous reports he had ſpread with relation to his forces, he appointed two gallies to ſet out immediately with the two belonging to Malta, without waiting for the great reinforcement; and at the ſame time order'd Melchior Robles, colonel of the Sicilian brigade, to go on board the gallies with his regiment. But this imbarkation, was, by the affected dilatorineſs of both land and ſea-officers, deferr'd from day to day under various pretences: and the viceroy, who was not for dividing his forces, at the very time that he boaſted even of the ſervice he ſhould do the order by this ſmall reinforcement, gave ſecret orders to prevent its ſetting out.

THOUGH every thing ſeem'd to conſpire againſt the fort's receiving any reinforcement, the grand maſter did not, upon that account, abate any thing of his uſual vigilance and activity; by his orders they were continually ſending recruits to the beſieg'd by night, together with proviſions, ammunition, and fire-works. He had himſelf invented one of a particular

JOHN DE LA VALETTE.

ſort, proper to be uſed at an aſſault: They made hoops of very light wood, which were firſt dipp'd in brandy, or elſe rubb'd over with boiling oil, then cover'd them with wool or cotton, which they ſteep'd in other combuſtible liquors, mix'd with ſalt-petre and gun-powder; after this preparation was grown cold, they repeated it, as above, three ſeveral times, and when an aſſault was made, they ſet theſe hoops on fire, took them up with tongs, and threw them into the thickeſt of the enemies battalions; when two or three ſoldiers being hook'd together in theſe burning hoops, they had no way to eſcape being burnt alive, but by plunging immediately into the water, and ſtaying there till the fire was extinguiſh'd. The knights who defended the fort, had the utmoſt need of all theſe different ſuccours, to oppoſe ſuch formidable enemies as they had to deal with.

FROM the ſeventeenth of June to the fourteenth of July, not a ſingle day paſs'd without ſome engagement; as the fort was but indifferently flank'd, the infidels daily attempted to carry it by ſcalado; but were as often repuls'd with the loſs of their braveſt ſoldiers. The baſha, aſham'd at having thrown away ſo much time before a place, whoſe fortifications were ſo weak, reſolv'd to come before it on the ſixteenth with all his forces, and give a general aſſault. To facilitate the attack, he employ'd the fifteenth in battering the breach, when the artillery playing all day long without intermiſſion, the wall was entirely demoliſh'd, to the very rock on which it had been built.

ON the ſixteenth of June, the day appointed for the aſſault, the Turkiſh gallies drew up by day-break over againſt the caſtle towards the ſea, and batter'd it with all the artillery of their ſhips; at the ſame time that a land-battery, of thirty-ſix large cannon, beat to pieces all the fortifications that were left ſtanding. The Turks, at the beat of drum, and ſound of their hautboys and other barbarous inſtruments, enter'd the ditch, which they had almoſt fill'd up; and no ſooner was a cannon fir'd, which was the ſignal for the aſſault, but they all ran on with great reſolution. Four thouſand archers or arquebuſiers being planted in the trenches, were of great ſervice to them by the continual fire they made upon thoſe who appear'd on the breach. It was lin'd with ſeveral ranks of Chriſtian ſoldiers, in which, they, between every three ſoldiers, had plac'd a knight, in order to ſuſtain and encourage them. This was the only ſtrength and defence of the caſtle; theſe brave warriors, with their half-pikes in their hand, form'd a kind of new wall, that was proof againſt all the efforts of the enemy, who ſoon began the attack, which was the warmeſt that had been made ever ſince the beginning of the ſiege: For it often happen'd, that the Chriſtians and Turks, after having ſpent their fire, and broke their ſwords and pikes, grappl'd together, when the dagger determin'd the fate of the combatants, according to their vigour or activity. The great and ſmall ſhot play'd on both ſides without intermiſſion, and each party annoy'd his adverſary with fire-works: 'Twas on this occaſion that the burning hoops above-mention'd were of great ſervice to the Chriſtians; they threw them into the midſt of their enemies, when moſt of thoſe who were caught in them were burnt alive. The cries of theſe wretches, thoſe of the combatants, the groans of the wounded and expiring, the noiſe and thunder of the cannon and muskets; all this ſpread a kind of terror on both ſides, which nevertheleſs could not make the Turks retire, nor would the knights abandon an inch of ground.

THE diſtance between fort St. Elmo and the caſtle of St. Angelo and the town, was no more than the breadth of the harbour, ſo that they might plainly ſee from thence all that paſs'd in this terrible and bloody

bloody engagement. The knights, and the people, who were ſpectators of it, were very uneaſy and in pain about the ſucceſs of it, and appear'd as paſſionately concern'd, as if they themſelves had ſtood the aſſault; ſo that one might ſee alternately by their cries and in their change of countenance, a lively image of the advantages or loſſes of either party. The grand maſter, whoſe courage and capacity would not ſuffer him in particular to be an idle ſpectator of the combat, fir'd continually upon the beſiegers from the batteries of the caſtle of St. Angelo, the town, and the iſle de la Sangle.

WHILST the iſland was in a manner all over in a flame, thirty Turkiſh rais, or galley-officers, obſerving that all the forces of the beſieged were drawn to the quarter where the aſſault was made, endeavour'd to make themſeves maſters of a bulwark that was not ſo well guarded: accordingly, they clapp'd ladders to the wall, and got up to the point of the baſtion without oppoſition; which the grand maſter perceiving, immediately levell'd two cannon on that ſide, and kill'd twenty of them with the firſt diſcharge; which frighting the ten remaining, they fled away as faſt as poſſible to their trenches.

THE Turks had no better ſucceſs at the great cavalier, which cover'd the front of the fort; they had batter'd it for a long time together with all their artillery, without being able even ſo much as to move that unwieldy mountain of earth, which ſupported itſelf by its own weight. They afterwards attempted to ſcale it, and with great bravery mounted up their ladders ſword in hand; but the chevalier John Anthony Giugno, an Italian, who commanded in that poſt, being well ſeconded by ſeveral other knights, and particularly by a ſerving brother of the town of Marſeilles, call'd Chanault, they threw the flaming hoops abovemention'd, with ſo much dexterity, that the Turks, terrified at theſe machines, abandon'd the attack. Not even the moſt intrepid janizary, who advanced boldly ſabre in hand to attack the braveſt knight, but abandon'd his poſt at the ſight of theſe burning hoops, and fled away with precipitation; nor could all the prayers, the threats or blows of his officers prevail upon him to ſtop his flight. At length, the knights, after having ſuſtain'd an aſſault for ſix hours together, notwithſtanding their being cover'd over with wounds, burnt with the ſcorching rays of the ſun, and quite ſpent with the length of the engagement, had the ſatisfaction of ſeeing the Turks retire firſt, and give over the attack; for the baſha, after having loſt upwards of 2000 men, was at length forced to command a retreat to be ſounded. The Chriſtians of the fort, on this occaſion, ſet up a general ſhout, which was ecchoed back from the town, and anſwer'd by the people with loud acclamations. This good ſucceſs, greater than any one had even dar'd to hope for, conſidering the weakneſs of the place, was entirely owing to the generous deſpair of the greateſt part of the knights, who had devoted themſelves, as it were, to death; and who, during the whole engagement, were leſs ſollicitous to gain the victory, than to ſacrifice their enemies, tho' at the expence of their own lives.

THE order loſt, in this aſſault, ſeventeen knights, who were all kill'd upon the breach: among whom, were particularly regretted the chevalier de Medran, who had juſt wreſted a ſtandard out of the hands of a Turkiſh officer that fell by his hand, when he himſelf was kill'd by a musket-ſhot. The grand maſter, to do honour to his memory, order'd him to be buried among the great croſſes: a dignity that was juſtly due to his great valour, and which he would certainly have obtain'd, had he not fell on this occaſion. They likewiſe loſt the chevaliers de Vagnon

and

JOHN DE LA VALETTE.

and la Motte, the latter dying of his wounds two days after the attack; and the commander de Morgut, who, as he was going from the fort to the town, in order to have his wounds dreſs'd, had his head ſhot off by a cannon-ball. Beſides the knights, they reckon'd upwards of 300 ſoldiers, who were either kill'd or diſabled. The grand maſter drew off 150 others to fill up their places, the ſmallneſs of the fort not allowing him to ſend a greater number; this detachment was compoſed only of ſuch officers and ſoldiers as offer'd themſelves for the ſervice, he not caring to interpoſe his authority to order any body in particular to ſuch a dangerous and bloody poſt.

THE baſha, judging that theſe recruits, which were filing off continually from the town to the fort, might make the ſiege continue as long as there ſhould be any knights in the other parts of the iſland, reſolv'd to endeavour to cut off the communication between them. For this end he held a kind of council of war in the trenches, with Dragut, a ſangiac, and his principal engineer.

DRAGUT, either from his natural intrepidity, or becauſe he, as happens to old ſoldiers, deſpis'd dangers by being inur'd to them, going openly out of the trenches, to view the ſituation of the ground, was ſtruck in the head near the right ear with the ſhiver from a ſtone, which a cannon-ball from the caſtle of St. Angelo had ſhatter'd to pieces, and which kill'd the ſangiac upon the ſpot. Dragut was not much better; he loſt his ſpeech, and fell down in a ſwoon, the blood ſtreaming forth at his mouth, his noſe, and his ears. The baſha, in order not to diſcourage the ſoldiers, commanded them to throw ſomething over him, and carry him to his tent; when advancing with great ſedateneſs and intrepidity to the place, where he made his obſervations, he conſulted with the engineer how they might beſt prevent the ſending of any ſuccours to the fort. The reſult of their conſultation was, to erect a battery upon Mont Calcara, and, if poſſible, to carry on their lines from the caſtle to the ſea.

THIS poſt, as we have already obſerv'd, had been reſerv'd for the viceroy of Algiers and his troops; but as he was not yet arriv'd, Muſtapha order'd a batallion of janizaries to poſt themſelves there, who extended themſelves particularly along the ſhore from the gallows point, and ſo on to the Renella, to the point of San Salvador. Calcara hill was taken within theſe lines, and they raiſed another battery upon it, the fire of which, together with the ſhot of the janizaries, who were continually firing from their long pieces, kill'd all ſuch as attempted to paſs. But they did not continue long in their poſt; for before they could make their lodgment, and finiſh their intrenchments, the grand maſter, who was aware of the conſequences of it, order'd the marſhal Copier to make a ſally at the head of a good number of knights and the braveſt ſoldiers, who charg'd the infidels ſo vigorouſly, that they cut part of them to pieces, and forced the reſt to fly for their lives, and retire behind the intrenchments of their camp.

THE baſha, however, did not deſpond at this ill ſucceſs; but reſolving, coſt what it would, to prevent the garriſon of the fort from receiving any ſuccours from the town, he, by his engineer's advice, order'd a kind of cover'd way to be made behind the trenches which were below the counterſcarp, and which were afterwards carried on to the ſea-ſide over againſt Renella. They lin'd them with a great number of arquebuſiers; and as the Turks work'd night and day in carrying them on, the fort

was

was at laſt inveſted on all ſides, ſo that no boat could come near it, without being immediately either intercepted or ſunk.

THE grand maſter ſaw plainly that it would now be impoſſible for the fort to hold out for any conſiderable time, without ſuch a ſtrong reinforcement, as might be able to raiſe the ſiege. Upon which, he ſent immediate advice of it to the commander Salvago, his reſident at the viceroy of Sicily's court, with orders to renew his inſtances for diſpatching away the ſuccours. That knight did not fail to repreſent the extremity to which the fort was reduced, and to put him in mind of his repeated promiſes to the grand maſter; and in order not to omit any thing that might affect him, he inſiſted on the ſacred and expreſs promiſe of his catholick majeſty: notwithſtanding all which, Garſia, ſuch was his perplexity and irreſolution, would willingly have deferr'd it longer. But being continually ſollicited in the warmeſt terms by Gatinara prior of Meſſina, and above fourſcore knights that were come thither from different countries, who beſought him to give them, in caſe the whole fleet was not yet ready to ſail, a few veſſels only to carry them to Malta; the viceroy, having no other way to get rid of the importunity of theſe knights, who beſieg'd him as it were in his palace, was forc'd through ſhame rather than their intreaties, to conſent at laſt to their going on board the two gallies which the chevalier de Cornuſſon, the grand maſter's nephew, had brought back from Saragoſa. He reinforc'd them with two more, and put a regiment of Spaniſh foot on board them, giving the command of this little ſquadron to Don John de Cardona, his creature, with private orders, in caſe he heard of fort St. Elmo's being taken, to return immediately without landing his troops. Cardona ſet ſail, and advanc'd into the channel of Malta; when he, either under pretence of contrary winds, or elſe to avoid meeting the Turkiſh ſquadrons which lay along the coaſts, inſtead of putting into ſome road, ſpent ſo much time in different motions, which were generally needleſs, that one would have thought he was come from Sicily, rather to ſhew the reinforcement at a diſtance, than to land it.

IF we were to have conſider'd the viceroy's conduct, barely in it ſelf, we ſhould naturally have concluded that he either acted with very little ſincerity when he made his promiſes, or elſe wanted courage to execute them: and indeed his affected dilatorineſs to ſuccour Malta, occaſion'd his being generally ſuſpected, and made him odious to the knights. But then they did not reflect, that his principal concern was the preſervation and defence of Sicily, for which his head was to anſwer; and that in caſe Malta ſhould be taken, he had juſt reaſon to fear the Turks would come and attack him in his government; and that he had orders from the king of Spain to act in ſuch a manner in his endeavours to ſuccour the grand maſter, ſo as not raſhly to hazard his fleet and army, ſince it was the only ſecurity and guard of the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, and even of the coaſts of Spain.

THE Turks taking advantage of this exceſs of caution, made another ſtorm on the 21ſt: their whole army was either drawn up in their trenches or engag'd under the walls. The baſha, in hopes of carrying the place, was not ſparing of the lives of his men, who met with the ſame courage and reſiſtance in all their attacks. The Infidels came on thrice to this dreadful aſſault, and were as often forc'd to retire: abundance of the

JOHN DE LA VALETTE.

knights periſh'd in theſe continual engagements; and if the night, which was coming on, had not put an end to them, it would have been impoſſible for them to have held out againſt the prodigious number of enemies with which they were attack'd. The night, by affording them a little intermiſſion, ſhew'd them at the ſame time the greatneſs of their loſs: they ſpent it in the midſt of the groans of men who were juſt expiring, and in dreſſing each other's wounds. The bailiff of Negrepont, la Miranda, the chevalier de Mas, and the principal officers, diſtinguiſh'd themſelves by their charitable aſſiſtance towards the poor ſoldiers, worthily acquitting themſelves, like true knights hoſpitallers, of the duties of their profeſſion: and in order not to omit any thing that might contribute to their preſervation, or at leaſt to ſuſpend their deſtruction, they diſpatch'd an excellent ſwimmer croſs the port, to acquaint the grand maſter with the deplorable condition of the place, which he ſaid would inevitably be loſt, together with all the Chriſtians that were left in it, in caſe they did not find a way to ſend them a ſtrong reinforcement.

THE grand maſter was not ſo much ſurpriz'd with this diſmal news, which he naturally expected, as he was concern'd for the loſs the order was like to ſuſtain in the perſons of ſuch gallant men; for which reaſon, he left no method untried, that might enable him to ſend them ſuccours: accordingly he order'd five large boats to be immediately fitted out, which were ſoon crouded with a great number of zealous and courageous knights. But notwithſtanding all their efforts, they could not poſſibly get to the fort. Muſtapha had lined the ſhore with his artillery, and a body of musketeers; and the Turkiſh admiral, in concert with him, advanc'd with fourſcore gallies to the mouth of port Muzet: and to make all ſure, he poſted fifteen boats, light frigates and brigantines, in the front of his fleet, having a good number of excellent arquebuſiers on board, who made ſuch a continual fire, that they forc'd the knights to retire.

THE beſieg'd in the fort being now out of all hopes of ſuccour, thought of nothing but ending their lives like good Chriſtians and true religious: For which purpoſe, they were all night long preparing themſelves for it, by receiving the ſacraments of the church; when this was over, and that nothing remain'd but the giving up their ſouls to God, they embraced one another with tenderneſs, and retired to their ſeveral poſts, in order to die with their weapons in their hands, and expire in the bed of honour. Such as were not able to walk by reaſon of their wounds, had themſelves carried in chairs to the ſide of the breach, where, arm'd with ſwords, which they held with both their hands, they waited with an heroick reſolution, till ſuch time as their enemies, towards whom they were not able to advance, ſhould come and attack them in their poſts.

THE next day, being the 23d of June, the Turks at day-break came on to the aſſault with great ſhouts, as if they were going to a victory, which it would be impoſſible to diſpute with them: But the Chriſtian ſoldiers defended themſelves with invincible bravery; one would have thought, that the certainty of an approaching death, which they were to ſhare in common with the knights, had put them on the ſame level with reſpect to courage and valour; ſome threw ſtones and fire-works, others advanc'd to meet the enemy with as much intrepidity, as if they had beat them; and ſuch as could not walk, fired on the enemy with their pieces; and

and when, by reaſon of their continual diſcharges, they had ſpent all their powder, they ſupply'd themſelves from the pouches of their comrades, who had drop'd by their ſide. In fine, the knights, after having ſuſtain'd an aſſault for four hours together, had but ſixty perſons left to defend the breach; but theſe were ſomething more than men, who by a noble contempt of death, ſtill made their enemies tremble. The commander la Miranda, of the language of Caſtile, an excellent officer, who had ſignaliz'd himſelf in the ſiege, ſeeing the place on the point of being forc'd by the Turks, recall'd ſome Chriſtian ſoldiers, who till then had maintain'd themſelves upon the cavalier which lay before the fort. The baſha ſeeing the breach fortified with this ſmall reinforcement, diſcontinued the aſſault in an inſtant, as if he had again been diſhearten'd by ſuch an obſtinate reſiſtance, and pretended to retire; but it was only in order to make his janizaries ſieze not only on the cavalier, which was abandon'd, but likewiſe on all the poſts that were higher than the breach, and which overlook'd the inſide of the fort. The beſieg'd employ'd this little ſuſpenſion from fighting in dreſſing their wounds, not ſo much for the ſake of preſerving the poor remains of life, as to enable themſelves to fight for ſome moments longer with greater vigour. At eleven in the morning the Turks return'd to the aſſault with new vigour, and the janizaries, who, from the top of the cavalier and the other poſts, commanded the place with their muskets, pointed out all ſuch perſons as they had a mind to kill. The greateſt part of them periſh'd by the enemies fire; the bailiff of Negrepont, the chevalier Paul Avogadre, la Miranda, together with moſt of the knights and ſoldiers that were left, being overwhelm'd with numbers, died upon the breach; and this terrible aſſault was diſcontinued only for want of combatants, it not ending but with the death of the laſt knight. The Turkiſh fleet then enter'd the port of Marza Muzet in a kind of triumph, their cannon firing, their trumpets and other military inſtruments ſounding, and all the infidels ſhouting for joy. Some of Dragut's officers running to his tent to acquaint him with the taking of the fort, found him juſt giving up the ghoſt; but altho' he had loſt his ſpeech, he ſtill expreſs'd his ſatisfaction by ſigns; when lifting up his eyes, as it were to give thanks to heaven, he expired a moment afterwards: He was a captain of exquiſite valour, and more humane than corſairs generally are.

THE baſha entering the fort, and judging from its ſmallneſs, what difficulty he ſhould meet with from the town, cried out, "What will "not the father coſt us, when the ſon, who is ſo ſmall, has coſt us the bra-"veſt of our ſoldiers!" And indeed 'tis generally agreed, that the Turks loſt at leaſt 8000 men in the ſiege of this fort, which weaken'd their army conſiderably; Muſtapha, of a cruel and bloody nature, by way of revenge, and at the ſame time to terrify the knights that were in the town, and the other fortreſſes of the iſland, order'd ſuch as were found lying among the dead, and had ſtill any marks of life left, to be ripp'd open, and their hearts to be pluck'd out. To this unexampled piece of barbarity, the baſha, in order to inſult the inſtrument of our ſalvation, which the knights wore as the badge of the order, had gaſhes made over their bodies in the form of a croſs, when putting their ſubreveſts upon them, they ty'd them to planks, and threw them into the ſea, hoping, as indeed fell out, that the tide would carry them to the foot of the town, and the caſtle of St. Angelo.

THIS

JOHN DE LA VALETTE.

THIS diſmal and ſhocking ſpectacle drew tears from the grand maſter; his firſt ſenſations were thoſe of grief, but his next were thoſe of anger and indignation: in conſequence of which, and by way of repriſals, he, in order to teach the baſha to make war with leſs barbarity, order'd all the Turkiſh priſoners to be immediately executed; when ramming their heads into his cannon, had them ſhot, all cover'd with blood as they were, inſtead of ball, into the camp of the infidels.

THE

Echelle de 5000. Cannes de Malte.

500 1000 2000 3000 4000 5000 C.

Echelle de 5000. Toises de France.

500. 1000 2000 3000 4000 5000 T.

CARTE DES ISLES DE MALTE DU GOZE et DU CUMING

Avec la position des Batteries et des Redoutes faites pour la deffence de la Coste.

C.A. de Berey Sculpsit.

ISLE DE MALTE

ISLE DU GOZE

I. DU CUMING

MER MEDITERRANEE

Rade du Frioul

Pierre noire

La Magdelaine

S.te Catherine

Dingueli

Laurenti

Bosquet

Rabato

Siggoe

Czebougg

Tour de Granville

C. Krandi

Zuico

Atsafe

C. Mi Gabba

Carcarcop

C. Luca

Cormi Fornaq

Balsan

Mdsta

C. Lia

Naschiar

Chapelle S.t Paul

Calle

S.t Paul

Calle de

Melecha

Chapelles George

Gudia

C. Grogo

Berkercara

Gargur

Ansciar

Calle de Marsa Siroc

N.D. delle Grace

S.t Gregoire

C. Szaibar

Ricazoli

S.t Elme

Pointe Dragut

Calle S.t Julien

Calle de la Magdelaine

Calle S.t Marc

Calle de Salines

Calle S.t Thom

Calle de marsa

S.t Antoine

Xilendi

Tazzamatte

Kabatte

Cap di Dimitri

Chateau

Seuchia

Zebuug

Zaret il Hazemy

Calle miglia

Nadur

Calla baida

Calla Bazar

Calle di Marsa Forno

Calle de Ramela

Les Villes, Forts et Châteaux de Malte.
1724.

Hauteur du Conradin

Fort St Marguerite

Cité Cottonere

Port des Galeres ou S.t Anne

Le Bourg

Port du Bourg ou des Anglois

Chapelle du Salvador

Pointe du Salvador

Port de la Renelle

Fort de Ricazoly

Entrée du Port

Mer Mediterranée

Port du Grand Port

La Floriane

Ch.x S. Elme

Port des Galeres

Isle de Mor[illegible]

Pointe Dragut

Echelle
50 100 200 300 400 500

De Berey filius sculp.

THE HISTORY OF THE Knights Hoſpitallers OF St. JOHN of JERUSALEM,

Called afterwards

The KNIGHTS of Rhodes,

And at this Time

The KNIGHTS of MALTA.

BOOK XIII.

JOHN DE LA VALETTE.

THOUGH the taking of Fort St. Elmo had coſt the Infidels one of their generals, and the choiceſt of their troops, yet, nevertheleſs, great as their loſs was, that of the order, in the vigorous defence it made, was not leſs conſiderable in proportion. 'Tis computed that one hundred and thirty knights, and above one thouſand three hundred men loſt their lives in this particular ſiege; and the cruelties which the Turks had exerciſed at the concluſion of it had thrown the reſt into a kind of conſternation. The grand maſter was ſenſibly afflicted at ſo great a loſs, but very prudently diſſembled his concern; and, in order to encourage ſome knights, whom he obſerved to be ſeized with a kind of terrour, he ſummoned a general and extraordinary aſſembly of all ſuch knights as could be ſpared from their poſts, and who could attend without prejudice to the ſecurity of the place. When appearing among them with his uſual conſtancy, and a magnanimity that was ſuperiour to all events, he began his diſcourſe with a panegyrick upon thoſe knights who had been killed on this occaſion, aſſerting, That as they had generouſly ſacrificed their lives in defence of the faith, they had lived enough for their glory and their ſalvation. He went on in recommending their zeal and courage to the aſſembly, as a fit pattern for them to imitate; and in order to inſpire

JOHN DE LA VALETTE.

them with recruited ardour, and animate them with greater confidence, he repreſented to them, that the knights whom they had loſt, had not been ſo much overcome by the valour, as overwhelmed by the multitudes of infidels; but that now the number of their mercileſs enemies was conſiderably diminiſhed; that their army was waſting away continually with the bloody flux, and other contagious diſtempers with which it was infected; that they began to be in want of ammunition and proviſions, and that though they had ſent to the coaſts of Africa, to Greece, and into the archipelago for freſh ſupplies, yet they had no news of the return of their ſhips; neither did the fort which they had taken, give them any manner of advantage over the town and other fortreſſes which were ſituated at a diſtance from it; that all the forces of the order were ſhut up in theſe places; that ſuccours might be thrown into them without any difficulty; and, in fine, that he hoped either to give the Turks battle, or to make them all loſe their lives before the baſtions and other fortifications.

THIS diſcourſe which he pronounced with an heroick aſſurance; the fire that ſparkled in his eyes, and the ſenſe they had of his valour and capacity; all theſe circumſtances raiſed the ſpirits and confirmed the confidence of the aſſembly, and not a knight of them but proteſted ſolemnly, That he would fight to the laſt drop of his blood for the defence of the iſland, and the preſervation of the order.

'TWAS with a ſenſible pleaſure that the grand maſter perceived all his knights inſpired with the ſame ſentiments as himſelf, and, in order to animate the common ſoldiers with the ſame bravery, he viſited every poſt, when addreſſing himſelf to them with a familiarity that was very engaging; "We are, ſays he, (my brave comrades) the ſoldiers of the "LORD JESUS as well as you, and if you ſhould have the misfortune "to loſe us and all your officers, I am thoroughly perſwaded that you will "ſtill fight on with the ſame intrepidity and reſolution, and that your "own courage will in that caſe ſupply the defect of orders." Therefore to reinforce and raiſe the confidence of his troops, he drew four companies out of the Notable city, which was in leſs danger from the Turks, and brought them into the town: He choſe at the ſame time four of the principal commanders, whom he made captains of reſerve, to be ready to run on all occaſions to ſuch places as ſhould be moſt in danger. Each of theſe commanders had ten knights, ſubject to his particular orders, who were to ſerve in quality of aids de camp; and he afterwards nominated three others, to act as ſerjeant-majors of the place. Although he had got a prodigious quantity of proviſions, yet he took care of their being diſtributed with economy, and ordered all the corn and wine that was in private hands to be brought into the publick magazines, paying the price thereof to the proprietors.

AFTER theſe regulations, ſo truly worthy of a great general, his next ſtep was to forbid the making of any priſoners for the future, giving expreſs orders, that after having got out of them all the informations poſſible relating to the baſha's deſigns, they would put them all to the ſword, and not give them the leaſt quarter. The motive of this rigour was, not only to ſhew the Turks, that they durſt revenge the cruelties which they had exerciſed upon the knights of the fort, but likewiſe to put his own ſoldiers and the inhabitants, whatever extremes they might be reduced to, out of all hopes of capitulating, and to make them ſenſible, that their own preſervation and that of the place were inſeparable.

THE

THE baſha, who knew nothing of this deſperate reſolution, and vainly flattered himſelf that the grand maſter and the knights, ſtartled at their late loſs, might hearken to a capitulation with pleaſure, ſent an officer with a white flag to the gate of the town. He had with him a chriſtian ſlave, in quality of an interpreter, and had orders to try if the grand maſter was diſpoſed to enter into a negotiation, but he was refuſed admittance into the town. The ſlave however, who had ſerved thirty years on board the grand ſeignior's gallies, was admitted in, and brought to La Valette, whom he met in the great ſquare, but, at the firſt word he mentioned about capitulating, the grand maſter, without hearing a ſyllable more, ordered him immediately to be hanged. However, he privately told the knight, who was appointed to ſee this execution performed, that he ſhould only frighten him with it, and that when he had got from him all poſſible informations relating to the ſtate of the Turkiſh army, and the deſign of the baſha, he ſhould afterwards let him go.

THEY found that this ſlave was a poor fellow, ſeventy years old, whom they had releaſed from the gallies for the ſake only of ſending him upon ſo dangerous a commiſſion, and that he was entirely ignorant of the projects of the Turkiſh general. They offer'd to keep him with them in the town, but as he was perſwaded that the infidels would ſoon be maſters of it, when he was afraid he ſhould be treated as a deſerter, he choſe rather to return back to his ſlavery, than to have only a taſte, as he thought, of a precarious liberty, which if he ſhould loſe a ſecond time, would be attended with the moſt dreadful torments, for which reaſons he deſired leave to be gone. The knight, who had orders to let him out of town, led him through ſeveral lines of ſoldiers, who had been commanded to appear there under arms; and when he had conducted him to the counterſcarp, he ſhewed him the bulwarks and baſtions of the place, when pointing particularly to the ditch which was very deep, "See there, ſays he to him, the only ſpot we can af-" ford the baſha, and we reſerve it in order to bury him in it, with " all his janizaries."

THE baſha ſaw plainly, by the bold anſwer which had been given the ſlave, that there would be no reducing the iſland but by force of arms. He therefore ordered his troops to inveſt, on the land ſide, the caſtle of St. Angelo, the town, and the peninſula de la Sangle, which formerly went by the name of the town and caſtle of St. Michael, all ſituated upon two necks of land that run out into the great port, and which are divided from one another only by a channel, that ſerved for a port appropriated to the gallies of the order. The army of the infidels extended it ſelf from the hill or rock of Coradin, and from Bormole, a kind of fort contiguous to the town of St. Michael, as far as mount St. Margaret, and the Belvedera, where the baſha had fix'd his own quarters. They then began to open the trenches, and in ſuch places as they could not dig, by reaſon of the hardneſs of the rock; the baſha made them build walls of dry ſtone. He reſolved to batter at one and the ſame time the town and the peninſula on which the caſtle of St. Michael, then called the Iſle de la Sangle, ſtood, for which purpoſe the chriſtian ſlaves were employed, in drawing ſeventy pieces of heavy cannon, to the ſeveral places where he propoſed to erect his batteries, of which at laſt he had no leſs than nine.

JOHN DE LA VALETTE.

WHILST the Turks were thus buſied in carrying on their works, Don John de Cardona before-mentioned, who commanded the four gallies which were ſent with ſuccours, appeared again near Malta, in order to endeavour to learn, purſuant to his inſtructions, if fort St. Elmo ſtill held out. He had before made ſome attempts to land his men, but the bad weather, or perhaps, the fear with which he was ſeized, had rendered them ineffectual; but now he put colonel Robles, and the chevalier de Quiney aſhore, with a ſmall party for their guard. The colonel out of complaiſance to the ſentiments of his general, had conſtantly maintained, in all the councils of war, that it would be impoſſible for them to take too much precaution about a landing, and was on that account highly in his confidence. They were no ſooner come aſhore, but they were informed by ſome poor inhabitants who had hid themſelves in the holes of the neighbouring rocks, that the fort was loſt. This was enough to make him re-imbark without more ado, but the chevalier de Quiney earneſtly diſſuading from it, and his own courage inſpiring him with a reſolution of contributing to the relief of Malta, he reſolved to conceal the truth from Don John, and to engage him to land immediately the troops that were on board his gallies. With this view, and for fear leſt his ſoldiers ſhould at their return acquaint Don John with the loſs of the fort, he ſent them to the *notable city*, which was of eaſy acceſs, under pretence of bringing guides and horſes from thence, in order to conduct the ſuccours to the town; by the ſame expreſs, he informed the governour, that he was going to land the troops in the road of Pietra Nigra; that he ſhould detain the ſoldiers who ſhould deliver him his letter, and ſend him other guides to lead the ſuccours to the town, with conveniences to carry the baggage. After this he went on board again with Quiney, and both of them joined in telling the general an uſeful untruth, aſſuring him that the fort ſtill held out, but that they had been informed there was no hopes of ſaving it without immediate ſuccours; for which reaſon they had ſent the ſoldiers to the city, in order to bring them carriages from thence. Cardona ſtill unreſolved what to do, would fain have put off the landing a little longer, but the knights and about forty gentlemen that were on board his galley, exclaimed ſo much againſt it, and the very ſoldiers diſcovered ſo much eagerneſs and zeal to be fighting with the infidels, that Don John out of fear of their reſentment and of his being expoſed to the reproach of the world, by the complaints which they threatned to make againſt him, was forced to put them aſhore. Accordingly they landed in the creek of Pietra Nigra, and Cardona had no ſooner diſcharged this part of his commiſſion, but he ſailed with his four gallies for Sicily.

THE difficulty was how to get this ſmall ſuccour into the town, the infidels having inveſted and blocked it up on the land ſide. The grand maſter having advice of their landing from Meſquita, had ſent them guides to conduct them through by-roads to the port or road Della Scala, with aſſurances that they would meet with boats ready to tranſport them ſafe over to the town. They ſet out immediately, and taking the advantage of a great fog, they got ſafe to the port Della Scala, without being diſcovered; when getting on board, they croſſed the great port and arrived at the town where they were welcomed by the knights and ſoldiers, with all the expreſſions of joy, that were due to their

their zeal, and anſwerable to the want they ſtood in of ſuch a re-inforcement.

THE iſle de la Sangle, with the caſtle and town, which was the weakeſt part of it, and that againſt which the turks employed their greateſt efforts, was the poſt which colonel Robles and the generality of the knights and ſecular gentlemen, earneſtly ſollicited the grand maſter to give them; who, accordingly at their requeſts were ſent thither. They had planted ſeveral batteries at the hermitage, and on mount Sceberras, which played continually on the place, and another was raiſed upon mount Corradin, which lay ſo high, that it commanded it like a cavalier, ſo that they from thence, could eaſily ſee every thing that paſſed within. The baſha, in order to ſtreighten it ſtill more, made an intrenchment before the Corradin rock, of a height ſufficient to cover thoſe who were poſted there. The beſieged were now ſhut up on all ſides, except towards the port and the ſea: The baſha therefore, in order to cut off this communication, which might be of ſervice to them in introducing ſuccours, and to inveſt the chriſtians on all ſides, propoſed, in a council of war, the attacking of the great Spur, on the point of the Peninſula. For the execution of this project, they were under an abſolute neceſſity of bringing a conſiderable number of boats, well armed and provided with ſoldiers, into the great port; but they repreſented to him, that, beſides the chain which went croſs the mouth of the port, it would be impoſſible for thoſe boats to make their way without their being expoſed to the danger of being ſhattered to pieces and ſunk by the artillery of the caſtle of St. Angelo, which commanded and played upon all that part of the port: So that they would have given over the deſign, had not the turkiſh admiral found out a way to bring the boats into the great port without their paſſing under the caſtle of St. Angelo. As he was maſter of port Muſſet, which was divided from the great port only by the neck of land of mount Sceberras, on which the fort of St. Elmo ſtood, he undertook to make the chriſtian ſlaves, and the crew of his gallies, draw a ſufficient number of boats croſs this neck of land, by the ſtrength of their arms, and to lanch them in the great port; after which they might put a body of ſoldiers and arquebuſiers on board them, in order to attack the Spur on the ſide towards the mills, at the ſame time that the land army ſhould attempt a ſtorm on that ſide where the caſtle lay.

THE council highly applauded this expedient, the which, as the knights had been no ways apprehenſive of it, might probably have occaſioned the loſs of thoſe works, had it not been for a turkiſh officer, a Chriſtian, and a Greek by birth, who having been preſent at the council, and being touched with a ſudden remorſe of conſcience, was reſolved to get over to the iſland, and to run the hazard of his life in giving the governour notice of it. This officer was called Laſcaris, of the illuſtrious houſe of that name, which had given ſeveral emperors to the eaſt. The turks at the taking of Patras, a town of the Morea, had made him a ſlave, at a time when he was ſo very young, that he was hardly ſenſible of the miſery of his condition. They brought him up in the turkiſh religion, and out of ſome regard to his high extraction, great care was taken of his education. He ſerved in his early youth among the Spahi, and by his valour, had raiſed himſelf to the firſt poſts in that body of cavalry. His thoughts had perhaps hitherto been employed only in the making of his

JOHN DE LA VALETTE.

fortune, but the ſight of Malta, ready to ſink under the power of the infidels, revived in his memory the indelible character of a chriſtian, which he had received at his baptiſm. The heroick valour of which the knights daily gave ſuch diſtinguiſhing proofs, raiſed his compaſſion; and he could not forbear reproaching himſelf for fighting on the ſide of barbarians, who had put moſt of the princes of his family to death, and had forced the reſt, ſince the taking of Conſtantinople, to fly for refuge into foreign countries. Full of theſe different reflections he goes down to the ſea-ſide, to a place that lay directly oppoſite to the Spur of St. Michael, where waving his turbant, he made ſigns for them to ſend a boat to carry him over to the iſland. A knight named Savoguerre, who commanded at the point of the fort, ſeeing by the rich cloathes he had on, that he was a conſiderable officer, gave immediate advice of it to the grand maſter, and deſired leave to ſend a skiff for him, which was readily granted. But before the ſoldier, whom he had diſpatched to the town, could return, ſome turks obſerving Laſcaris making his ſignals, and judging from thence that he intended to deſert and go over to the chriſtians, they ran to ſeize him. Though he ſcarce knew how to ſwim, he yet, to prevent his being taken, threw himſelf into the ſea; and of two inevitable dangers, he preferred that in which he might poſſibly be ſuccoured. Savoguerre who had never taken his eyes off him, obſerving from the other ſide the difficulty he had to croſs over, immediately ſent off three malteſe, who were excellent ſwimmers, who came up to him when his ſtrength was almoſt exhauſted, and by their aſſiſtance he got ſafe to ſhore. After they had made him throw up the water he had ſwallowed, they conducted him to the grand maſter, whom he acquainted with the baſha's and admiral's projects, and ſhewed, at the ſame time, the ſeveral places where they propoſed to erect their batteries. The grand maſter, who was throughly ſenſible of the great importance of theſe advices, extolled the generous reſolution he had taken to hazard his life for the ſafety of the Chriſtians, and therefore ſettled a large penſion on him; and Laſcaris during the time the ſiege laſted, made it manifeſt, by his bravery and counſels, that he had no way degenerated from the virtue of his anceſtors.

THE grand maſter was at firſt ſtruck with the admiral's bold and difficult deſign; but afterwards recovering from his ſurprize, he ſet himſelf about defeating the ſucceſs of it. For this end he fortified all thoſe places towards the port, where the turks, by the help of their boats, might poſſibly make a deſcent. He likewiſe ordered the walls of the town of St. Michael to be raiſed higher, and lined the ſhore with ſeveral pieces of cannon in order to clear the port of every enemy that ſhould appear. As their chief buſineſs was to hinder the turks from advancing up to the walls of St. Michael, the grand maſter propoſed that affair to the council; but as their opinions were different, and that he was perſuaded that even men, though of the greateſt capacity, do not yet ſee into every thing, he did not diſdain to conſult two malteſe pilots, whom he had ever found to be, not only men of great capacity and experience in naval affairs, but who had likewiſe diſcovered the greateſt zeal and fidelity for the order. He told them the deſign of the turkiſh admiral, and asked them what they thought was to be done in order to defeat it, and hinder the imbarkation of the troops which they had drawn down to the ſhore of mount Sceberras in the iſle de la Sangle. Both the pilots agreed in opinion, and told him that it would

JOHN DE LA VALETTE.

be proper to make a ſtaccado with piles drove into the ſea, from the Corradin rock to the ſpur which was at the point of the iſle, and to fix iron rings to the top of theſe piles, and draw a long chain acroſs to ſtop up the ſpaces between them: and whereas it would not be poſſible to drive in the piles in ſome places, by reaſon of the depth of the water or the hardneſs of the rocky bottom, it would be neceſſary for them in that caſe to ſtop up the paſſage with their longeſt ſail-yards and maſts nailed together, which with the chain would make it altogether impracticable.

THE grand maſter laying their propoſal before the council, it was unanimouſly approved of, and accordingly they ſet to work about it the night following. La Valette, who plainly perceived the great uſe of ſuch a ſtaccado, gave orders for the making of others, to hinder any landing on the ſide of the poſts of England, Germany, and the great infirmary. He likewiſe ſecured the poſt for the gallies with an iron chain, which was defended by ſeveral batteries on both ſides. As the turkiſh artillery did not allow them to carry on theſe works in the daytime, they could only work at them by night: but the grand maſter knowing of what importance they would be, employed ſo many hands about them, that in nine nights time all theſe ſtaccado's and defences were finiſhed.

THE baſha was ſtrangely ſurprized to ſee ſo many works riſe up as it were on a ſudden out of the ſea, to oppoſe the paſſage of his boats and the deſcent of his troops; but as he was a man of true courage and great abilities, he would not give over his firſt project, and fancyed he could find a way to carry off ſome of the piles of the ſtaccado, and by that means open a paſſage for his little fleet through the ſeveral gaps. For this end ſome turks with axes at their girdles ſwam, by his orders, to the paliſado, got upon the ſail-yards, and worked hard to cut them aſunder. This could not be done without a noiſe, which ſoon diſcovered their deſign; upon which they were immediately plied with cannon and musket-ball, but as the firing was made from an higher ground, and directed downwards, it did no execution. The admiral de Monte, who commanded in the iſland, ſeeing this had no effect, reſolved to attack them in their own way, and for that purpoſe ſent ſome malteſe ſoldiers, who were excellent ſwimmers, to them; theſe ſtripping themſelves, and holding their ſwords in their teeth, came up with the Turks, beat them off the ſtaccado, killed and wounded a good number of them, and purſued the reſt, who made off as faſt as poſſible, and got, with great difficulty, to the other ſide of the port. They returned however the next day, and before they were perceived, had tied ſome cables to the maſts and ſail-yards, which had been laid for the ſecurity of the palliſado, and endeavoured to move and carry off the piles by the force of the capſtanes of their ſhips which were placed on the ſhore. But all the malteze were as it were ſwimmers, ſo that they no ſooner diſcover'd this new kind of attack, but ſeveral malteze threw themſelves into the water, and with their ſabres cut all the cables, and baffled this ſecond attempt of the baſha.

AFTER theſe little attacks, which were of no very great conſequence on either ſide, Muſtapha on the fifth of July began to fire from all his batteries together. That which was placed upon mount St. Margaret battered the quarter called la Bormole, and the baſtion of Provence: but the officers of the artillery ſeeing it did little miſchief, turned it againſt

JOHN DE LA VALETTE.

gainſt the fort or caſtle of St. Michael. The Turks had another upon the Corradin rock, which fired continually upon the baſtion that lay over againſt them, and the cannon which they had planted upon fort St. Elmo and mount Sceberras played upon the caſtle of St. Angelo. There were other batteries raiſed upon mount Salvator, that of Calcara, and on other eminencies adjacent, which battered the great town and the poſts of Caſtile, Germany and England. That of Arragon was in a manner demoliſhed already. All theſe batteries, and thoſe of the chriſtians which anſwered them, made ſuch a dreadful and continual fire, that the iſland ſeemed to be a volcano, and looked like another mount Etna. The turks, under cover of their artillery, ran their trenches up to the ditch ſide, but being ſtopped by a ſmall redoubt that covered it, they battered that work with ſo much fury, that the knights finding themſelves unable to defend it any longer, blew it up, and retired within the iſland.

THE point of land on which the caſtle and town of St. Michael ſtood, had no manner of communication with the great town and the caſtle of St. Angelo, and could get no ſuccours from thence, but by means of a ferry-boat, which being heavy, and its motion very ſlow, expoſed all ſuch as croſſed over to the fire of the infidels. The grand maſter, by the advice of John Anthony Boſio, a young knight, and brother to the annaliſt of the order, cauſed a bridge of his invention to be made of pipes and hogſheads well pitched, which he afterwards covered over with planks. They placed it out of the reach of the fire of the enemies muskets, and as they run very nimbly upon it, they were not hurt by the fire of the artillery. This bridge proved afterwards very ſerviceable for the paſſage of thoſe ſuccours which they were obliged to ſend to fort St. Michael.

THE Turks knowing it to be the weakeſt part in the whole iſland, plied it hard with cannon-ſhot. Nor did their batteries make leſs execution upon the great town: conſiderable breaches were ſoon made in ſome places, but the baſha did not think fit to attempt a ſtorm till after he had entirely ruined all the out-works; beſides, he was deſirous of waiting for the arrival of Haſcen, viceroy of Algiers, who had ſent him word that he would immediately advance with a good reinforcement, compoſed of the flower of all his forces.

THE grand maſter, ſurpriz'd at his having no news of the viceroy of Sicily's armada, wrote in the ſtrongeſt terms on that ſubject to the commander Salvago, who reſided at his court, in order to haſten the ſuccours. He was an able miniſter, and could not be reproached with either want of zeal and aſſiduity, or of remiſſneſs in executing the ſeveral orders he received from the grand maſter. But he had to deal with a proud and haughty Spaniard, with whom he thought himſelf obliged to obſerve certain meaſures for fear leſt he ſhould ruin the affair by being too earneſt in his ſolicitations, and by that means afford him the pretext he wanted in order to excuſe himſelf from ſending the ſuccours he had promiſed. The grand maſter's letter, the loſs of fort St. Elmo, and the danger to which the iſle de la Sangle was expoſed, put him out of all patience; ſo that he went without farther ceremony to the viceroy, and complained in the grand maſter's name, of his ſlowneſs in diſpatching the ſuccours; telling him moreover, That the baſha was laying cloſe ſiege to the great town and the caſtle of St. Michael at the ſame time, and that his troops were already advanced up to the walls.

walls. He added, in the utmoſt tranſports of zeal and grief, that Malta was on the point of being loſt, but that all the nations of the Chriſtian world would eternally reproach his memory, for having ſuffered the flower of all the gentry in Chriſtendom to be cut to pieces by his affected delays; and finding that the viceroy anſwered him only in general and ambiguous terms, he flung out of the palace, and coming up to the people who were aſſembled in the great ſquare, he cried out, That Garſia was playing a double game, and that he, by his continual ſhifts and evaſions, was going to deliver up the grand maſter and his knights into the hands of the infidels.

THE complaints of the agent of Malta were indeed but too well founded; but after all, the viceroy was not in reality ſo much the author as the miniſter of theſe delays, he having received private orders not to be too forward; and indeed under a prince who was as imperious and ſecret in all his actions as Philip II, and who ſacrificed every thing to appearances he would have been equally ruined, had he either been too haſty in ſending away the ſuccours, or had let the world ſee that it was not in his power to ſend them whenever he pleaſed. However, finding that Salvago's complaints made a great impreſſion upon the minds of the people, he ſaid, to ſave his own reputation, that he could not raſhly expoſe his maſter's fleet; that he would ask the advice of ſuch of his miniſters and principal officers as were in Italy; that he would afterwards call a great council of war, when all the neceſſary meaſures for ſending immediately a ſtrong body of troops to the relief of Malta ſhould be adjuſted. But this was far from being his real intention, much leſs that of the king his maſter, whoſe ſlow and uncertain policy put him always upon waiting for the benefit of time, which he often loſt. Philip and his miniſter contenting themſelves with a vain oſtentation of his forces, imagined that the bravery of the knights alone would be ſufficient to baffle the enterprize of the turks, and that at moſt they had no more to do than to have the ſuccours in a readineſs to be ſent off, in caſe they found that they were too cloſely attacked, and that there ſhould be a real neceſſity for them.

Such were the private views of the council of Spain. John Andrew Doria, who was not let into the ſecret, and was at this time with his gallies in the port of Meſſina, offered the viceroy to tranſport two thouſand men to Malta, till ſuch time as all the forces of the king of Spain could be got together. He ſhewed him the way he would take to carry them, and ſaid, that before the turks could have weighed up their anchors, or have cut their cables, he, by the ſtrength of oars, ſhould be got into the great port as far as the caſtle of St. Angelo, and that provided he could but land his troops and his crew, which would ſerve for ſoldiers and pioneers, he did not value if he afterwards loſt the hulks of his gallies.

THE viceroy at firſt applauded the generoſity of the propoſal, and came ſo far into the project, that he made Doria ſwear to put it immediately in execution: but whether it were from a ſecret jealouſy, for fear leſt all the honour of the enterprize ſhould accrue to him, or elſe that he was not willing to engage in it, till ſuch time as he had received freſh orders from Madrid, he ſent Doria with his gallies to Genoa and the coaſt of Tuſcany, on pretence of fetching from thence ſome neceſſaries for this particular expedition, and by this fetch he eluded the opportunity of dividing his forces. However, as Salvago

JOHN DE LA VALETTE.

and a great number of knights who were daily arriving from all parts of chriſtendom at Meſſina, in their paſſage to Malta, were continually ſoliciting for the ſuccours, he order'd two gallies to be fitted out, the command of which he gave to Pompeio Colonna, with a good number of knights on board. But whether it were that the commodore had private orders to run no hazard, or that he had not the ſame zeal to ſuccour the grand maſter as Doria had, he advanced only at a certain diſtance from the great port, when finding the entrance of it ſhut up and guarded by the turkiſh fleet, he tacked about and came into the ports of Sicily, and at his return reported to the viceroy, that he muſt abſolutely have all his forces united in one body, otherwiſe it would be impoſſible for them ever to open a paſſage, or force the infidels to raiſe the ſiege.

HASSAN, viceroy of Algiers, arrived at the camp about this time with two thouſand five hundred men, all of them old and reſolute ſoldiers, and commonly called the bravo's of Algiers. When he ſaw fort St. Elmo, and conſidered its ſmallneſs, he could not forbear crying out, That had his ſoldiers been at the ſiege, it would not have held out ſo long. This young turk was ſon to Barbaroſſa, and ſon-in-law to Dragut: proud of thoſe celebrated names, and in hopes of making his own as illuſtrious, he deſired the baſha to entruſt him with the attack of fort St. Michael, boaſting that he would carry it ſword in hand. Muſtapha, who was an old general, and who would not have been ſorry that this bold youth ſhould learn at his own expence, how dangerous it was to come within reach of the ſword of the knights, anſwered him in a very obliging manner, That as he did not doubt of his ſucceſs, he freely conſented that the ſultan ſhould beſtow upon him all the honour that ſo brave an action merited; and, in order to enable him to carry his point, and attack the iſle both by ſea and land, he gave him ſix thouſand men, aſſuring him at the ſame time, that he would ſuſtain him on the land ſide at the head of all his troops.

HASSAN, with his Algerines, reſolved to attack the peninſula both by ſea and land; towards the continent, in that part where it joined to the main land, and towards the port on the other ſide. He left this laſt attack to Candeliſſa his lieutenant; he was a Greek renegado, and an old corſair, of a cruel and bloody diſpoſition, but an excellent ſeaman, having ſpent his whole life under Barbaroſſa, and commanded at this time the Algerines, who follow'd Haſſan to the ſiege, he having divided them between himſelf and his lieutenant on this occaſion. To prepare for this double attack, the turks for ſeveral days together kept a continual fire with their artillery from ſeveral batteries. They had raiſed one of three cannons upon mount St. Elmo, which played upon the Spur or point of the iſland. There was another of thirteen cannons and a double culverin planted upon the Coradin rock, which fired continually on the courtin of the Caſtle St. Michael. The front of the caſtle was battered by three cannons from a place called the Hermitage. They had raiſed on mount St. Margaret another battery of ſix cannons, which played upon the fortifications of the caſtle of St. Michael, and made great havock among the houſes within. One would have thought hitherto that the turks were minded only to make war at a diſtance, and to carry it on with their artillery, but on the fifteenth of July, at day-break, the ſcene changed, and they came to a long and bloody engagement, in which the braveſt of both parties loſt their lives.

WHILST

WHILST the turks, through the ruins which their artillery had made, were endeavouring to force their way into the iſland, their ſlaves had drawn by ſtrength of arms, a prodigious number of boats from port Muſſet, croſs mount Sceberras, and had lanched them in the great port, and Candeliſſa had put part of the algerine ſoldiers on board them, together with upwards of 2000 men, whom the baſha had given him for this enterprize. This little fleet, if we conſider the ſize of their veſſels, being well-armed, and numerous enough to cover the great port in a manner, ſet out from the coaſt of mount Sceberras with drums beating, haut-boys and other barbarous inſtruments playing as they moved along. It was preceeded by a bark full of mahometan prieſts and derviſes, ſome of whom were imploring the aſſiſtance of heaven with hymns and prayers, whilſt others were reading, out of books which they held in their hands, imprecations againſt the chriſtians. This ceremony ſoon gave way to arms of a more formidable nature, when the turks advanced boldly to the Staccado. Candeliſſa imagined he ſhould be able to make his way through ſome part of it and break it; or, in caſe of diſappointment, his deſign was to make his ſoldiers climb over the ſtaccado, and by the help of a great number of planks, one end of which was to be laid upon the top of the piles, and the other upon the ſhore, he thought to make a kind of a bridge to land his men. But he was miſtaken in his conjectures, the ſhore being farther off than he imagined, and the planks proving too ſhort; and when he attempted to break the chain, or cut the ſail-yards, which faſtened the piles that formed the ſtaccado, the turks were in a moment overwhelmed by the fire from the muskets: And the artillery of the caſtle of St. Angelo, with all the batteries of the iſle which looked towards the port, firing upon them at the ſame time, ſunk a good number of their boats, and forced the reſt to make off.

THEIR general however rallied them together, and obſerving that the ſtaccado did not ſo entirely cover the point of the iſle, but that it left a place where he might attempt to make a deſcent, he accordingly made towards it. 'Twas a kind of cape or promontory, on which they had made a ſtrong intrenchment, that was lined by a good number of arquebuſiers, and waſhed to the bottom by the water of the port. This point of land was defended by a battery of ſix cannons, (playing level with the water of the port) which the grand maſter had planted juſt below two wind-mills that ſtood upon the eminence. The commander de Guimeran, an old knight, of whom mention has been often made, and ever with honour, commanded at this poſt: He ſuffered the boats of the enemy to advance near the ſhore, but as ſoon as he ſaw them within reach, he gave them ſuch a fire, with his great and ſmall ſhot, that ſeveral of their boats were ſunk, and we are told that near 400 turks were killed by this volley.

CANDELISSA, who had been brought up, as it were, in the midſt of fire, and inured to all the dangers of war, made to the ſhore, whilſt the chriſtian cannoneers were charging their artillery again, and landed at the head of his Algerines. But he here met with new perils; for Guimeran, when he fired his cannons, had reſerved two loaden with cartridge ſhot, which he now poured in upon the turks. Great numbers of them dropped, but their intrepid general, ſeeing part of his ſoldiers give way, and ſeveral of them making back to their boats, did all that lay in his power, by making uſe of intreaties and menaces:

JOHN DE LA VALETTE.

ces: But above all, endeavouring by his own example and reſolution, to oblige them to ſtand their ground on the ſhore, and in order to cut off all hopes of retreating, commanded the boats to make off: This was telling his ſoldiers that they muſt either vanquiſh or die, and indeed 'twas manifeſted on this occaſion, that deſpair often puſhes us on to actions that are ſuperiour to courage, or the ordinary ſtrength of nature: The Algerines, who were in the front of the attack, with a ſabre in one hand, and a ladder in the other, endeavoured to get upon the intrenchment. They all ſtrove who ſhould firſt ſeize upon ſo dangerous a poſt, and unanimouſly preſſed forward with a generous contempt of death. There was a dreadful ſlaughter made in the engagement, which was a very long one: the blood ran down in ſtreams to the foot of the intrenchment; but the Barbarians attacked it with ſo much fury and reſolution, that they, at laſt, after an engagement of about five hours, gained the top of the intrenchment, and planted ſeven enſigns upon it.

AT the ſight of theſe ſtandards, the knights, though reduced to a ſmall number, being aſhamed of their retreat, faced about upon the enemy with a noble indignation. Admiral Monti put himſelf at their head, and after a freſh volley of ſmall ſhot on both ſides, they cloſed and engaged one another with their half pikes, ſwords, and daggers: Fortune however ſeemed in ſuſpence on the ſide of the knights, of whom ſo great a number had been ſlain, and thoſe who ſurvived were ſo wearied and ſpent, that they had juſt reaſon to fear the worſt; when the grand maſter, whoſe vigilance extended to every ſcene of action, having notice of the extremity to which thoſe who defended the ſpur of St. Michael were reduced, ſent the commander de Giou, general of the gallies, and the chevaliers de Quincy, and Ruiz de Medina, with a party to their aſſiſtance. This ſuccour was preceeded by another of a very ſingular kind: A company of boys near 200 in number, armed with ſlings, which they uſed with great dexterity, crying out ſuccour and victory, poured in ſhowers of ſtones upon the enemy. The commander de Giou advancing immediately, at the head of his men, with his pike in his hand, charged the infidels, tore down their ſtandards, drove them before him, and forced them to quit the rampart where they were going to make a lodgement. The knights purſued them cloſe, with their drawn ſwords, and forced the greateſt part of them to throw themſelves headlong down; Candeliſſa, their commander was one of the firſt that fled, and though he had ever hitherto diſcovered the utmoſt intrepidity and courage, it yet was damp'd before the engagement was ended. He had no ſooner loſt all hopes of vanquiſhing, but his intrepidity fled away at the ſame moment; and the fear of falling into the hands of the knights who gave no quarter, obliged him to call back his boats, and he himſelf was the firſt that leaped in. His own ſoldiers aſhamed of his precipitate flight, which diſhonoured their body, called him afterwards by no other name than that of the Greek traitour: They gave out that he was a renegado, in a double ſenſe; and that he, after having renounced the chriſtian religion and embraced that of Mahomet, had not been willing to compleat the advantage he had gained through the hopes of his meeting with a more favourable reception among the chriſtians upon his return to them, which had been the reaſon of his delivering them up to the fury of the knights.

HOWEVER the algerine bravos, notwithſtanding their being deſerted by their leader, ſtill fought on as they retreated with great cou-

rage; but ſerjeant major Sada, the chevaliers Adorne a Genoeſe, Paul Ferrier of the language of France, and a florentine gentleman named Corbinelli, incenſed at their obſtinate reſiſtance, ſallied out at a caſemate with a party of ſoldiers; ſurpriſed and charged the infidels ſo warmly, that after having killed great numbers of them, they forced the reſt to fly for their lives, to the boats and ſhallops which were returned to take them in.

THE ſea was not much more favourable to them than the land, they being obliged to make their way through the fire of all the batteries that had annoyed them ſo much at their approach, and upon their landing, and which now ſunk ſeveral of them in their retreat. Even thoſe who had thrown themſelves on board, crouding in too great numbers, ſunk down to the bottom; ſuch as could not get boats, embraced the knees of the victorious ſoldiers, and begged for quarter, but they received no other anſwer than that they ſhould have St. Elme's pay, and accordingly were, by way of repriſal, all cut to pieces. There were others, who, in order to avoid this kind of death, flung themſelves into the ſea, though they could not ſwim, and were either drowned, or killed with the fire from the muskets. The water of the port was in a little time covered with dead bodies, with heads, arms and mangled limbs: Scarce had there ever been ſeen a more hideous and dreadful ſpectacle, and of four thouſand men whom the general had put on board for this enterprize, there hardly eſcaped five hundred, and moſt of theſe were grievouſly wounded.

THE order, not to reckon the private ſoldiers, loſt near an hundred perſons of diſtinction, who were either knights or ſecular gentlemen, and whom a zeal for the chriſtian religion had brought to Malta. Among theſe they particularly regretted the loſs of brother Frederic de Toledo, ſon to the viceroy of Sicily, a young knight, whom the grand maſter, out of regard to his father who was vaſtly fond of him, had always kept near his perſon; but the young gentleman hearing the diſtreſs that the knights who defended the ſpur of St. Michael were in, ſtole away from him, and ran to that part which was moſt in danger, where he was killed by a cannon-ball. His death proved fatal to the chevalier de Savoguerre, who being cloſe by him, was killed by a ſplinter of his cuiraſs. At the ſame time another ball killed the chevalier Simon de Souſa, a Portugueſe, and ſhot off the arm of the chevalier Gaſpard de Pontevez of the language of Provence. The chevaliers Simiane de Gordes ſerjeant-major, Mello a Portugueſe, Roderic de Cardinez, and Brunefay de Quiney, who had brought the firſt ſuccours into the iſland, though wounded, would not yet quit their poſt. The grand maſter could not prevail upon them to retire into the infirmary, but they, getting themſelves dreſſed on the ſpot, ſtayed on the place where they had received their wounds.

NOR was leſs blood ſhed on both ſides at the viceroy of Algier's attack. This commander, after having ordered the ſignal for the aſſault to be given by a cannon-ball, advanced boldly at the head of his troops to the ſeveral breaches which the artillery had made on the ſide of the Bormole and the caſtle of St. Michael. The Algerine troops which he had kept with him, were in the front of the attack, and came forward with ſo much heat and reſolution, that they ſoon planted their enſigns along the parapets. Colonel Robles, a perſon of celebrated valour, and yet more ſo for his experience in war, com-

JOHN DE LA VALETTE.

manded at that poſt: he, in order to ſtop the firſt impetuoſity of the infidels, ſaluted them with the fire of all his artillery which they had purpoſely charged with cartridges; and the ſhot flying through the thickeſt of their battalions, made at firſt an horrible maſſacre, and whilſt they were putting freſh charges into the cannon, and the mortar pieces, a good number of caſtilian and portugueſe knights, who were poſted along the flank of the Bormole, diſcharged ſuch a terrible fire from their ſmall arms, that the Algerines, in ſpight of all their bravery and reſolution, were not able to withſtand the fury of it, ſo that their commander drew them off, and marching along the ſide of the parapet, led them to another breach, where, as ſome deſerters had informed him, he ſhould meet with leſs reſiſtance.

THE chevaliers Carlo-Rufo, and la Ricca, both captains of gallies, commanded at that poſt; who, in order to ſecure their ſoldiers from ſome batteries which the Turks had raiſed upon the adjoining hills, had hollowed and ſunk the earth on the inſide of the wall. But the courtine, by this digging away the ground, was made ſo high, that they were obliged, in order to defend the breach and ſtand an aſſault, to throw up immediately a kind of bridge or gallery; and by reaſon of the little time that was allowed for that purpoſe, the work was ſo ill performed, and withal ſo narrow, that ſeveral knights and a great number of ſoldiers were there deſtroyed by the fireworks which the Turks were continually throwing at them. The chevaliers Rufo and la Ricca expoſing themſelves in all places, were dangerouſly wounded and quite diſabled. They were ſucceeded by admiral Monti, who commanded in chief. This officer immediately ſent for a reinforcement of a party of thoſe knights who had ſignalized themſelves in the defence of the ſpur, and had juſt before repulſed the infidels with ſo much vigour. A conſiderable number of theſe, and among the reſt Quiney, and the ſerjeant-major Simione de Gordes, notwithſtanding their being wounded, would needs ſhare in theſe new dangers: they ran to the breach at the head of a company of brave inhabitants; and as if the firſt advantage which they had gained had been a certain earneſt of victory, their preſence ſoon changed the face of the combat, The few knights and ſoldiers who were left at this poſt, at the ſight of this reinforcement, were inſpired with freſh courage, and they all fought with ſo much intrepidity and reſolution, that the viceroy, unable to withſtand them any longer, was forced to order a retreat to be ſounded, having ſeen moſt of his algerine bravoes drop by his ſide.

THE baſha, deſpairing to vanquiſh the knights any other way than by exhauſting and wearing them out, reſolved not to give them a moment's reſt; and therefore after having engaged them for five hours together ſucceſſively, he renewed the aſſault, and, inſtead of the Algerines, ſent on the janizaries whom the grand ſeignior had given him for this expedition. Theſe ſoldiers, the main ſtrength of the ottoman empire, advanced up to it with a bravery that is proof to every kind of danger. 'Twas againſt this formidable body that the chriſtians, parched with heat and thirſt, and quite ſpent with fatigue, were forced to take up arms. However, they, as if they had been inſenſible to the cravings both of hunger and thirſt, and to the raging heat of the dog-days, and had been invulnerable, gave the enemy a freſh volley with their ſmall arms, came up with them, and attacked them ſword in hand. They now cloſe together, each man ſeizing his oppoſite adverſary,

ſary, ſo that in the midſt of a general engagement, there were frequently as many private duels as there were combatants. The janizaries diſcovered as much intrepidity as the knights, nor were leſs backward in braving dangers. The peril and fury of the troops were equal on both ſides, when a turk perceiving the ſlaughter the chevalier de Quincy made of his comrades, and not valuing what became of himſelf provided he could but kill him, advanced up towards him, and firing his piece, ſhot him through the head, but he himſelf fell the ſame moment by the ſword of another knight. However, the death of this janizary was but a poor ſatisfaction for the loſs the order ſuſtained by that of ſo brave a knight. The chevalier de Simiane ſurvived him but a few moments; he had put himſelf at the head of a party of the inhabitants, compoſed of men, women, and children; and whilſt the latter were throwing ſtones, fire-works and boling oil upon the enemy, he charged them with ſo much fury, that the turks, unable to ſtand it, quitted the breach and took to their heels, in ſpight of all the cries and menaces of the baſha. Simiane, in order to prevent their officers from bringing them on to a freſh engagement, immediately ſet pioneers to work, who in his preſence and by his directions laid wool-ſacks and gabions upon the breach, and dug cuts behind the firſt barricado which they fortified with good intrenchments. But as he, regardleſs of his own ſafety, was employing himſelf in ſo urgent a work, and which was ſo neceſſary for the ſecurity of the place, his head was ſtruck off by a cannon-ball. Thus died a knight, who was one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed of his language on account of his birth, and ſtill more ſo by his bravery and skill in the art of war. Upwards of forty more, and about two hundred ſoldiers loſt their lives in this laſt attack. As they fought with very little intermiſſion, and that numbers of them were daily killed and wounded, they were obliged to fill up their places with new officers. So that the commander Anthony du Fay, of the family of St. Romain, was made ſerjeant-major, and the poſt of Carlo-rufo and la Ricca, who were both mortally wounded, was given to the chevaliers John Antonio Grugno, and Julio Malvicino, who had both ſome skill in fortifications, and in the art of attacking and defending of fortreſſes.

THE baſha, whom neither the greatneſs of dangers, nor the difficulties he met with could diſhearten, ordered a bridge to be framed after the model of that which he had made at the ſiege of St. Elmo, compoſed of the ſail-yards and maſts of ſhips. The grand maſter, who foreſaw the conſequences of it, and the advantage it would be of to the turks in ſtorming the place, attempted twice to ſet it on fire in the night: but his ſoldiers were repulſed both times, and the enterprize appeared ſo difficult, that they were convinced it would be impoſſible for them to ſucceed in it but in the day-time. The danger was evident from the great number of janizaries, all of them excellent musketeers, who were poſted on the counterſcarp. The grand maſter, as a proof that his neareſt relations were not dearer to him than the other knights, ordered Henry de la Valette, his brother's ſon, to make the attempt. The young knight, who was full of fire and ſpirit, in company with the chevalier de Polaſtron, his particular friend, ſallied out at the head of a good number of ſoldiers, in broad day-light. As the bridge was not yet well fixed, he thought to break it down by tying ſtrong ropes and cables to the poſts and principal beams that ſupported it,

JOHN DE LA VALETTE.

it, and afterwards to draw them by main force out of their place, and ſo make the whole work fall to pieces. The ſoldiers at firſt ſet about it with reſolution enough, but as they worked in a place which was expoſed to the enemies fire, they were demoliſhed in a moment by a ſtorm of ſmall ſhot, which killed abundance of them, and forced the reſt to retire for ſhelter under the fortifications of the caſtle. Young Valette, and the chevalier de Polaſtron, were too brave to follow the example of their ſoldiers, and not minding whether they followed them or not, endeavoured to ſupply what was defective on their part, and to faſten the ropes themſelves to the props of the bridge. But they met with the ſame fate as their ſoldiers, for they were ſcarce got down to the foot of the bridge, when they were ſhot by two musket-balls, that killed them on the ſpot. As the baſha had offered a reward for every knight's head that ſhould be brought him, ſome janizaries advanced immediately to cut off thoſe of la Valette and Polaſtron. But the chriſtian ſoldiers were in ſuch concern at having deſerted their officers, that they choſe rather to loſe their lives as they had done, than to return back into the town without at leaſt bringing off their bodies along with them. This brought on an engagement between the two parties, and the diſpute who ſhould get poſſeſſion of the dead bodies, was the occaſion that many loſt their lives on both ſides. But the chriſtians, being either ſtronger or more obſtinate in the engagement, gained their point at laſt, and retired back into the place with this ſorrowful advantage.

THE grand maſter bore the death of his nephew with great conſtancy of mind, and added this virtue to the ſhining qualities which he diſcovered during the whole courſe of the ſiege; and when ſome old knights were going to condole with him on his loſs, "All the knights, "ſays he to them, are alike dear to me: I conſider them all as my "children, and I am as ſenſibly concerned at Polaſtron's death, as that "of la Valette: after all, they have only got the ſtart of us for ſome "days: and in caſe the ſicilian ſuccours do not arrive, and that "there is no poſſibility of ſaving Malta, we muſt all die to a man, and "be buried under its ruins." Whereupon an old commander telling him, That he had been informed by a deſerter, that the baſha had ſwore, in caſe he ſhould take Malta, to put all the knights to the ſword, and reſerve only the grand maſter in order to preſent him to the grand ſeignor: "I ſhall "take care to prevent him, replied la Valette, and if the ſiege, ſo "contrary to my hopes, ſhould end in ſo fatal a manner, I declare, "ſays he, before you all, addreſſing himſelf to the knights who were "about him, that I am reſolved in that extremity, rather than they "ſhall ever ſee, whilſt I am alive, a grand maſter carried in chains to "Conſtantinople, to dreſs my ſelf like a private ſoldier, and ruſh into "the midſt of the enemies battallions, there to be killed, and there "die with my children and brethren."

SUCH were the ſentiments of this great man, ſo truly worthy of his dignity: and we may juſtly affirm, and indeed all the knights of that time agreed, that the main ſtrength of the iſland lay in the virtue, the courage, the reſolution, and foreſight of la Valette, and that the ſafety of Malta depended entirely upon his preſervation. However, he valued his own life leſs than he did that of others, and after having been in perſon to reconnoitre the bridge, where his nephew had been killed, he ordered an hole to be made in the wall over againſt it, and

on the ſame level, where he planted a piece of artillery, which fired with ſuch ſucceſs, that it ſoon ſhattered the bridge, and the night following they ſet fire to it and burnt it to aſhes.

THE baſha, enraged at ſuch a reſiſtance, and fearing that the ill ſucceſs of the ſiege might draw upon him the ſultan's diſpleaſure, called an extraordinary council of war. He there firſt gave them an account, of all he had hitherto tranſacted for the taking of the ſeveral fortreſſes of the iſland, and then repreſented to them, that the only reaſon of his attacking fort St. Michael, was, becauſe it ſeemed the weakeſt in the whole iſland, which if he could once take, it would open him a way for the reducing of the great town and the caſtle of St. Angelo; that however, he had not neglected to batter inceſſantly this laſt place, with his artillery from mount Salvator, and other adjacent poſts; and that the ſubject of their preſent meeting, was to conſider whether they ſhould give over the attack of the iſle de la Sangle, in order to unite all their forces againſt the caſtle of St. Angelo; or whether it were not better, in order to divide and weaken the forces of the beſieged, to carry on the attack in different places at the ſame time.

THE council, after a mature conſideration of the reaſons on both ſides, agreed to the laſt propoſal, and it was accordingly reſolved, That the baſha, with the viceroy of Algiers, ſhould continue the attack of the iſle, whilſt admiral Piali, with his marines, ſhould lay ſiege to the great town and the caſtle of St. Angelo; and that, in order to prevent the viceroy of Sicily's throwing any ſuccours into theſe places, Candileſſa Haſſan's, lieutenant, ſhould guard the ſea with fourſcore gallies well armed.

THE baſha, purſuant to this ſcheme, renewed his batteries againſt the iſle de la Sangle: ſo that not only the walls and baſtions of the fort were demoliſhed, but the very houſes of the town, and the inſide of the caſtle were likewiſe very much damaged, and there was ſcarce a place in it but what bore ſome marks of the fury of the cannon. Admiral Piali, on his ſide, that he might not be out-done by muſtapha, in his eagerneſs for puſhing forward his work, raiſed a new battery upon mount Salvator of twenty cannons, among which were three baſiliſes, or great cannons, and two mortars, ſome of which threw ſtone bullets of three hundred pound weight, and others iron balls of ſixty, and ſome of fourſcore pounds. All theſe different batteries played inceſſantly upon the poſt of Caſtile, the flank of the poſt of Auvergne, and all other parts of the fortifications, as far as the infirmary.

HIS engineers directed their principal attack againſt the poſt of Caſtile, ſo that the trenches and other works were very far advanced on that ſide. They laboured at them night and day with indefatigable induſtry, not ſo much as reſting in the hotteſt part of the day: inſomuch that in a little time they ran them up to the walls of the place, and intrenched themſelves ſo well with the earth which they dug up, and the ſtones which were ſhot againſt the town, that the workmen were all under covert.

THE ſiege grew more and more bloody every day, and worſe to be dreaded for its conſequences: the infidels did not allow the beſieged a moment's reſt: one while they attacked a ſingle place, and anon they aſſaulted ſeveral together at the ſame time. The chriſtians indeed repulſed them with vigour, and killed them abundance of men, but yet conſidering the diſproportion of their forces, they might be ſaid to loſe

JOHN DE LA VALETTE.

more than the turks, and their garriſons were daily weakned. The baſha, after having haraſſed them for four days together, with continual ſkirmiſhes and offers of attempting a ſcalado in ſeveral places, made, Auguſt the ſecond, a freſh aſſault on fort St. Michael. The infidels, in hopes of plunder, advanced up to the breach with great reſolution. The beſieged ſuſtained the attack couragiouſly, and repulſed the enemy; their officers, during the ſix hours that the attack laſted, brought them on five ſeveral times to the aſſault: but they were always received with the ſame intrepidity. As their troops, and particularly the janizaries, expoſed themſelves boldly, the knights made an horrible ſlaughter of them, and the baſha fearing leſt all the reſt ſhould be cut to pieces, ordered a retreat to be ſounded.

FIVE days afterwards, which was the ſeventh of the ſame month, Muſtapha made another aſſault: and, in order to oblige the beſieged to divide their forces, ſent three thouſand men to attack the baſtion of Caſtile, whilſt he himſelf marched at the head of eight thouſand to ſtorm the fort of St. Michael. The only weapons that were chiefly fought with at the poſt of Caſtile were arrows and ſmall arms: their deſign was to draw the principal forces of the order on that ſide, for which purpoſe the turkiſh musketeers and archers advanced but ſlowly to the ſtorm. But their greateſt efforts, and the real attack was againſt fort St. Michael. The janizaries who were in the front, advanced boldly with great ſhouts according to their uſual cuſtom: they were anſwered by a terrible fire from the place, which killed them abundance of men, before they could come near the walls. But they, without being daunted at ſeeing nothing but death all around them, marched with intrepidity over the bodies of their comrades, and forced their way to the top of the breach, where both parties, as if they had been in the field, fought with equal fury for four hours together; the turks were for keeping the poſts they had ſeized upon, and the chriſtians exerted themſelves to the utmoſt, in order to prevent their making a lodgement there. Among the latter, all, even to the very women, ſignalized themſelves againſt the infidels: and whilſt the peaſant and the citizen were defending their country, their wives and children fought with an intrepidity which equalled in ſome meaſure the reſolute bravery of the knights: and if paternal or conjugal love inſpired thoſe men with a courage and force to which they had been hitherto inſenſible, there were not wanting heroick women who ran to the aſſiſtance of their fathers, their brothers, and their husbands, and who generouſly expoſed themſelves to the greateſt dangers.

SOME of theſe brought ſtones, arrows, victuals and refreſhments to the combatants, whilſt others of a more dauntleſs ſpirit mixed in the fray, and threw fire-works, ſcalding water and melted pitch upon the turks: the fear they had of loſing their honour and their liberty, in caſe they ſhould fall into the hands of the infidels, inſpired theſe brave women with a contempt of all the horrours of impending death. The turks, ſtill furious and eager for fighting, and enraged to ſee their courage oppoſed by ſuch feeble enemies, fell upon them without mercy, ſo that ſeveral of them died by their weapons and the fire-works which they threw at them. The breach and the caſtle ſeemed all on fire, and the tumult of the combatants, the claſhing of their arms, the cries of the ſoldiers, the groans of the wounded, and of the perſons of both

ſexes who were juſt expiring, and lay confounded together upon the ground, formed a ſpectacle that was as moving as it was dreadful.

THE baſha, who had poſted himſelf at the foot of the breach, ran with his ſabre in hand on all ſides, exhorting, intreating, and threatning his ſoldiers, and crying out, That if they would but exert themſelves a little more, they would certainly carry the place. He, with his own hand, killed two janizaries who had thrown themſelves down from the breach, in order to prevent their falling by the ſword of the knights. The reſt of his ſoldiers, terrified by this action, and ſeeing that the ſwords of their officers were as fatal as thoſe of their enemies, laid aſide all thoughts of putting an end to the engagement any otherwiſe than by cutting all the beſieged to pieces. Each ſingle janizary fought with as much eagerneſs, as if the victory had depended on himſelf only: in fine, after the aſſault had laſted upwards of four hours, and at a time when the grand maſter was in ſome pain about the ſucceſs of it; the baſha, to the great aſtoniſhment of the chriſtians, as well as of the turks, ordered a retreat to be ſounded. They were afterwards informed that the commander Meſquita, governour of the Notable-city, had been the occaſion of it.

MUSQUETA, who was an old officer, and a man whoſe vigilance extended it ſelf to all places, ſeeing, from the higheſt part of the city, that the caſtle of St. Michael looked as if all in a blaze, made no queſtion but that the turks were attempting a ſtorm, and that the beſieged were attacked with the utmoſt vigour, upon which he ordered a body of cavalry to march out of the place in order, each trooper carrying a foot ſoldier behind him in order to make a diverſion. The chevaliers de Lugny and Vertura commanded this detachment, who were ordered to go and diſcover how things ſtood at the fountain of la Marza, and moreover, to attempt to ſurprize and carry off the ſick and wounded ſoldiers, whom the baſha had lodged in that place, for the ſake of water, and the coolneſs of the place; but he had not given them a ſtrong guard enough. The chevalier de Lugny leaving his infantry in ambuſh in a neighbouring village or hamlet, called Azabugi, in order to ſecure his retreat, advanced to the fountain, and finding that the guards of the hoſpital were diſperſed up and down the neighbouring hills the better to view the two aſſaults, he ordered his troopers to alight, who falling upon the ſick and wounded, made a dreadful havock among them. The ſurprize and confuſion that generally attend on ſuch unexpected attacks, the cries and groans of the dying, the flight of ſuch of the wounded as could eſcape the fury of the chriſtians, all theſe circumſtances united, ſpread a general terrour over the turkiſh camp: the fugitives gave out that it was the van of the ſicilian army, and of the chriſtian ſuccours, which being landed near that place, were marching forward to raiſe the ſiege. This report ſoon came to the baſha's ears, and as in a general conſternation reaſon often ſerves to no other purpoſe than to augment the terrour and belief of the danger, Muſtapha, though an excellent officer, was impoſed upon by the current miſtake. This had been the occaſion of his commanding a retreat to be ſounded; when rallying his troops, he put himſelf at their head, and advanced towards the place where he expected to meet the enemy: but he found a general ſolitude in all places. For the chevalier de Lugny, after executing his general's orders, had judiciouſly withdrawn himſelf. The baſha arriving

JOHN DE LA VALETTE.

ving at the fountain of la Marza, and being informed that this bold enterprize had been atchieved by a party of the garriſon of the city only, he fell into a violent paſſion, and that which particularly made his rage and ſhame ſtill greater, was, that he had ſuffered himſelf to be impoſed upon ſo vaſtly, and had diſcontinued an aſſault at a time when he had reaſon to hope he ſhould ſucceed in it. Whereupon he was firmly reſolved to return to the breach, renew the attack, and either die upon it or carry the place. But his principal officers repreſented to him that night was coming on; that his troops were exceſſively fatigued with the heat and obſtinacy of the battle, and that it was abſolutely neceſſary to allow them time to refreſh themſelves. Theſe reaſons prevailed upon him to return back to the camp, when they waited upon him to his tent, where he ſpent the night in forming new projects in order to make himſelf maſter of the bulwark of Caſtile, and the fort of St. Michael.

THE baſha had not omitted one of thoſe various kinds of attacks, which the fatal ſcience of war had invented for the taking of fortreſſes, trenches, places of arms, redoubts, cavaliers, ſaps, mines, ſcaladoes, batteries upon batteries, and planted in various places, freſh ſtorms, renewed almoſt every day, in a word, every thing had been hitherto attempted, and generally baffled by the valour of the knights. Their preſence upon the breach, and their intrepidity, had ſupplied the places of the ſtrongeſt baſtions, The turkiſh general, in order to conceal his deſign, and prevent their taking meaſures to oppoſe it, had again recourſe to mines: his pioneers and ſoldiers worked at them continually. The knights at the ſame time exerting themſelves to the utmoſt, in order to diſcover and countermine them, when they often met with the infidels, and came to an engagement with them in thoſe ſubterraneous paſſages. The great diſpute in theſe combats was, who ſhould keep poſſeſſion of the chamber of the mine, and it frequently happened that both parties were deſtroyed, either by the mine's taking fire, or by the falling and weight of the earth that was blown up into the air, and which fell back again upon the combatants. But the grand maſter and his officers could not diſcover all theſe mines; ſeveral eſcaped the obſervations and ſearch of the ableſt engineers: the turks had run ſome by different channels under fort St. Michael, and the bulwark of Caſtile, both which places were entirely undermined.

THE grand maſter and his knights being always in a manner between two fires, were not even ſafe on the ground they ſtood upon; and they had as much reaſon to dread the effects of the cannon, as that of the mine, which ſpringing up at once and without any previous notice, was equally formidable.

IN this dreadful ſtate of things la Valette wrote to the vice-roy of Sicily, to repreſent to him the great need he had of ſpeedy ſuccours, acquainting him that the fortifications of the iſland were intirely ruined; that he had loſt on different occaſions, the flower of his knights who had ruſhed fearleſs into danger; that ſuch intrepid warriours were not long lived, that moſt of thoſe who ſurvived were ſhut up in the infirmary; that the enemy was ſtrongly intrenched before the walls; and that he conjured him, in conſideration of the great diſtreſs he was in, without either fortifications, troops, or ſuccours, to diſpatch away, at leaſt, the two gallies of the order, which lay in the port of Meſſina, with the

knights

knights who were come thither from the remoteſt countries, It not being juſt, as he obſerved at the concluſion of his letter, to be tender of a part, and of a particular limb, when the whole body is expoſed to an almoſt inevitable deſtruction. JOHN DE LA VALETTE.

GARSIA though ever wavering and irreſolute, yet ſeeing it highly concerned both his maſter's honour as well as his own, to come to a final reſolution, propoſed the affair in council. John Andrew Doria, whoſe courage juſtly merited him the illuſtrious name of his great uncle, made him a propoſal of fitting out all the naval forces of his catholick majeſty, and of fighting the infidels at ſea. But the vice-roy immediately declared that he had no authority to venture a battle; nor were the reaſons ſtrong enough to engage him to hazard the royal navy: that in caſe the turks ſhould happen to be victorious, the coaſts of all his catholick majeſty's dominions, would by that means remain unguarded, and lye expoſed to the invaſions of the turks; ſo that all that they had to conſider, was whether it was the king's intereſt to ſend a part of his troops to Malta: and that ſuppoſing they ſhould come to that reſolution, whether it would be practicable to carry over the ſuccours, and land them without danger, and without the knowledge, or even in ſpight of all the oppoſition the infidels might make. There was no great difficulty as to the laſt article. The ſea officers, whoſe opinion was firſt aſked, unanimouſly agreed and demonſtrated, that a body of troops might be eaſily landed in the iſland. But the land officers were divided in opinion, with regard to the ſecond queſtion. Alvarez de Sande, a famous captain, of whom mention has been already made, with reſpect to the ſiege which he ſuſtained in the iſle of Garbes, was intirely againſt the enterprize, and maintained ſtiffly that the king of Spain was neither bound in juſtice, nor engaged by his own intereſt to hazard his troops; that it was la Valette's buſineſs to conſider his own circumſtances, and the condition of his forces, before he carried matters to too great an extremity, and that he, in imitation of the grand maſter Villiers de Liſle Adam, one of his lateſt predeceſſors, might enter into a treaty with the enemy, and quit the iſland upon tolerable conditions.

SUCH as were acquainted with Sande's valour, and heard him deliver his opinion with ſo much weakneſs, could not poſſibly dive into the motives of it. Some aſcribed it to the fear he was under of falling again into the hands of the turks, who had treated him cruelly during his captivity; others ſuſpected that he only did it in order to make his court to the Vice-roy, and perhaps to Philip himſelf, who, as we have already obſerved, minded nothing but ſhew, and who, after having got together a numerous fleet, levied troops in all his territories, and filled all Europe with the noiſe and expectation of the ſuccour he pretended to ſend, would not perhaps have been diſpleaſed that a council of war, compoſed of the ableſt generals of the age, ſhould have thought it improper for him to hazard a part of his army.

BUT Aſcanio della Corna, who had gained a great reputation in the wars of Piedmont and Italy, maintained warmly, on the contrary, that they could not decline ſending ſuccours to the knights of Malta, without expoſing themſelves to an eternity of reproaches. He repreſented that they, ever ſince their eſtabliſhment at Malta, had always exerted themſelves with the utmoſt bravery in the defence of the king-

JOHN DE LA VALETTE.

doms of Naples and Sicily; that when-evet the infidels were to be engaged at ſea, or that a war was to be carried on in Africa, they had always joined the fleets and armies of his catholick majeſty, and had been ever forward to expoſe themſelves to the greateſt dangers for his ſervice; that the buſineſs then in queſtion was the preſervation of an illuſtrious order, an order which without any ambitious views, and without ever attempting to make one ſingle conqueſt for its own private advantage, was continually in arms, and daily ſacrificing its lives for the defence of the territories and ſubjects of all chriſtian princes with the utmoſt impartiality. He then deſcended to particulars, and remonſtrated, that as the ſea officers had agreed that they might convey and afterwards land the ſuccours in the iſland without any danger, ſo thoſe who were to command on ſhore, might, by poſting themſelves advantagiouſly, and by the favour of the rocks, the hills, and paſſes, with which the iſland abounded, eaſily advance within ſight of the places beſieged; in which caſe the turks, as they had not at that time above 15 or 16000 men left, and all of them extremely harraſſed, would be obliged either to raiſe the ſiege, or be themſelves inveſted; that the infidels would be obliged to oppoſe the attacks of the chriſtian army, and the ſallies of the knights, and that at one and the ſame time, and that in the midſt of ſuch engagements, it would be an eaſy matter for them to throw ſuccours into the forts, and to change, or at leaſt re-inforce the garriſons.

THIS advice, being more generous, was carried by a plurality of voices; the vice-roy himſelf came into it, and in order to apologize for his affected delays, he wrote immediately to the grand maſter, by which he informed that he had juſt received orders from Madrid which left him at liberty to follow the dictates of his zeal and inclination for the order; that he would be at Malta towards the latter end of the month with 12000 land forces; that Doria and Vitelli were to bring 4000 more from Italy, and that he would immediately ſend away the two gallies of the order, under the command of the chevaliers de Cornuſton, and St. Aubin, with upwards of 200 knights, beſides a great many gentlemen of different nations, who were come to Meſſina in order to ſingalize themſelves in the defence of Malta; that indeed the king of Spain, his maſter, had ordered him as ſoon as he ſhould have landed the troops, to return back with the ſhips and gallies to Sicily; that notwithſtanding the earneſt deſire he had to diſtinguiſh himſelf at the head of his army, he was indiſpenſably obliged to obey; but that he, purſuant to his prince's intentions, would, before his ſetting out, leave expreſs orders with his general officers, to ſubmit to him as to their commander in chief.

HOW agreeable ſoever theſe poſitive aſſurances might be, the grand maſter, who depended only on his own forces, was ſtill as careful and vigilant as ever: he was continually viſiting the advanced poſts, was ever exhorting and encouraging the ſoldiers, and as he expoſed himſelf in places of the greateſt danger, he was frequently the firſt man who engaged the enemy.

THE knights, under the conduct of ſo heroick a general, were all of them continually fighting, or buſied in ſome labour; and if the hiſtorians of that time did not aſſure us of the fact, we could hardly think it probable, that ſuch an handful of warriours could have been able

to hold out ſo long as they did, againſt ſuch a number of attacks as they ſuſtained, or bear up during ſuch a ſeries of watching, wounds, and fatigues. Nor did the turks diſcover leſs bravery, and above all their generals could not ſo much as reflect upon the obſtinacy of their defence, without ſhame and vexation. Muſtapha and Piali, from a mutual emulation, attempted every thing that open force could do, and employed all the ſtratagems that the ſcience of war could ſuggeſt; and expoſed their own perſons to the greateſt dangers, as freely as they did thoſe of their ſoldiers, in the hopes they had, that he who ſhould firſt make himſelf maſter of the poſt he attacked, would be honoured by the Sultan, with the merits of the whole enterprize.

THIS emulation inſpired the two generals with a reſolution of either dying in the breach, or carrying the forts which they attacked. In purſuance of which they agreed to attempt a new ſtorm; to continue it, if neceſſary, for ſeveral days, and even nights together, and by that means weary out the knights, and vanquiſh them at leaſt by exhauſting their ſtrength, in caſe they could not triumph over their valour.

PURSUANT to this reſolution, they on the 18th of the month, at noon, in the greateſt heat of the day, advanced at the head of their ſeveral bodies, imagining they ſhould find the knights a ſleep, and retired under the ſhade and ſhelter of their intrenchments. The baſha commanded his ſoldiers to ſtorm the breach of St. Michael, and the turkiſh admiral that of the baſtion of Caſtile. Both the attacks were made with great reſolution, but with various ſucceſs at firſt.

SOME hours before the attack began at fort St. Michael, the infidels had made ſuch a terrible fire upon it, that they did not leave ſo much as the leaſt piece of a wall, fortification, or even intrenchment ſtanding. The baſha then ordered his men to attempt a ſtorm, and as they were the very flower of his troops, were brave, and fought under the eye of their general, they performed wonders. The knights received them with an intrepid courage, and though worn out with fatigue, and the greateſt part wounded, they never had before diſcovered ſo utter a contempt of danger. No ſooner did one drop but another ſtepped up in his place, and after an obſtinate engagement, which laſted for upwards of ſix hours together; they repulſed the enemy, more indeed by the greatneſs of their courage, than by the vigour of their ſtrength.

THE turkiſh admiral's attack on the baſtion of Caſtile, was equally dangerous and bloody. He had deferred attempting the ſtorm for ſome time, in hopes that the grand maſter, when he ſhould ſee that he made no motion, would detach ſome of the troops that were to oppoſe him, in order to ſuccour the fort St. Michael, by which means he might make an advantage of their abſence; but not finding that any body ſtirred, he ſprung a mine in a place where it was leaſt ſuſpected, which threw down a pannel of the wall. As ſoon as it had done execution, the beſiegers who were ready for the ſtorm, ſet up a great ſhout, mounted the breach in a trice; and the place had been certainly loſt, if the knights upon guard there, who were not prepared for their reception, had been ſuſceptible of fear. A chaplain of the order, brother William by name, ſeeing the turkiſh ſtandards ſet up at the foot of the parapet, ran in a terrible fright to the grand maſter, and made him ſigns at a diſtance, to retire immediately into the caſtle of St. Angelo. But

the

JOHN DE LA VALETTE.

the intrepid old man, clapping on a light head-piece, without ſtaying to put on his cuiraſs, advanced reſolutely with his half-pike in his hand to meet the infidels, when he and the knights who were with him, gave them ſuch a furious onſet, that they could not ſtand it, and ſeeing the inhabitants running in crouds to the grand maſter's aſſiſtance, they began to retire, but ſtill making a terrible fire from their ſmall arms all the time. Mendoſſa who commanded at that poſt, ſeeing the grand maſter ſtanding by him, and fearing leaſt ſome ball ſhould take him off, begged him on his knees to retire, repreſenting to him that the ſafety of the iſland, the lives, the liberty and honour of the women and maidens, depended on his preſervation, and that if they ſhould loſe him all would be loſt. But the grand maſter pointing to the turkiſh ſtandards, which were ſtill hoiſted and waving in the wind, told him, that he muſt firſt ſee thoſe trophies of the infidels demoliſhed. Upon which all the knights who were about him, ruſhed forwards immediately, when a new combat enſued, in which the braveſt men fell on both ſides: at laſt the ſtandards were tore down, and the infidels forced to retire in diſorder, covered with blood and wounds. The grand maſter made no queſtion but that their leaders would ſoon bring them on to the ſame attack, and therefore ordered quarters to be got ready for him there: the knights did not fail to repreſent to him, that he had made choice of a place which lay expoſed to the enemies artillery; but as he was ſenſible of the importance of that poſt, and how neceſſary his preſence was to defend it, nothing could prevail upon him to remove from it. So after thanking the knights for the teſtimonies they gave him of their affection, "Will it be poſſible "for me, ſays he to them, at the age of ſeventy one, to end my life "more glorioufly, than in fighting with my brethren and my friends, "for the ſervice of God, and the defence of our holy religion?"

THE turks, as the grand maſter had foreſeen, returned that very night to ſtorm both places: the attack was chiefly carried on with ſmall ſhot, and the beſieged on their ſide plied their enemies on all ſides with granadoes, flaming hoops, and fire-works, ſo that they fought almoſt by no other light, than that which was made by the fire of the artillery and ſmall-arms. The turkiſh ſoldiers at the foot of the breach, not knowing how to direct their own ſhot, or ſecure themſelves from that of the chriſtians, gave over the attack ſeveral times; but their officers ſtriking and cutting them with their canes and ſcimiters, forced them back as often. The ſoldiers who were as much incenſed at this treatment, as diſheartened by the reſiſtance of the knights, and being unable either to advance upon the works or retire, reſolved to impoſe upon their generals, when as if they had been ſtill attacking the knights, they only ſtruck their ſwords upon their bucklers, and ſet up their ſhouts as uſual in battle. But the baſha perceiving at laſt, notwithſtanding the darkneſs, that all the cries and noiſe they made was a meer ſham, thought proper to defer the attack till day ſhould appear, and immediately ordered a retreat to be ſounded.

I CANNOT tell whether I may not have juſt reaſon to fear that the reader will be tired with the repetitions of ſo many aſſaults, ſo little different from one another, but as both parties diſtinguiſhed themſelves in thoſe ſcenes by performing the moſt brave, and the moſt heroick actions, and as the knights particularly, though reduced to a

JOHN DE LA VALETTE.

ſmall number, ſuſtained for ſome months, both day and night, the continual attacks a numberleſs multitude of enemies, who relieved one another by turns, but never allowed them a moment's reſt. I imagined that this detail might be of uſe, as it gives a more juſt idea of the intrepidity of the combatants; and that I was moreover obliged to it, in order that my narration might not be wanting in exactneſs.

BE that as it will, the baſha the day following, being Auguſt 19, gave the ſignal for an aſſault at both attacks, by a general diſcharge of his batteries. The turks came on with freſh reſolution to that of St. Michael, hoping to make themſelves maſters at leaſt of the ravelin. What gave room to theſe hopes was a machine, being a kind of carcaſſe but much larger, made in the ſhape of a long barrel, covered over with iron hoops, and filled with gun-powder, chains, nails, bullets, and all kind of iron inſtruments. The engineer after having faſtened a match of a proper length to it, found means to throw it upon the ravelin, where it fell among the knights, who defended it. But they no way daunted at this ſmoking machine, catched it up before it took fire, and threw it back upon the enemy, who were crouding to mount the breach: it burſt a moment after, and tearing every thing to pieces that came in its way, ſent heads, legs, and arms, up into the air. The turks, in a fright, immediately diſperſed themſelves, ſome fled as far as their trenches, when the chriſtian ſoldiers animated with this diſmal ſpectacle, and in order to make their advantage of the terrour their enemies were in, fell in among them ſword in hand, made a terrible havock, and forced the reſt to retire.

PIALI's attack at the baſtion of Caſtile, was more dangerous, and laſted a conſiderable while longer, The infidels came on with an air of reſolution, and in ſpite of the continual fire of the chriſtians, which killed them abundance of men, they forced their way to the top of the parapet, and fixed their ſtandards upon it. At the ſhouts the turks gave, who fancied they were maſters of the place, la Valette, who was not far off, ran thither with pike in hand, charged the enemy with the utmoſt fury. The infidels reſiſted them with the ſame intrepidity, when they fought together with their pieces at their adverſaries breaſt. The commander of Bonneſeigne, loſt his eye by a muſket-ball, as he was fighting by the grand maſter's ſide; others fell by the ſword and fire-works. The grand maſter advancing too far in the danger not to have his ſhare of it, was wounded dangerouſly in the leg, by the ſplinter of a grenado. He generouſly diſregarded it as long as the combat laſted: continuing ſtill, by his ſpeeches as well as example, to animate his men, and thereby prevailed upon the common ſoldiers to fight and behave themſelves like ſo many officers, and as men who were inſpired with a true ſenſe of glory. A zeal for religion had the like effect upon the minds of the peaſants and townſmen, by making them ſlight all the horrours of ſurrounding death, and put all the combatants as it were upon a level. A conſiderable number of knights, braving the impending danger, met here with an honourable period to their lives. Cencio Gaſconi, an old knight, who commanded at the ſpur of St. Michael, informed of the danger to which the grand maſter was expoſed, ran to his ſuccour with a body of ſoldiers and inhabitants; and was the firſt who mounted on the parapet, together with the chevaliers Bergia, Mendoſſa, Don John, and de la Roche Pereyra. Pikes

JOHN DE LA VALETTE.

and ſwords were then the only weapons uſed; the turks and chriſtians often grappled together, and fought with a rage and fury, as if every private man had been revenging an old quarrel, and gratifying a perſonal hatred. Both parties were continually ſending new reinforcements to the combatants, which made the battle laſt till night. In fine, the knights who fought in the grand maſter's preſence, made ſuch powerful efforts, that they recovered the parapet and drove out the infidels.

MUSTAPHA, who neither allowed his enemies nor his own troops any interval of reſt, attempted another ſtorm the day following, which was the twentieth. Not that, after ſo many repeated tryals, he expected to carry places, ſo well defended, at once, but as he knew the grand maſter's main ſtrength lay principally in his knights, who were reduced to a ſmall number, his deſign in carrying on theſe continual attacks, was to take ſome of them off every day, and by that means at laſt reduce theſe two places, as he had already done fort St. Elmo, for their want of men ſufficient to defend them.

HOWEVER, as he ſaw his ſoldiers began to be diſpirited by theſe perpetual attacks, in which he loſt abundance of men, he ſet himſelf to contrive a way to ſecure them from the ſmall ſhot of the knights, which made a dreadful havock among them. For this purpoſe he invented a kind of head-piece, made of thin wood, but proof againſt musket-ſhot, which reached down to their ſhoulders. He cauſed eight thouſand of his foot to put on this new kind of armour, and advanced at their head to attack fort St. Michael. But when they were to engage, his ſoldiers were ſo encumbered, ſo uneaſy, and ſo much weighed down with theſe wooden helmets, that they could neither attack the chriſtians nor defend themſelves; ſo that they were forced to take off ſo troubleſome a load, and then, naked as it were, advanced boldly to attack the fort. They were led on by Cheder, ſangiac or governour of Boſſine, an old officer of good reputation in the army, who had promiſed the baſha either to carry the work, or die in the attempt. This old ſoldier, who was uſed on fighting-days to wear fine cloaths, the better to diſtinguiſh himſelf, was then dreſſed in a rich veſt, and advancing boldly up to the parapet, commanded the officer, who carried his enſign, to hold it aloft; but the officer was ſoon killed, and the enſign thrown down. Upon this the ſangiac immediately ordered it to be taken up again, and though the poſt he was in was very much expoſed, and that ſeveral turks were killed ſucceſſively one after another in the attempt, he ſtill had it raiſed and hoiſted aloft in the ſight of the combatants during all the time the ſtorm laſted. In fine, the laſt who carried it, having met with the ſame fate as his comrades, he himſelf took it, when holding it one hand, and his ſcimiter in the other, he fought, and obliged his ſoldiers to fight with wonderful reſolution. But his fine cloaths drawing all eyes upon him, and his valour and the deadly blows which he dealed about diſtinguiſhing him ſtill more, the chevalier Peſſoa, the grand maſter's page, killed him with a musket-ball; when a turkiſh officer immediately took his place, and encouraged the ſoldiers to revenge the death of their general.

THEY indeed maintained their poſt at firſt with reſolution enough; and ſo many ſingle combats were, as it were, fought between ſeveral officers of both parties about who ſhould get poſſeſſion of the ſangiac's body.

body. The turks at laſt carried it off, but they were ſo warmly purſued, that they were forced to take to their heels. In this rout, a knight threw himſelf on Cheder's enſign, but he who carried it, though mortally wounded, held it ſo faſt, that he was forced to break the ſtaff of it in his hands, and could only carry off the colours which were torn to rags. Several knights of diſtinction were killed in this engagement. The commander John de la Cerda, aſhamed of the weakneſs he had diſcovered at the defence of fort St. Elmo, had, in order to repair his honour, been for ſome time paſt ſeeking death, as it were, in every poſt of danger. He at length met with it on this occaſion, and died bravely on the breach.

THE turkiſh ſoldiers beginning to deſpond after ſo many bloody ſtorms, attempted in vain; the Baſha found it neceſſary to allow them an interval of two or three days reſt. But on the 20th, a letter was thrown into the great town, which they took up, and carried, ſealed as it was, to the grand maſter, who found nothing in it but this one word, Thurſday. He was not at a loſs to underſtand the meaning of it, and that he was to expect a freſh aſſault upon that day. He accordingly prepared for it, with his uſual courage and reſolution. And in order to prevent any ſurprize, and to ſound the diſpoſition of his men, he cauſed a falſe alarm to be given on tueſday the one and twentieth. Every body ran readily to his poſt, and by this trial the grand maſter had abundant reaſon to be pleaſed with the vigilance of the officers, as well as with the alacrity of the ſoldiers. He only obſerved, that by the daily loſs they had ſuſtained of a good number of knights, ſome of them were wanted in certain poſts, in order to head and animate the ſoldiers.

THIS report reaching the infirmary, all the wounded knights who were able to ſtand upon their legs bravely ſallied out, and like thoſe of fort St. Elmo, choſe rather to face death and meet it on the breach, than wait for its coming in their beds. The grand Maſter admiring their generous ſpirit, diſtributed them into the ſeveral places where they were moſt wanted: and finding himſelf ſuſtained by warriours, who ſeemed to have ſomething in them more than human, he waited with impatience for the return of the enemy.

BUT he had not long to wait; for purſuant to the notice which had been given him, they preſented themſelves on the twenty-third at both attacks: the baſha led on his troops in perſon to ſtorm fort St. Michael. This place, during the ſickneſs of admiral Monti, was defended by the marſhal Copier, the commander Giou general of the gallies, and by a conſiderable number of the principal commanders of the order. The turks animated by Muſtapha's preſence and example fought with great courage; none of them boggled at danger, nor did they meet with a leſs vigorous reſiſtance from the beſieged. If the turks by making a bold ſtruggle, ever got an inch of ground, they were ſoon repulſed from it by the chriſtians. Each party had its alternative of good and ill ſucceſs, without any one's being able to judge on what ſide the victory inclined: the baſha diſcovered on this occaſion, all that the bravery and conduct of a great general could perform, in order to ſurmount the diſadvantages of his ſituation; but the knights having an advantage in their poſt, made ſuch a terrible fire with their ſmall arms, from the top of the breach, and were ſo well ſeconded by all their artillery,

JOHN DE LA VALETTE.

tillery, that the turks, after having loſt abundance of their men, loſt likewiſe their courage. Such as were fartheſt off the breach began to ſteal away from the danger; ſuch as were nearer and more expoſed took to their heels; nay, even their very officers gave back, and, in ſpight of all the baſha could either ſay or do, he could never bring them on to the ſtorm again, ſo that he was forced to command a retreat to be ſounded, in order to ſave the honour of his troops.

BUT the attack of the bulwark of Caſtile laſted longer, and was carried on with more vigour, and attended with greater danger: It was uſhered in with a furious fire from the turkiſh batteries, which played upon the breach in order to drive the chriſtians from thence, at the ſame time that a body of janizaries, aſſiſted by a croud of pioneers, were raiſing a kind of platform cloſe by the wall, and higher than the parapet: they here poſted a party of musketeers, who made ſuch a continual fire upon the beſieged, that no body could appear either on the breach, or along the parapet, but was immediately killed. The grand maſter, who was ever in the hotteſt part of the fire, and of the danger, ran to the place; his preſence inſpired the beſieged with freſh courage; nor was that of the beſiegers any way damped; and though the whole time was ſpent in firing at one another, the combat was nevertheleſs bloody. It laſted till night, and in ſpight of all the fire the grand maſter could poſſibly make from all his batteries, he yet was not able to ſilence that of the enemy, who flattered themſelves, as their cavalier commanded the breach, that they ſhould make themſelves maſters of it the next day.

THINGS being in this deplorable condition, the council of the order met to conſider what meaſures were proper to be taken: the town was undermined on all ſides, the fortifications ruined, the enemy in poſſeſſion of the out-works, and the breach in a manner blocked up by the cavalier, which was ſo cloſe to the wall, that the infidels could leap from it into the place. Moſt of the great croſſes adviſed the grand maſter to abandon it; to blow up what fortifications were left, and to retire in time with their ammunition and proviſions into the caſtle of St. Angelo, which had as yet received no damage. They repreſented to him the danger they were in of the fortreſſes being carried the next time a ſtorm ſhould be attempted, in caſe they ſhould obſtinately reſolve to make a longer, and, at the ſame time, uſeleſs reſiſtance; that in the hurry and confuſion of a forced retreat, they would not probably have time to get to that fortreſs, the laſt that was left them; that the old men, and the women, would be in danger of falling a prey to the fury and brutality of the barbarians; whereas on the contrary, if a ſtrong guard was but put upon the breach, they would have leiſure enough, whilſt the ſoldiers and inhabitants ſhould be retiring, to carry their ammunition and proviſions into the caſtle, and to take ſuch precautions as ſhould be neceſſary for its ſecurity and defence.

THE grand maſter rejected this advice with as much horrour and indignation, as if they had propoſed the delivering up of the whole iſland to the infidels, upon which he ſhewed the council, that the great town, and the iſle de la Sangle, which ſtill held out, lay ſo near together, and that there was ſuch a reciprocal and neceſſary communication between them, that there was no defending or abandoning the one without the other, ſo that the giving up the bulwark of Caſtile to the

enemy, would be to give up fort St. Michael at the ſame time; beſides, that the caſtle of St. Angelo could never hold the ſoldiers, the inhabitants, and the great number of people who were to be taken out of thoſe two places; that the ciſtern of the caſtle could not ſupply water enough for their drink, and that the bare want of a thing ſo abſolutely neceſſary for the ſupport of life, would reduce them in a few days to the fatal neceſſity of either dying of thirſt, or ſurrendering the place to the turks. The lords of the council replied, That if there was a neceſſity of their holding out the town and the caſtle of St. Michael, to the laſt extremity, they yet begged him to withdraw into the caſtle of St. Angelo, and carry thither the relicks and ornaments of the churches, with the moſt important writings and papers of the treaſury; and that they ſhould be in no pain for themſelves, provided his perſon were but in ſafety, after which they ſhould face all the perils of a new ſtorm with pleaſure. The grand maſter, who was not to be ſhaken in what he once had reſolved upon, and who foreſaw that the carrying of the effects of the order into the caſtle of St. Angelo, would give the ſoldiers room to imagine, that they were not thought ſafe enough in the town, rejected this ſecond advice alſo, and addreſſing himſelf to the whole aſſembly, "'Tis here, my dear brethren (ſaid he to them) that we muſt "either dye together, or drive out our mercileſs enemies:" And to ſhew the commanders who were about him, how far he was from retiring into the caſtle of St. Angelo, or making any proviſion for his own ſafety, he only left juſt a few ſoldiers in it ſufficient to manage the artillery, and drew out all the reſt, employing them with the garriſon during the whole night long in making cuts and intrenchments within the place. He himſelf ſuperintended over theſe ſeveral works with ſo much art and capacity, that though the turks ſhould the next day have carried the firſt intrenchment, they would ſtill have found another behind it, and that too raiſed ſo high as to command them entirely; ſo that by diſputing every inch of ground with them in this manner, he ſaw himſelf in a condition to hold out till ſuch time as the viceroy of Sicily might have an opportunity of coming to his aſſiſtance.

HOWEVER, as the platform which the turks had raiſed againſt the wall gave him a ſecret uneaſineſs, he communicated his thoughts to the commander de Claramont of the language of Arragon, whoſe capacity he well knew, and by his advice cauſed a hole to be opened in the wall the night following, with as little noiſe as poſſible. The commander, attended by Francis Guevara du Pereira, and ſome other ſpaniſh knights, ſallied out at the gap, ſtole ſoftly along the foot of the wall, till they got upon the platform, and then ſetting up a great ſhout, they attacked the guards that Piali had left there, who fancying the whole garriſon was falling upon them, fled away with precipitation. Claramont, inſtead of deſtroying this work, thought it adviſeable to fortify it: the grand maſter immediately ſent him a party of ſoldiers and pioneers, who ſoon raiſed a parapet upon it to cover their musketeers. They likewiſe planted ſome pieces of cannon upon it, and the turks were greatly ſurprized and confounded to ſee the knights employ a work againſt them, which they had raiſed in order to haſten the deſtruction of the chriſtians.

THE ill ſucceſs they had met with at the attack of the poſt of Caſtile, did not damp the ardour and eagerneſs of the baſha; perhaps it might

JOHN DE LA VALETTE.

have given him an ill-natured pleaſure, or, at leaſt, as he flattered himſelf with the hopes of taking fort St. Michael, he was not ſorry to find that the admiral had not firſt opened the way to victory, in order to ingroſs all the honour of it to himſelf. In the beginning of September he ordered a new ſtorm to be attempted; the janizaries, to whom he had promiſed the plunder of the place, ran like ſo many furies to the foot of the breach, nor could the ſhot of the artillery, the ſtones, the ſcalding water, or the fire-works which the beſieged poured down upon them, prevent their getting to the top of it. They were already in poſſeſſion of almoſt all the baſtions of the fort; there was nothing left between them and the beſieged but a wooden partition, and they were ſo cloſe together, that their muskets croſſed one another. The fight laſted for a long time with equal fury, but at laſt the inſuperable bravery of the knights triumphed over the obſtinacy of the turks. They made them give ground before them, and threw them headlong down from the breach, in ſpite of all the baſha could do, who now began to deſpair of reducing the place any other way than by famine, which he ſtill hoped might oblige a body of men to ſubmit to a capitulation, whom he could not vanquiſh by open force or ſtratagem.

BUT it was not long before he was informed, that he had more reaſon to dread a want of proviſions than the knights: the commiſſaries of his ſtores acquainted him, That a ſhip, which had been ſent to the iſle of Gerbes for corn, was taken by the ſicilian gallies; that they had not meal to ſerve them for above twenty five days; and the officers of his artillery told him that their powder was almoſt ſpent. Under ſuch unlucky diſappointments, and particularly through the fear he was under, leaſt the ſultan ſhould make his head pay for the ill ſucceſs of the expedition, he reſolved to make a laſt ſtruggle on the Notable city: and though the taking of this place, which was ſituated in the middle of the country, was of no great conſequence for the conqueſt of the iſland, he yet fancied, if he could but take it, and carry away all its inhabitants with him into ſlavery, as the ſureſt teſtimonies of his victory, the noiſe of ſuch an advantage, though not a very material one, would pacify the grand ſeignior; who might likewiſe be well enough pleaſed, for the ſake of his own reputation, and for the glory of his arms, to have the people dazled with ſuch an appearance.

WITH this view, on the laſt day of Auguſt, he ſet out from his camp with four thouſand men of his beſt troops, compoſed of janizaries and ſpahi. The place had been repreſented to him as poorly fortified, ſo that he was in hopes of taking it by ſcalado. But the ſtrength of places does not conſiſt ſo much in the bulwarks and baſtions with which they are ſurrounded, as in the valour of the troops, and the capacity of the governour who defends them. Meſquita, the brave portugueſe knight, of whom mention has been already made, though he had but a weak garriſon, put on an air of boldneſs and reſolution upon the firſt approaches of the enemy. He ordered the courtine to be lined with cannons, muskets, pikes, ſtandards, and colours; and, in order to make the turks believe that his garriſon was very numerous, he made the people of the city, and the inhabitants of the country, who had retired thither for refuge, to mount upon the walls with his ſoldiers: even the women themſelves, dreſſed in mens cloaths, mixed among the reſt, and appeared in arms upon the bulwarks and baſtions.

THE

THE artillery now began to thunder on all ſides, and make a continual fire. The engineers whom the baſha had ſent to reconnoitre the town and the places where they might fix their ladders, were terrified at the ſight of theſe warlike preparations. Their fright made them perhaps fancy them to be greater and more formidable than they were in reality: accordingly they reported to the general, That there was no attempting to carry a fort by ſcalado, that was defended by ſuch a numerous garriſon, without expoſing the beſt troops he had left to be knocked on the head before his eyes; and that ſuch places were not to be taken but by a regular ſiege, and by attacking them in form. The baſha, who had neither forces nor time enough for ſuch an enterprize, and being moreover afraid of being ſurprized by the ſuccours which were daily expected from Sicily, returned to his camp in the utmoſt uneaſineſs, without knowing what meaſures to take, or on what ſide to turn his arms. His projects and ſtratagems were now quite exhauſted: in this uncertainty he aſſembled all the engineers of his army, and preſſed them to invent ſome machine that might be of ſervice in a new aſſault, and bring this tedious and difficult enterprize to an end. The engineers replied, That they had already exhauſted all the ſecrets of their art, and that the reſt depended on the courage and bravery of his troops. However they, in order to ſatisfy him, framed a wooden tower, which was puſhed along upon rollers up to the breach of fort St. Michael. This tower, like the old machines made uſe of in ſieges before the invention of cannons, had ſeveral ſtories. The higheſt, which over-looked the place, was filled with musketeers, who poured in their ſhot upon all that durſt ſhew their heads: and to ſecure this laſt ſtory from being annoyed by the batteries of the caſtle, the infidels had no ſooner fired a volley, but they, by means of certain wheels within the machine, and probably by the weight of the counterpoize and the help of pullies, let down the top of the tower, which was then ſheltered by the wall of the place, and reſted againſt it. The turks, by the help of this machine, killed abundance of men at firſt; but a malteze carpenter, Andrew Caſſar by name, a man who was very skilful in his buſineſs, after having examined the ſtructure of the tower, cauſed a loop-hole to be made in the wall, directly oppoſite to this wooden caſtle, where he placed a culverin loaded with chain-ſhot, and the moment the turks were hoiſting up their machine, he fired his cannon upon it, which took it in the middle, and ſhattered it to pieces, ſo that the ſoldiers, who were in the higheſt ſtory, either broke their necks with the fall, or were bruiſed to death under its ruins.

THE baſha, vexed to the ſoul to ſee all his enterprizes miſcarry, and uneaſy at that which was forming againſt him at Meſſina, reſolved to fall to mineing again. Accordingly he ſet his pioneers to work again, and had recourſe to this laſt reſource; not ſo much in hopes of ſucceſs, as to keep his troops from imagining that he himſelf deſponded, from his ſuffering them to continue in inactivity. But the knights, by opening pits and countermines in all ſuſpected places, defeated the meaſures of the infidels. They likewiſe on their ſide ran other mines under the poſts on which the turks had ſeized, and blew up a great number of them. The chriſtians now ſtood no longer on the defenſive, but made ſeveral ſallies, in which all the advantage was on their ſide, ſo that they began to fancy, they could force the turks to raiſe the ſiege without the

aſſiſtance

JOHN DE LA VALETTE.

assistance of the viceroy. The affected delays of that spanish nobleman, had for some time made the grand master despair of receiving any succours from him: and though his fleet was in a readiness, and both the officers and soldiers, intended for the service, expressed an extraordinary eagerness to signalize themselves against the infidels; nevertheless, the viceroy could not prevail with himself to set sail; and his irresolution made it be very much doubted whether he would really embark, or wait for the news of some disaster which he might make use of as a handle to excuse himself from setting out at all.

THE noise however of these preparations, had brought above two hundred knights, commanders and great crosses of different languages to Messina, whose only view in coming thither was in hopes of meeting with ships to transport them to Malta. The viceroy's dilatoriness put them out of all patience; the greatest part of them never left his palace, so that they besieged him as it were: there were even some of them, who being bolder than the rest, and finding intreaties could not avail, had recourse to reproaches. The viceroy, who was naturally proud and haughty, complained about it, and was moreover offended, that the knights, when they spoke to him, did not give him the stile of, excellency. Lewis de Lastic, grand priour of Auvergne, said to him bluntly on this occasion, "Provided, Sir, we do but arrive time enough at "Malta to succour the order, I will give you, with all my soul, the "title of excellency, of highness, or, if you please of majesty." The viceroy only smiled at what he said, and hearing that that old knight was descended of a noble family, and had acquired great honour in France in the wars against the protestants, he drew him aside, and told him in private, that he, in consideration of his quality and merit, would explain himself to him, and discover the most secret recesses of his heart. He told him, that whatever pomp and outside might be annexed to his dignity, yet his authority was not answerable to it; that it was not always in his power to follow the impulse of his courage; and that he was the dependant of a prince, who, in order not to expose his own reputation, or bring himself into any difficulties, often left his ministers to guess at his intentions; that ever since he had fancied, from some hints, that he would not be displeased that Malta should be succoured, his first design was to go with all his master's naval force to fight the turkish admiral; but not having a sufficient number of vessels for that purpose, he had resolved, in concert with the grand master, to throw a body of ten thousand men at least into the island; that he would lead this succour in person; that the chevalier Vincent Anastagi, an excellent engineer, had furnished him with an exact plan of the island, and all the places proper for landing his troops; that the grand master had likewise sent him all the signals and counter-signals which they were to make from the fortresses of the island, and the castle of Goza; and that he hoped to set out from Messina on the twenty first of August at fartherst. He kept his word, and arrived on the twenty second at Syracuse, which was the general rendezvous of the whole army; when making a general review, it was found to consist of near eight thousand men, most of them old soldiers, and veteran bodies, that had served in all the wars of Italy.

ALVAREZ de Sande commanded the regiment of Naples; Sancho de Londono that of Milan; Vincent Vitelli was at the head of a great body of volunteers of Italy and other nations; and Ascanio della Cor-

na was appointed major-general during their voyage. The viceroy kept the ſupreme command in his own hands till ſuch time as the troops ſhould be landed: but after his departure, the council of war, till they ſhould have joined the grand maſter, was to determine of all enterprizes by a plurality of voices, and the orders were to be given in the name of his catholick majeſty.

On the firſt of September all the fleet hoiſted ſail, and ſet out under the diſcharge of all the artillery, and with the ſhouts of the whole army. The rendezvous was at the little iſle of Linoſa; they met with bad weather, which diſperſed the ſhips, and drove them out of their courſe, but when the ſtorm was over, the viceroy, in order to give them time to come up with him, as well as to refreſh the ſoldiers after the fatigue of the ſea, put into Favignana, a little iſland near Trapini in Sicily. On the fourth the fleet put to ſea again, and arrived at the little iſland of Linoſa, where the viceroy met with letters from the grand maſter, by which he acquainted him, that he might ſafely make a deſcent about Mugiaro, and the road of Melecca, where there was good anchoring. But the viceroy's motions gave them freſh reaſon to ſuſpect that he did not intend to make any uſe of this advice; for he, inſtead of entring the channel of Goza, ſailed along the ſouth coaſt of the iſle of Malta, and ſuffered himſelf to be diſcovered by the turkiſh frigates that came out of Marza Siroc. One would have thought that he did not ſo much want to land, as to find ſome oppoſition that might oblige him to tack about and return into the ports of Sicily. The uſual accidents that happen at ſea furniſhed him with one to his mind, for there roſe in the night a ſtrong gale of wind mixed with rain, which blew with ſo much violence, that the vant-guard, commanded by Cardona, was ſeparated from the reſt of the fleet. The weather proving calm in the morning, the viceroy diſpatched ſome light frigates to learn whither the wind had driven him, but they not meeting with any account of him, he tacked about a ſecond time, and ſtood away for Sicily, doubled cape Paſſaro, and put in at Paſſal, where Cardona, who had been in queſt of him to no purpoſe at Goza, came up and joined him; but he had firſt landed his troops. Every body then began to doubt of the ſuccour, and they ſaid publickly, that if it were poſſible to ſave Malta, nothing but the invincible valour of the knights could effect it. Such of them as were on board the fleet, openly expreſſed their deteſtation of the viceroy's timorous prudence, and the exceſſive precaution he uſed; and to make the misfortune ſtill greater, above one thouſand five hundred ſoldiers deſerted, ſo that the army was in a few days reduced to leſs than ſix thouſand men. The viceroy, ſtartled at ſo conſiderable a deſertion, relapſed into his uſual irreſolution: upon which he called a council of war, where he again propoſed to them whether or no it might be proper to attempt the relief of Malta. Whilſt they were debating this queſtion, a great noiſe of confuſed voices and cries was heard at the council-door, demanding that they ſhould ſet ſail immediately. The general officers, who out of complaiſance to the viceroy had given their opinion in a doubtful and ambiguous manner, were well enough pleaſed to ſee the ſoldiers, who had no meaſures to keep, come and explain their real ſentiments in a bolder manner. The viceroy, by the air of their countenance, and the ſilence they kept in the midſt of a tumult which their own ſoldiers had raiſed, eaſily penetrated their real intentions. He ſtood out no longer. So that he might no longer reſiſt the real ſentiments and wiſhes of the council and the whole army, they re-imbarked on

JOHN DE LA VALETTE.

the ſixth, and arrived the ſame day in the afternoon within ſight of Malta. All the fleet ſhouted for joy when they entered the ſtreight or channel of Goza: but the viceroy, not willing to run the hazard of landing in the night, they, by his orders, came to an anchor, and ranged themſelves near the little iſles of Comino and Cominote. The next day in the morning, being the ſeventh, the fleet put into the road of Melecca, and landed all the troops, arms, ammunition, and proviſions deſigned for the re-inforcement. The viceroy went aſhore to review them, and as ſoon as he had ſeen them on their march towards the Notable city, he re-imbarked according to his maſter's orders, and returned to Sicily. But he, before his departure, at his taking leave of the general officers, promiſed to bring them, by the thirteenth or fourteenth of the month, a re-inforcement of four thouſand men more which he expected from Italy, and which, as he told them, were by that time landed at Meſſina. There arrived likewiſe, at the ſame time, ſeveral young french noblemen and gentlemen, who flocked thither out of an eager deſire to ſignalize their courage againſt the infidels. Among theſe, ſays M. de Thou, they reckoned Philip, ſon to Peter Strozzi a marſhal of France; Timoleon of Coſtè Briſſac, ſon to another marſhal of France; Roger de Saint Larry of Bellegarde; Peter de Bourdeilles of Brantôme; Hardouin de Villiers, Lord la Riviere; and a few days before them, René le Voyer, viſcount Paulmi, and baillif of Touraine, had landed in that iſland, in order to go to the ſuccour of an order which for three hundred years paſt had reckoned ſeveral of his anceſtors in the number of its moſt illuſtrious knights. All theſe young noblemen were eager to embark with the new re-inforcement which was expected from Italy.

MUSTAPHA and Piali, on the report of their ſpies, had always imagined, that the viceroy's view in aſſembling together all the ſhips and gallies that were in the ports of Sicily, was only to try the fate of a ſea engagement, in order to open himſelf a way for the landing of his ſuccours in the great port at the foot of the caſtle of St. Angelo. But the baſha, to defeat his deſign, had a few days before barred up the entrance of it with a chain of ſail-yards, piles, and boats: and ever ſince the chriſtian fleet had firſt appeared off Linoſa, the turkiſh admiral, with all his naval force, had lain continually at anchor before the great port, in order to hinder the chriſtians from entering it.

THE landing of the ſuccours in a quite contrary part of the iſland, threw both the generals into a terrible conſternation: they were every moment afraid of being attacked by the principal forces of Chriſtendom; ſo that without informing themſelves, according to the rules of war, of the number of men that were in the re-inforcement, they raiſed the ſiege in a hurry, drew their garriſon out of fort St. Elmo, left their heavy cannon behind, and imbarked with a precipitation which differed very lttle from a downright flight. The baſha was no ſooner aboard, but he grew aſhamed of having ſuffered himſelf to be ſurprized by ſo ſudden a terrour. A ſlave, who had made his eſcape out of the great town, added greatly to his confuſion, by telling him, that the re-inforcement which had made ſixteen thouſand men take to their heels, did not conſiſt of above ſix thouſand, and thoſe too haraſſed by the voyage, having no general at their head, and commanded only by officers who were independent from one another, and not well united among themſelves; and that it was believed, that were they to ſee the turks in their firſt poſts, they would not dare to quit the rocks and paſſes in which they

they had intrenched themſelves. But the advice came too late, and the infidels, unleſs they had been minded to begin the ſiege a-new, could not depend upon their lines and intrenchments.

THE grand maſter no ſooner ſaw them gone off, and buſy in re-imbarking, but he ordered their trenches to be filled up, and their works to be ruined. All the inhabitants, men, women, and children, and even the knights, worked at it day and night with that joy and alacrity which priſoners feel when they are allowed to knock off their fetters. The grand maſter at the ſame time ſent a garriſon into fort St. Elmo, and the turks ſaw from on board their fleet, the ſtandard of St. John again ſet up, to their infinite grief and confuſion.

THE baſha, who was afraid his head would anſwer for his ill ſucceſs, and that the ſultan would reproach him with not having dared to look his enemies in the face, ſummoned a council of war, and a long debate inſued about the meaſures proper to be taken. The viceroy of Algiers was of opinion, that they ſhould land the troops again, and advance to attack the enemy. He repreſented to the baſha, that in caſe they were no more than ſix thouſand men, he might fight them with double that number; that if he ſhould get the better, which he might juſtly expect, his victory would prevent the ſecond re-inforcement that the viceroy of Sicily was to bring, from entering the iſland; and that the knights, who were quite ſpent, as well as reduced to a ſmall number, and in great want of ſoldiers, would be forced to capitulate. Piali, who was jealous of Muſtapha's credit, and was not ſorry that he had miſcarried in his enterprize, was of a different opinion, and ſaid, That after they had loſt the flower of the ottoman army, it would be dangerous to expoſe what was left of their troops, and they diſpirited and haraſſed by a long ſiege, to an engagement of a freſh body of men who were impatient of fighting. But the opinion of the viceroy of Algiers, in favour of which the baſha had declared, carried it by two votes, ſo that the landing was reſolved on; and the baſha, enraged at himſelf for having raiſed the ſiege in ſuch a hurry, and terribly afraid of the reception he ſhould meet with at the port, in caſe he returned unſucceſsful, reſolved either to conquer, or die at the head of his troops, rather than be put to death by the infamous hand of an executioner. Upon which he immediately went aſhore himſelf, but he could hardly prevail with his ſoldiers to leave the ſhips. They all made heavy complaints, at their being forced, after ſo tedious and bloody a ſiege, to return back again to the ſlaughter. They were obliged to be torn in a manner from on board, and their officers could not get them to go a-ſhore without uſing violence. The baſha marched with the beſt part of them towards the Notablecity, where he flattered himſelf he ſhould meet the chriſtians. And, in order to ſecure his retreat on board his ſhips in caſe of ill ſucceſs, he left the viceroy of Algiers, at the head of fifteen hundred men by the ſea-ſide. Piali, who, ever ſince the knights had taken poſſeſſion of fort St. Elmo, could not continue any longer in port Muzet, in concert with theſe two generals, put in with his fleet into the road of St. Paul.

THE baſha, after having thus ſettled matters, advanced in ſearch of the re-inforcement. Aſcanio della Corna, who acted as major-general, had intrenched it on an hill which was very difficult of acceſs, by reaſon of the defiles or narrow paſſages that ſurrounded it.

THE grand maſter, ever attentive in obſerving all the motions of the infidels, ſent advice to the chriſtian generals, that the turks were

advancing

JOHN DE LA VALETTE.

advancing forward in order to fall upon them with all their forces. Upon which they immediately called a council of war. Aſcanio was of opinion, that they ſhould wait the coming up of the enemy in their camp, repreſenting, that it would be impoſſible for the turks to attack a place in front which was ſo ſtrong by its ſituation, without expoſing themſelves to all the fire of their artillery; that they were covered by the city on that ſide, and on the other, by a monaſtery that was fortified by nature, in which they had thrown a body of troops, and that the infidels muſt paſs under all their fire before they could fall upon his camp; that as the enemy had brought no proviſions nor equipages along with them, they could not poſſibly ſtay long in the plain, as they would be ſo much expoſed to the exceſſive heat of the ſun, and that after a few light skirmiſhes they, without running any hazard, would force them to retire and imbark on board their ſhips again.

BUT Alvarez de Sande, the moſt conſiderable officer in all the army, was of a contrary opinion, and in all probability had a mind, by giving a bold advice, and ſuitable to his courage, to wipe out the remembrance of that which he had given out of complaiſance for the viceroy in the council held at Meſſina, where he had oppoſed the ſending of any ſuccour to Malta; and therefore now declared, that his opinion was, they ſhould draw the whole army out of the camp, and march down the hill to meet the enemy. "We are not advanced ſo "forward, (replied he to Aſcanio) to run no hazard, and remain idle "ſpectators of a new ſtorm, which the infidels, if they ſee they can-"not force our intrenchments, will probably attempt upon the great "town or the caſtle of St. Michael. We cannot tell how manfully the "turks may behave when urged by deſpair: and what a ſhame will it "be for us to ſtand looking on whilſt they are carrying thoſe places, "which after all have no walls nor any fortifications left, but the bo-"dies only of the knights who defend them?"

OF theſe two opinions propoſed in the council of the chriſtians, the one was ſafe, and the other more daring, but at the ſame time more glorious for him who gave it. Moſt of the officers were for the latter; and the knights, who came in the ſicilian fleet, were particularly eager for their coming to an engagement. There were at leaſt two hundred knights and commanders; and there was hardly one of the latter but what had brought with him ſeveral volunteers who were either his friends or relations, and a pretty good number of ſoldiers: theſe, united, formed one of the ſtrongeſt battallions of the army; and they declared, that in caſe the troops did not quit their intrenchments, they were reſolved, though they were all to periſh to the laſt man, to break through the enemy's army, and throw themſelves into the places beſieged.

BUT they were not obliged to come to ſuch a ſad extremity, for de Sande carried it by plurality of voices. Upon which he marched down into the plain at the head of the battalion of the order, followed by all the troops, and by Aſcanio himſelf, who after having proteſted againſt the ill conſequences that might happen from an enterprize which he termed raſh, was nevertheleſs reſolved to ſhare in the danger: with a pike in his hand he mixed among the knights, fought in the firſt ranks, and manifeſted by his bravery, that thoſe who are ſometimes accuſed of too much circumſpection in council, are not upon that account leſs valiant

JOHN DE LA VALETTE.

liant in action. The chriſtians fought with great courage and reſolution. De Sande, at the head of the knights, made a furious charge upon the infidels, whilſt Vitelli attacked them in flank. The turkiſh ſoldiers, who had been dragged againſt their wills to the engagement, either out of reſentment againſt their general, or becauſe they were quite ſpent with the heat, were ſo far from making any gallant efforts to obtain the victory, that they hardly ſo much as fought. The greateſt part of them fired only one volley, and finding themſelves briskly attacked by the chriſtians, they broke, and ſhamefully took to their heels. The baſha ſeeing himſelf deſerted by his men, was reduced, in ſpite of his courage, to the ſad neceſſity of following the cowards, for fear of falling into the hands of the chriſtians. It is ſaid, that he was ſo confuſed and perplexed at the defeat of his troops, that as he was making off, he fell twice from his horſe, and would have certainly been taken, had not ſome officers ventured their lives or liberties to ſave him, by halting to give him time to remount on horſeback.

THE chriſtians purſued the infidels briskly; their eagerneſs to purſue the enemy made them inſenſible to the burning heat of the ſun. The greateſt part of the knights who were heavy armed, threw off their cuiraſſes, in order to purſue the turks the cloſer; and though moſt of the infidels they came up with were unable to make the leaſt reſiſtance, but lay extended on the ground, half dead with thirſt and wearineſs, they nevertheleſs put them all to the ſword. It was with infinite difficulty and a conſiderable loſs, that the turks made a ſhift to get to the ſea-ſide. Hitherto the chriſtians had found it more difficult to come up with their enemies than to fight them; but as the lighteſt and nimbleſt of them, flushed with their victory, and eager to purſue the run-aways, had broke their ranks, and run up and down without any order, the viceroy of Algiers, who lay concealed behind the point of a rock, ſallied out of his ambuſh with his troops, and ſeeing they were but few in number, fell upon them, killed ſeveral of them, and took the chevaliers Marc de Toledo, Peter de Yala, Ribatajada, and an engliſh knight whoſe name is not mentioned, priſoners. But happily Alvarez de Sande came up before the combat was ended, with ſome battalions, who charged the Algerines deſperately; and the reſt of the chriſtian troops coming up one after another, they carried all before them, cut to pieces all ſuch as offered to reſiſt, reſcued the priſoners, and the turks, whom fear had already vanquiſhed, left off fighting, and fled to their ſhips which gave occaſion to a new kind of fighting.

ADMIRAL Piali, in order to favour the retreat of the turks, did not only make uſe of the artillery of his gallies, but had lined the ſhore with ſhallops manned with his beſt musketeers, who made a continual fire upon the chriſtians. But the knights and ſoldiers, in their eagerneſs to purſue their enemies, and vexation to ſee any of them eſcape, followed them into the ſea, in contempt of the fire and other dangers with which they were threatened; and ſome of them running up almoſt breaſt high into the water, killed the turks with the ſhot from their ſmall arms, juſt as they were getting into their gallies. Hiſtorians tell us, that the turks loſt in theſe ſeveral combats, and during the courſe of the ſiege, at leaſt thirty thouſand men. The admiral, after having taken on board the poor remains of this once formidable army, ſet ſail, and ſtood away for Sicily. The viceroy, ſeeing from the caſtle of * Syragoſſa the turkiſh fleet paſs by, was informed without an

* It is the old Syracuſe, now called in the language of the country, Saragoſſa.

JOHN DE LA VALETTE.

expreſs of the happy ſucceſs of his re-inforcement, and the raiſing of the ſiege.

THE grand ſeignior was prodigiouſly troubled when he received that news; he threw the letter he received from Muſtapha on that ſubject upon the ground, and ſtamping upon it, cried out, That his enterpriſes never ſucceeded but when he himſelf went in perſon, and that he would abſolutely go the next ſpring to Malta, when he would put all the knights and inhabitants to the ſword. However, that he might not leſſen the reputation of his arms, and in order to amuſe the people, who are ever fond of being deceived, he, inſtead of following the barbarous policy of his predeceſſors, who uſed to puniſh the ill ſucceſs of their generals as a crime, ordered it to be given out at Conſtantinople, that the baſha had reduced the iſland, and brought away the greateſt part of the knights and people as captives; but that as he had not thought proper to leave any of his troops in garriſon upon a rock, and in a little deſert iſland at ſuch a diſtance, he had blown up all the forts and deſtroyed the houſes, and that in caſe any chriſtian corſairs ſhould be raſh enough to return thither again, they would always be a prey to his fleets, and lie expoſed to the mercy of every potentate who ſhould have fleets out at ſea.

HOWEVER exaggerated theſe reports might be, 'tis certain, that after the ſiege was raiſed, the city, or what they called the great town of Malta, had leſs the air of a place which had been well defended, than of a city taken by ſtorm; and which had been demoliſhed, plundered, and deſtroyed, and abandoned by the enemy. More than two hundred and ſixty knights had been killed in the ſeveral aſſaults: and 'tis computed that eight thouſand men, either ſoldiers or inhabitants, periſhed in the ſiege: and when the turks went off, there was ſcarce in the great town and the caſtle of St. Michael, including the knights, ſix hundred men able to bear arms, moſt of whom were covered with wounds.

THIS great loſs was aſcribed not only to the valour of the turks, but alſo to the affected delays of the viceroy: his very name was had in deteſtation by all the knights of the ſeveral nations of Chriſtendom; the grand maſter likewiſe complained of him afterwards to the pope. His holineſs wrote to the like effect to the king of Spain; and though the viceroy in all this conduct had only followed the private orders he had received from him, nevertheleſs Philip, in order to prevent any room for ſuſpicion, condemned thoſe delays publickly, and ſometime afterwards removed the viceroy from Sicily; and notwithſtanding his having received great ſervices from him, he nevertheleſs let him linger out the remainder of his days at Naples in obſcurity, without giving him the leaſt ſhare in the government.

WHILST the auxiliary ſoldiers, who had relieved the place, were retired near the Notable-city, in order to refreſh themſelves after the flight of the turks, the principal officers and all the knights, who came with the re-inforcement, went to the great town to pay their compliments to the grand maſter. They were welcomed by him, by the knights of the place, and by all the inhabitants, as their deliverers. The knights embraced one another with great affection and tenderneſs; but when they came to call to mind the loſs they had lately ſuſtained, by the death of the moſt illuſtrious and braveſt knights of the order, and conſidered the deplorable condition of the places which had been

been beſieged, the walls and fortifications in ruins; the artillery for the moſt part diſmounted; the houſes either demoliſhed or ready to fall; the magazines without powder, ammunition, or proviſions; the inhabitants pale and ghaſtly; the knights and the grand maſter himſelf, with their beards and hair rough and neglected, and their cloaths dirty and in a ſlovenly condition, like men that had ſcarce been in bed for four months together, and ſeveral of thoſe brave knights ſtill wearing the honourable bandages which covered their wounds. This moving ſpectacle drew tears from their eyes, ſo much were they affected, either with the remembrance of paſt diſaſters, or with joy that Malta had been ſaved at laſt; and, in order to perpetuate the memory of the great events that had happened there; as the great town had been the principal ſcene of them, they gave it the name of the Victorious City, which it ſtill retains to this day.

'TWAS there the grand maſter entertained the generals of the auxiliary troops, lodging them in thoſe places which had been leaſt damaged by the turkiſh artillery: they were treated in an honourable manner, and with as much plenty as could be expected in a place that had but juſt ſuſtained a ſiege for four months together. The grand maſter's obliging behaviour, and the example of his frugality, made amends for what was wanting in the delicacy of their cheer; and when they came to take leave of him, he made them very handſome preſents, and diſtributed conſiderable ſums of money among their ſoldiers. The treaſury of the order was now quite drained, and la Valette reſerved nothing as it were but the hopes of filling it again afterwards with the plunder of the infidels: it was indeed a pretty ſure fund, and had never failed them for ſeveral ages together.

THE news of the defeat of the turks was ſoon ſpread over all Chriſtendom; it occaſioned an univerſal joy, and was celebrated with illuminations, bonfires, and publick thankſgivings. The name of la Valette was renowned in all nations, eſpecially in Italy and Spain, whoſe inhabitants were obliged to the knights for the guard and protection of their maritime provinces. Pope Pius IV, and Philip II king of Spain, who were the moſt intereſted in the preſervation of a place that was of ſuch ſervice to them, gave to its intrepid defender the moſt honourable teſtimonies of their eſteem and gratitude.

THE governour of Rome, by his holineſs's order, notified the raiſing of the ſiege of Malta to the Romans by the diſcharge of all his artillery, by bonfires and illuminations, which were made all over the city. The day was kept as a publick feſtival; the magiſtrates did no buſineſs; the tradeſmen ſhut up their ſhops; in ſhort, there was no place open but the churches, into which the people flocked in crouds, in order to return God thanks for the happy ſucceſs. All the inhabitants of Spain and Italy, whoſe fortunes lay on the ſea-coaſt, thought themſelves, after raiſing of the ſiege, ſecure from the deſcents and incurſions of the corſairs.

BUT Pius IV, that his acknowledgments might not conſiſt meerly in empty praiſe, ſent the grand maſter word, of his being reſolved to make him immediately a cardinal. But at the return of the expreſs, they were ſurprized to hear that he had excuſed himſelf from accepting a dignity, which had ever been conſidered as the teſtimony and reward of merit, ſometimes indeed the price of favour, but always the object

JOHN DE LA VALETTE.

of the ambition of the greateſt prelates, and ſought for as an honour by the ſons of kings. The reaſon which la Valette gave for his declining it, was, that he was afraid of confounding the dignity of grand maſter and cardinal together, two great offices, which, he ſaid, required different functions, and which inſtead of ſupporting, would, on the contrary, be ever interfering with one another. There were ſome, who calling to mind that the grand maſter d'Aubuſſon had made no ſuch ſcruple, took occaſion, from Valette's refuſing it, to commend him very much upon that account, and to aſcribe it to his great modeſty: others ſuſpected that there was as much policy as modeſty in his refuſal, and that the grand maſter, juſtly looking upon himſelf as a ſovereign prince, fancied he ſhould leſſen his dignity, was he to accept of one that was ſubordinate. But whatever were his motives, he deſired his holineſs to beſtow that honour upon one of his brothers, who was biſhop of Vabres; but the pope's death happening ſoon after, hindered the french prelate from reaping any benefit from the grand maſter's recommendation.

IN the firſt tranſports of joy, which the brave defence made by la Valette, and the raiſing of the ſiege, occaſioned over all Europe, and eſpecially in Italy, nothing could hardly have been refuſed to a man whom they looked upon as the heroe of Chriſtendom: he received compliments from all quarters upon his ſucceſs. The king of Spain, who, as Malta ſecured his kingdoms of Sicily and Naples, was particularly concerned in its preſervation, ſent him the commander Maldonat, to preſent him in full council with a ſword and a dagger, the hilt of which was of maſſy gold ſet with diamonds: and in a kind of harangue which he made on this occaſion, he ſaid, that the king his maſter conſidering him as one of the greateſt captains of the age, deſired him to employ thoſe arms for the defence of Chriſtendom.

NOTWITHSTANDING the grand maſter received at the ſame time compliments of the like nature from moſt of the princes of Europe, yet theſe honourable deputations could not ſecure the fears he juſtly entertained of what might afterwards happen. The ſiege indeed was raiſed and the enemy was retired, but then they were making new preparations in the port of Conſtantinople. All the news that came from the eaſt, brought repeated aſſurances that the grand ſeignior being enraged at the ill ſucceſs of his arms under Muſtapha's conduct, had declared that he himſelf would go in perſon the next ſpring, at the head of a formidable army, in order to fall upon Malta. And in what a condition had his troops, though they had not taken the places they had beſieged, left the whole iſland? The country was deſtitute of inhabitants, the villages and hamlets were moſt of them burnt; the great town, where the convent reſided, and the forts of St. Elmo and St. Michael were left without walls; their fortifications ruined; the artillery either diſmounted or burſt; the houſes demoliſhed, the ciſterns without water; the magazines empty, no proviſions for their ſupport, nor money to buy any; few ſoldiers, and ſtill fewer knights left in the forts. Malta, in this deplorable condition, appeared to him as much in danger as it had been during the ſiege.

THESE diſmal reflections would not ſuffer him to take any reſt, when communicating his ſentiments to ſome old commanders who ſympathized with him in his uneaſineſs, they thought it adviſable for them

to

to abandon an iſland which they could never be able to defend, and tranſport the convent to Sicily. But la Valette, excited by the glory he had acquired in Malta, reſolved to bury himſelf under its ruins rather than leave it; when at laſt, the extremity to which he was reduced, put him upon expedients which nothing but deſpair could juſtify, and which a great many generals would have ſcrupled to make uſe of. JOHN DE LA VALETTE.

THE grand ſeignor could not come to Malta, without a ſtrong fleet ſuitable to his dignity, and ſufficient to tranſport the troops he intended to employ in that expedition. They were continually at work for that purpoſe in the arſenal of Conſtantinople, and a good number of gallies and galiots were already on the ſtocks. The grand maſter knowing this armament was deſigned againſt him, found means to get the arſenal ſet on fire; the force of the powder blew up the magazines; moſt of the gallies, which were not yet finiſhed, were conſumed; and a great number of workmen periſhed in the flames. The author of this enterprize was not known for a long time; however, it anſwered his end, and the war of Malta was put off to another time. Solyman, not finding himſelf in a condition to fit out a fleet, ſuitable to the enterprize, and ſuperiour to that of the chriſtians, turned his Arms againſt Hungary, and ended his days at the ſiege of Sigeth. Selimus the ſecond, his ſon, afterwards declared war againſt the Venetians; and a certain hiſtorian ſays, it was only by way of repriſals for the burning of the arſenal of Conſtantinople, that he got the arſenal of Venice ſet on fire a little before his invaſion of Cyprus.

THE grand maſter, ſeeing that he had nothing to fear from Solyman, at leaſt for the enſuing campaign, reſolved to employ the time allowed him, in repairing the ſeveral fortifications the turks had ruined; and for the better ſecurity of both the ports, propoſed the building a new fortreſs in the peninſula, which ſeparates them from one another. We have juſt now obſerved, that of all the ſeveral places which had been fortified before the ſiege, there was none of them better ſituated than fort St. Elmo; eſpecially if it had been built more regularly. It was in a manner the key of both ports: The grand maſter, without neglecting to take care of the other ports, formed a deſign of enlarging this, and of adding new works to it; and reſolved likewiſe to build a town upon the ſame neck of land, to ſtrengthen it with all the fortifications that art could poſſibly invent, and to make it the reſidence of the knights. His opinion was, that they would be much ſafer there than in the Great town, which was commanded on all ſides by the rocks and hills with which it was ſurrounded.

FOR the execution of this project great ſupplies were neceſſary, which could only be expected from the principal ſovereigns of Chriſtendom. The grand maſter ſent embaſſadors to the pope, to the kings of France, Spain, and Portugal; and to ſeveral italian potentates, to repreſent to them, that the late ſaving of Malta, by the gallant defence that was made, would be of little uſe, if care was not taken for its future ſecurity, by immediate repairing the fortifications of thoſe places which had been ruined by the artillery of the turks. Theſe miniſters had likewiſe orders, to acquaint them with la Valette's deſign of building a new city; to ſhew them the plan he had drawn of it; and to deſire from them at the ſame time the ſupplies neceſſary for ſetting about ſuch a conſiderable work. All theſe princes gave freſh applauſe to the

JOHN DE LA VALETTE.

grand maſter's zeal; and in order to aſſiſt him in the undertaking, the pope promiſed him 15000 crowns; the king of France 140000 livers, which were to be raiſed out of the tithes of his kingdom; Philip II. 90000 livers; and the king of Portugal 30000 cruſadoes: Beſides which, moſt of the commanders of the order made very generous contributions out of their own private fortunes, and ſold even their richeſt furniture and effects, the money ariſing from which, they remitted to Malta.

THE grand maſter, encouraged by theſe ſupplies, ſent for engineers and workmen from ſeveral parts of Italy. When the lines for the new city and fortifications were marked out, la Valette went in his robes, attended by the council, and all the knights, in great ceremony, to mount Sceberras, where he laid the firſt ſtone of the new city, upon which the order of council was engraved in latin, almoſt in theſe words: "The moſt illuſtrous and moſt reverend lord, brother John "de la Valette, grand maſter of the order of St. John of Jeruſalem, "both hoſpitaller and military, conſidering all the perils to which his "knights and people of Malta were expoſed at the laſt ſiege by the in-"fidels; and having, with the approbation of the council of the "order, and for the better oppoſing any new enterprizes from thoſe "barbarians, reſolved to build a town upon mount Sceberras; the ſaid "grand maſter has this day, being thurſday, the twenty-eighth of the "month of March, of the preſent year 1566 (after having called upon "the holy name of God, and beſought the interceſſion of the holy "virgin his mother, and of St. John Baptiſt, titulary patron of the "order, to obtain the bleſſing of heaven upon this important work;) "laid the firſt ſtone of it, with his arms, which are a lion d'or in a "field gules engraved upon it; and the new town, by his order, has "been named the City of la Valette."

To perpetuate, to the moſt diſtant poſterity, the memory of ſo remarkable an event, they threw on the foundation a great quantity of gold and ſilver medals, on which the new city was repreſented, with this inſcription, MELITA RENASCENS, Malta ſpringing up again, and in the exerge they put the day and year of its foundation.

As ſoon as the ceremony was over, the work began again, and was carried on with the utmoſt application; every one in his way, and without any diſtinction of the richeſt citizen from the pooreſt inhabitant, employed himſelf with that pleaſure and eagerneſs with which a work is followed when the common ſafety depends wholly upon it. The commander de la Fontaine, a perſon much eſteemed for his skill in fortification, had the principal direction, and a kind of ſuperintendency over all the works. Every knight contributed to it according as he was qualified: Some went with the gallies of the order, to fetch materials from different ports of Sicily and Italy; others went no farther than Meſſina and Syracuſe, whilſt others again paſſed as far as Lyons to have the artillery new caſt. Several worked at the head of a great number of pioneers in filling up the trenches, or clearing the breaches of the rubbiſh of the wall which the cannon had beat down; and others took care to get ſtones carried for repairing the old fortifications or building new ones.

IN this military republick every one was in action, every one at work; the grand maſter in particular, for near two years together, never left the workmen he employed in the new city; he ſpent whole days among

among them, and eat his meals in the midſt of the carpenters and maſons, as if he had been one of their number; and ſo intent was he upon forwarding the work, that he frequently gave his audiences and orders there. JOHN DE LA VALETTE.

IN this multitude and variety of buſineſs which he had upon his hands, nothing gave him greater uneaſineſs than the want of money for paying the workmen; the receivers of the order in the provinces beyond ſea, not being always ſo regular as they ſhould be in remitting it. The grand maſter, to ſupply this defect, coined ſome braſs money, which he made of different value, according to the ſize of the pieces. On one ſide there were two hands joined together, and on the other the arms of la Valette, quartered with thoſe of the order, and for the legend theſe latin words, NON ÆS, SED FIDES. "Do not regard ſo "much the metal, as the inviolable promiſe given you to take it again." And in fact, as ſoon as ever they had money, they did not fail to call in theſe pieces; and by this exactneſs their credit was ſo well eſtabliſhed among the people, that the work was not once diſcontinued, or even ſlackned.

IN the midſt of theſe cares, ſo worthy of a prince and an illuſtrious warriour, there aroſe ſome troubles which diſturbed the tranquillity of the government: For ſome young ſpaniſh knights, fancying any liberties might be allowed in the midſt of the rejoycings which the defeat of the turks occaſioned, conſumed their time in feaſting and drinking, which they often intermixed with ſatyrical ſongs; and wherein, under a pretence of being witty, and of throwing out their jeſts, they attacked the reputation of the braveſt knights, and the honour of the principal ladies of Malta. Theſe ſongs were ſoon made publick, and complaint was made about them to the grand maſter, who, as he was a ſtrict obſerver of exact diſcipline, conceived a very juſt indignation at the hearing of theſe irregularities, and accordingly directed the council and principal officers of the order to examine into them. The authors of theſe defamatory libels were diſcovered, and a proſecution was carried on againſt them. Whilſt they were going on with it in full council, theſe young libertines, forgetting the reſpect they owed to the grand maſter, who preſided there in perſon, broke into the chamber, ſnatched the pen out of the vice-chancellor's hand, with which he was writing the ſentence pronounced againſt the criminals, and threw his inkhorn out of the window: This being done, the mutineers flung out of the room, and by the help of their ſecret accomplices and friends, got to the ſea-ſide, where they went on board ſome light feluccas, and made their eſcape to Sicily. The grand maſter, incenſed at ſuch an unprecedented inſurrection, degraded them from the order, and condemned them, in caſe of their being taken, to perpetual impriſonment. He diſpatched, at the ſame time, the chevalier Caprona to the viceroy of Sicily to demand them as rebels and deſerters. But whatever real or pretended orders the viceroy might have iſſued out, they either could not or would not find them. Theſe knights however did not ſtay any time in Sicily; for as they knew the grand maſter's firm and inflexible temper, they thought it beſt to retire into their reſpective countries. They flattered themſelves, that as la Valette was very old, he might have a ſucceſſor who ſhould be leſs ſevere, and perhaps have leſs credit; that time would at leaſt be of advantage to them, as it would wear off the

JOHN DE LA VALETTE.

the firſt impreſſions, and thereby leſſen the greatneſs of their offence.

AN affair of ſo vexatious a nature, and which at the ſame time was ſo dangerous a precedent, was ſcarce over, when another happened that gave the grand maſter freſh uneaſineſs. One Bonaccurſi, a florentine, who was ſettled at Malta, had there married a young lady of exquiſite beauty, and the grand maſter's god-daughter. She was originally of the iſle of Rhodes, deſcended of thoſe noble rhodians who came away with Liſle Adam, and followed the fortune of the order.

THE florentine, tranſported with rage and jealouſy, ſtabbed his wife; and notwithſtanding all the endeavours the grand maſter uſed to have him ſeized, his countrymen, whether knights or others, found means, in order to ſave him from the puniſhment of the law, to ſhip him off to Italy; a country, where murders, occaſioned by jealouſy, are oftner connived at than puniſhed. The grand maſter, in the midſt of all the glory with which he was ſurrounded, was full of the higheſt reſentments at the inſults with which private men dared to wound his ſovereign authority. As he was inviolably attached to the obſervance of the laws, was a true judge of merit, and a ſevere avenger of guilt, he neither ſuffered virtue to paſs without a recompence, nor faults without chaſtiſement. Theſe great qualities made him equally dreaded and reſpected; and it was never known during his adminiſtration, that either credit and favour had any weight with him; or that he was ever liberal or munificent but to theſe only who juſtly merited it.

THIS laudable ſteadineſs however embroiled him with the pope, and occaſioned a new ſubject of diſcontent, which did not a little contribute to the ſhortning of ſo illuſtrious a life. Some cardinals thirſting after the great eſtates which the order poſſeſſed in the ſeveral ſtates of Chriſtendom., and particularly in Rome and Italy, had inſinuated to ſeveral popes, that the diſpoſal of the firſt dignities of this military order belonged to them, as the firſt ſuperiours of the whole body. Upon this pretence, the popes had frequently conferred the grand priory of Rome upon cardinals their nephews, and exerted the plenitude of the power of the keys, in granting diſpenſations to qualify them to poſſeſs that military dignity. Upon this principle, the priory of Rome had paſſed ſucceſſively through the hands of ſeveral perſons of the ſacred college.

LA VALETTE could not bear to ſee this miſapplication of the eſtates of the order, without uſing his utmoſt endeavours to redreſs it: he had no views, no paſſion but what terminated in the glory and intereſt of his order, which indeed may be ſaid to be thoſe of Chriſtendom; ſo that he could not forbear writing about it to his holineſs in very preſſing terms. The pope, ſince the raiſing of the ſiege of Malta, had ſent him ſeveral briefs which were full of pompous declarations of his eſteem, and the deep ſenſe he had of his ſervices. The grand maſter anſwered him, that all the recompence he deſired was, that he would leave to his order the diſpoſal of the grand priory of Rome. Pius V finding his requeſt as diſintereſted with reſpect to himſelf, as it was juſt with regard to his knights, aſſured him, by a particular brief, that he, whenever it ſhould fall vacant, would not diſturb the order in the enjoyment of its rights. Nevertheleſs, cardinal Bernardini Salviati, who was then grand priour of Rome, dying, Pius V. made no ſcruple to confer that rich dig-

nity upon cardinal Alexandrino his nephew, without ſo much as ſubjecting him, as the other cardinal grand priours had been obliged, to pay the uſual reſponſions and quit-rents into the common treaſury of the order.

THE grand maſter was ſenſibly concern'd at this breach of promiſe, eſpecially in a pope who was ſtill holier by the purity of his morals and his eminent piety, than by his dignity, though it be the firſt of the chriſtian world. He immediately wrote to him on that ſubject in very warm terms; and the chevalier de Cambian, his embaſſador, delivered his letter, in which he repreſented to him, that if the cardinals of every nation ſhould ſeize on the moſt conſiderable eſtates of the order, they would be left without any fund to enable them, purſuant to the intentions of their founders, to defend the chriſtian ſhips and coaſts, and to carry on the war againſt the infidels. The holy father was touched with the force of theſe reaſons, and ſeemed diſpoſed to reſtore the priory to the order: but as the terms of the grand maſter's letter were not guarded enough, and that the embaſſador had of his own head been ſo imprudent as to diſperſe copies of it, the pope offended at this breach of reſpect, ordered Cambian not to come into his preſence. This gave the grand maſter freſh uneaſineſs, which added to the vexation the young knights had given him, threw him into a deep melancholy.

LA VALETTE, in order to divert it, got on horſe-back a few days afterwards, and being attended with his hunting-equipage, went to a plain near the lee-ſhore of St. Paul, to amuſe himſelf with hawking. But as that day, which was July the 19th, proved exceſſive hot, he was ſtruck with a coup de ſoleil, which forced him to leave his ſport, and occaſioned a violent fever. A few days after, his illneſs not allowing him to apply himſelf ſo much as was neceſſary to the affairs of government, he empowered the lords of the council to take them into their hands. His diſtemper laſted near three weeks longer, and grew daily more and more dangerous; when at length finding his ſtrength decay, and his end drawing near, he prepared himſelf for it like a good chriſtian, and a true religious. He received all the ſacraments with great fervour and piety; and as he had renounced all property, by the vow he made of poverty at his admiſſion into the order, that he might die in the ſame ſentiments, he would not offer to make over any of his effects without the permiſſion of the council, and therefore deſired their leave to diſpoſe of fifty ſlaves that belonged to him, and likewiſe the ſum of 12000 livres. Part of this money he employed in endowing a chappel which he had built in the new city, where he deſired to be buried, and the reſt he gave away in legacies to his ſervants.

HE afterwards ſent for the lords of the council, and the principal commanders and knights, who were then at Malta, and exhorted them in the moſt moving language, to maintain peace and unity among themſelves, and to be exact in diſcharging their vow of obedience to the grand maſter, who ſhould be choſen to ſucceed him. We are told that he recommended to their choice, brother Anthony de Toledo, grand priour of Caſtile, as a man who was moſt capable of ſupporting the dignity of the order. He declared that he forgave the knights who had offended him, and deſired the lords of the council to re-admit the young knights whom he had degraded of the habit, in caſe they thought it could be done without prejudice to their rules and inſtitutions: when

JOHN DE LA VALETTE.

addreſſing himſelf particularly to his nephews, he told them, that the practice of all the virtues of their condition would be the only path that would lead them to thoſe dignities, and that conſideration, which ambitious men endeavour ſo eagerly to gain by cabals and the intereſt of the great. He then took leave of them all, and would not hear of any thing but what related to his ſalvation. A little after he felt the approaches of death; this warriour, who, during his whole life-time, and in the midſt of the greateſt dangers, had faced death with ſo much intrepidity, is at this inſtant ſeized with a religious terrour: they heard him call ſeveral times on his good angel for his aſſiſtance; but theſe clouds were ſoon blown over, and he ſurmounted the horrours of this laſt combat with an entire confidence of GOD's mercy: his mind was calmed, and the ſerenity of it appeared in his countenance, when at laſt calling devoutly on the holy name of JESUS and MARY, he ended an illuſtrious life by a peaceable and chriſtian death, upon the 21ſt of Auguſt 1568. His body was laid in the church of St. Laurence, in the chapel of St. Mary de Philermo, till ſuch time as it could be removed into that of St. Mary of Victory, which he had ordered to be built in the new city of la Valette, where he had deſired to be buried; and it was accordingly carried thither after the election of his ſucceſſour.

THE convent met the next day to proceed to the election. Had the intentions of the laſt grand maſter been followed, don Antonio de Toledo, of the ſame family with the famous duke of Alva, would have been choſen his ſucceſſour. He was a knight of ſingular valour, an excellent general; was generous, liberal, and what was ſtill more conſiderable, had a ſoul informed with the higheſt ſentiments of piety and religion, and was particularly ſtrict in the obſervance of the rule and ſtatutes of the order, but with all theſe ſhining qualities a little too fond of his high birth. This turn of mind, which it is ever dangerous to diſcover in a republick compoſed of nobility and gentry; a certain air of haughtineſs which he affected; the very recommendation of la Valette, which becauſe of the ſtrictneſs of his adminiſtration, was diſagreeable to ſeveral knights; all theſe circumſtances gave them reaſon to apprehend that Toledo would reſemble him as much in his ſteadineſs as he did in his valour, which for that reaſon turned all the votes of the aſſembly another way. There were ſeveral candidates, all of them great croſſes, of the firſt and moſt ancient knights of the order.

ST. Clement aſpired to this dignity: he was a ſpaniſh knight, pilier of the language ef Arragon; his age, his long reſidence in the convent, his modeſty, and his having paſt through moſt of the dignities of the order, might have naturally led him to the firſt: but his exceſſive avarice, and his ſordid niggardlineſs in houſe-keeping, which the knights of his inn had been ſenſible of to their coſt, made him ſo odious and inſupportable, that they would not ſo much as hear of his pretenſions.

THERE were at that time in Malta two great croſſes, the one a frenchman, called la Motte, the other a ſpaniard, whoſe name was Maldonat, both of them intimate friends: they had often been out a cruiſing together; were both men of courage, and from a ſimilitude of tempers and inclinations had made as it were a kind of partnerſhip of the glory and profit which accrued to them from their captures. Theſe two commanders, even in la Valette's life-time, ſeeing him advanced in years, and worn out with the fatigues of war, formed a project

for making the grand maſterſhip fall, after his death, to ſome great croſs, who ſhould be chiefly obliged to them for it. With this view they, from that time, made it their buſineſs to gain friends and creatures, and to make themſelves the heads of a party who ſhould have a great ſway in the election. La Motte, who was polite, inſinuating, and good-natured, found no difficulty in gaining over a great many friends. Maldonat was not poſſeſſed of theſe qualities, and was naturally proud and haughty: but then he ſupplied theſe defects by the frankneſs of his temper, the ſums he generouſly ſpent, his liberality, and the good offices which he did thoſe knights who had ſerved under him, and in the gallies which he commanded. The day of the election being fixed, they went the evening before to the commander de Rivalle's: this gentleman was of the illuſtrious houſe of Urſini; was at that time great admiral of the order; at the head of the language of Italy; and had moreover a great number of creatures and partiſans. Rivalle, imagining he ſhould infallibly be elected, received them in his bed, and upon their offering him their own votes, and thoſe of their friends, he anſwered them only with a pretended moderation, and with an air that was cold enough. Upon which the two commanders went out of his apartment, diſguſted at the myſterious air he affected, and affronted at his having received them in bed. Maldonat, who was naturally hot and proud, could not forbear ſaying, that he ſhould be very much ſurprized, if a man who had kept his bed ſo late on the eve of the election, ſhould be choſe grand maſter the next day. JOHN DE LA VALETTE.

THE two commanders gave their friends an account of the haughty reception they had met with from the admiral, upon which they agreed to give their votes for ſome other perſon. Maldonat endeavoured at this meeting to gain over the votes of the company for himſelf; but the knights knowing his imperious temper, did not think him a fit man to preſide over perſons of quality, who had been brought up in a ſpirit of liberty. They gave him however ſome hopes, but that only in general terms, and he ſoon perceived that his moſt intimate friends would fail him on this occaſion: la Motte likewiſe adviſed him to deſiſt from an attempt that could not poſſibly ſucceed, whereupon they agreed together to declare in favour of the chevalier de Monte, grand priour of Capua, who was one of the candidates for the election, and had a conſiderable party in his intereſt. They, in their reſentment againſt Rivalle, had pitched upon Monte, in hopes that as they were all of the language of Italy, they might for that reaſon draw off a good number of the votes of that language from him. Accordingly the two friends went to his houſe. This gentleman had paſſed through all the employments and dignities of the order; had been general of the gallies, admiral, governour of the caſtle of St. Angelo, and of the peninſula de la Sangle, where he had acquired no ſmall ſhare of glory in the laſt ſiege. La Motte and Maldonat met with him in his hall, ſurrounded with a great number of knights. They, in like manner, as they had done to Rivalle, offered him their own votes, and thoſe of their friends. Monte, knowing the credit and intereſt they would have in the election, was more politick on this occaſion than Rivalle had been; he gave them a moſt obliging reception, and aſſured them of his higheſt acknowledgements.

THE

JOHN DE LA VALETTE.

THE whole convent met the next day in the church of the priory of St. John, when all the languages went into their reſpective chapels, in order to proceed to the choice of two electors for each language. La Motte was one of the number, and was choſen knight of the election. He had the dexterity to get the greateſt part of the co-lectors to be choſen from among ſuch of his fricnds as he could moſt rely on. The preſident gave each of them a ballot or voting-ball: but as there were ſixteen electors, la Motte, as knight of the election, had two ballots, to prevent an equality of votes. After the oaths and ceremonies uſually performed in theſe caſes, (which may be ſeen in the treatiſe of the government of the order, making the fifteenth book of this work) the electors, by a plurality of voices, choſe brother PETER DE MONTE for grand maſter. His name was Guidalotti; but as he was great nephew by the mother's ſide to pope Julius III, of the family of Monte, he, for that reaſon, had aſſumed that name, which his valour, and the brave defence he had made at the ſiege of Malta againſt the continual aſſaults, which the turks had made both by ſea and land upon the peninſula de la Sangle, had ſufficiently illuſtrated. The firſt care of the new grand maſter was to pay the funeral honours to his predeceſſour: his body had been depoſited, as was before obſerved, in the church of our lady of Philermo by the grand maſter's order; it was put on board the admiral galley, which was without any equipage or maſt, and was towed by two other gallies, both of them armed, hung with black cloth, and carrying ſeveral enſigns and banners, which he had taken from the turks ann other infidels, all of them trailing in the water. Theſe were followed by two other gallies, which had belonged to the late grand maſter, covered with black cloth, and other funeral ornaments, having the grand maſter elect, the lords of the council, the commanders, and principal knights on board. This funeral proceſſion went out of the great port in this ſolemn and mournful manner, and entered into that of Muſet. The houſehold of the deceaſed, his officers and ſervants all in deep mourning, went firſt on ſhore, moſt of whom had torches in their hand, and others carried the ſtandards which had been taken from the turks. The clergy marched after the prince's houſehold, carrying his corps, and chanting the ſervice of the church. After theſe came the grand maſter, and all the lords of the council, and were followed by the body of the knights. The corps of the deceaſed was carried into the chapel of our lady of Victory, which la Valette had built at his own expence, in the new city which he had choſe for the place of his burial, where they depoſited his remains, and divine ſervice was afterwards performed with all the ceremonies of the church, and all the honours due to the memory of ſo great a man.

PETER DE MONTE, 23 Aug. 1568.

The end of the thirteenth BOOK.

FRANCISCUS RIERIUS DILIGENTIAE ET VIRTUTIS GRATIA
Cary Sculp

BOOK the Fourteenth.

ADVERTISEMENT.

AMONG the ſeveral authors who have writ the general hiſtory of the order of St. John of Jeruſalem, whether in italian, latin, french, or ſpaniſh, not one of them has carried his account of it lower than the laſt ſiege of Malta: all theſe writers 1565.
leave off, as it were, by concert, at that famous epocha, fancying probably that they could not better end their works, than with the concluſion of that bloody war: perhaps too as the forces of both parties being equally exhauſted might have afterwards produced fewer of thoſe great events that merit a place in hiſtory.

WHATEVER might have been their different motives, I have followed the ſame method in the plan and diſtribution of my work. The thirteenth book ends at the raiſing of the ſiege of Malta, and the defeat of Muſtapha, general to Solyman II. I have only added what paſſed in the laſt years of la Valette's government till the death of that great man, the glory and ornament of his age, as well as of his order. If the hiſtory of a king ends generally with his life, it is not the ſame in that of a republick, which ought to be continued as long as the ſame form of government exiſts. So that the authors who, after me, ſhall tranſmit to poſterity the ſeries of events that have happened in this order, may begin where I leave off. However, till ſuch time as ſome new writer ſhall think fit to continue it, or I my ſelf may have health enough to collect memoirs, and carry on my hiſtory to our own times, I thought my ſelf obliged, for the ſatisfaction of the publick, to add, after the thirteen former books, a fourteenth in the form of annals, and by way of ſupplement, containing a ſummary account of the principal events that have happened in the order, from the election of the priour de Monte the immediate ſucceſſour of la Valette, to that of don Manuel de Vilhena, the preſent auſpicious governour of this illuſtrious order.

ANNALS OF THE ORDER OF St. JOHN of JERUSALEM,

Drawn up in a ſuccinct manner.

PETER DE MONTE. THE 23d of Auguſt, A. D. 1568, brother PETER DE MONTE, or DU MONT, grand priour of Capua, was elected grand maſter. His name was Guidalotti, but being great nephew by the mother's ſide to pope Julius III, of the houſe of Monte, he, for that reaſon, took the name and arms of that family.

1569. DAME Hieronyma d'Olibo, grand prioreſs of the royal houſe of Sixene, of the order of St. John of Jeruſalem, ſituated, as has been already obſerved, in the kingdom of Arragon, returned to her obedience with the conſent of her whole community, and put her ſelf under the government and particular authority of the grand maſter, from which that houſe had withdrawn it ſelf for near an hundred years, on pretence that it depended only on the holy ſee.

SELIMUS II, emperour of the turks, undertakes the conqueſt of the iſle of Cyprus, and on that account declares war againſt the venetians. The progreſs of this war. The taking of Nicoſia and Famaguſta by the infidels: which gives occaſion to a league between the pope, the king of Spain, and the venetians.

1570. THE chevaliers de St. Aubin, Roquelaure, and Ferrand de Coiro, famous cruizers, take conſiderable prizes in the egyptian ſea, and in the very mouth of the Nile. But theſe advantages, which accrued only to the profit of ſome private men, do not compenſate the order for the great loſs it ſuſtains, by the defeat of St. Clement. Lucchiali, a famous corſair, at the head of a ſtrong ſquadron, ſurprizes that of Malta, under the command of this knight, takes three gallies from him, and forces the admiral to run a-ground off of the tower of Monchiaro, in the iſle of Sicily. This impropitious event is followed with the fatal death of St. Clement.

1571. THE battel of Lepanto between the chriſtians and the infidels. The turks loſt 30000 men in it: their general was killed, two of his ſons were taken priſoners, together with 5000 officers or ſoldiers. 20000 chriſtian ſlaves recover their liberty: they took 140 gallies from the infi-

FH
MVSEVM
BRITANNICVM

FR. FRANC. IOAN. CASSELIORUS CANCELL.
Cars Sculp

dels, not to mention ſuch as were either burnt or ſunk. The chriſtians on their ſide loſt 7600 men, and fourteen captains of gallies. Though the order had ſent no more than three gallies, nevertheleſs the knights bravely ſignalized themſelves in this engagement. PETER DE MONTE.

IN the ſame year, the grand maſter, having, with great expence, finiſhed the building of the new city, called the city of la Valette, the foundation of which had been laid by the grand maſter of that name, he tranſports the reſidence of the convent thither.

THE diſtribution of the principal dignities of the order. Brother Francis Burges is made bailiff of Majorca: brother Francis d'Arquembourg Tourville quits the dignity of hoſpitaller, for the grand priory of Champagne: brother Peter Pelloquin ſucceeds him in the poſt of hoſpitaller, after having quitted the dignity of bailiff of the Morea, which upon his abdication is given to brother William de Malin-le-Lux: this laſt reſigns the poſt of great treaſurer, which is given to brother Chriſtopher de Montgaudri. After all theſe ſeveral removals, the grand maſter and the council, upon the voluntary reſignation of the commander d'Arquembourg Tourville, at the requeſt of Charles the ninth, beſtows the grand priory of Champagne upon the chevalier de Sevre.

THE death of the grand maſter de Monte, aged 76. Brother JOHN L'EVESQUE DE LA CASSIERE, of the language of Auvergne, and marſhal of the order, is elected grand maſter; and the next day after his election, he is in full council acknowledged ſovereign prince of the iſlands of Malta and Goza. JOHN LE EVESQUE DE LA CASSIERE.

UNDER his adminiſtration a new promotion is made in the dignities of the order. The commander brother Mark de la Goutte, of the language of Auvergne, is made grand marſhal of the order, which poſt was vacant by the election of la Caſſiere to the grand maſterſhip. The commander brother Hubert Solar is made lieutenant to the great admiral, and afterwards priour of Lombardy. Brother Juſtinian, general of the gallies, having compleated his two years of ſervice, is ſucceeded by brother Philip Flach, grand bailiff of Germany. Brother Francis Pouget is made captain of the admiral-galley, and brother Pompey Soard, commander of the galley of St. Peter. Brother Francis Mego of the iſle of Rhodes, after having executed the office of auditor under the grand maſters d'Omedes, la Valette, Monte, and la Caſſiere, is made vice-chancellor of the order, upon the promotion of Rojas chaplain to the biſhoprick of Malta. The commander Francis de Moretton Chabrillan, and Dr. Melchior Cagliares, are appointed ſyndicks to examine the conduct of the judges in civil and criminal caſes. 1572. 27 Jan.

BROTHER Jerom de Guette, great conſervator, is ſent embaſſador to Rome, to take the oath of obedience to Gregory XIII ſucceſſour to Pius V. 1573.

GREAT preparations are made at Malta, to oppoſe the grand ſeignior Selimus II, who had threatened to fall upon the iſland with all his forces: but he employs them another way, and takes the fort of Goletta, and the city of Tunis. 1574.

THIS year the inquiſition is ſaid to have been ſet up in the iſle of Malta.

THE death of Selimus II, who is ſucceeded by Amurath III, his eldeſt ſon. 1575.

A great diſpute between the order and the republick of Venice about a ſhip richly laden with merchandize belonging to ſome jews, which the knights ſeize upon as their prize.

AN-

JOHN DE LA CASSIERE.

ANOTHER diſpute between ſeveral commanders of the language of Provence, about the grand priory of Toulouſe. Romegas is made general of the gallies.

1576. ON occaſion of the reports of an invaſion which the turks intended ſpeedily againſt Malta, the grand maſter and council are reproached for making no proviſion againſt it, (under pretence that the king of Spain was as much concerned as themſelves, in the preſervation of the iſland) and of being guilty of a neglect, which might prove very prejudicial to the order.

BROTHER John George de Schonborn is by the council appointed to redreſs the abuſes which had crept into the commanderies of Germany by the male-adminiſtration of the particular receivers.

THE chevalier de Mendoſa, as yet only a probationer, arrives at Malta with a brief from the pope, who orders, that as ſoon as he ſhall have made his vows, he ſhall take the great croſs, with the title of turcopilier annexed to the language of England; this cauſes a general diſcontent in the convent, who ſend embaſſadors to the pope to engage him to revoke the brief, granted to a young man who had no experience, and who yet was going to be one of the eight piliers or chiefs of the whole order.

THE affair of the jews of venice comes again upon the carpet. The ſenate, by way of repriſals, ſequeſter all the eſtates which the order had within the territories of the republick. The grand maſter, on this occaſion, ſends an embaſſadour to Rome, to repreſent to the pope, That as thoſe jews were not ſubjects of the republick, it was a conſtant practice, and which was moreover allowed by all laws whatever, to ſeize upon an enemy's robe, as counter-band goods, though it be found on board a friend's ſhip. This affair was concluded to the ſatisfaction of the ſenate; the knights were obliged to reſtore the booty which they had taken from the levantine jews, and the ſenate took off the ſequeſtration.

1577. THE chevalier Correa, a portugueſe, is aſſaſſinated by ſix other knights, his countrymen, who putting on falſe beards, got by that means into his apartment. They are arreſted, and proſecuted, and the ſecular judge condemns them to be ſown up in a ſack, and thrown into the ſea.

THE corſairs of Algiers take the galley of St. Paul, which belonged to the order.

THERE was in the houſe of Auſtria, of the german branch, a young prince, Archduke Wenceſlaus by name, who took the croſs and habit as knight of Malta. The pope, at the king of Spain's requeſt, gave him a brief, in the form of Gratiæ expectativæ, a kind of bull, dated march the 10th, 1577, to qualify him to enjoy the dignity of grand croſs, the priories of Caſtile and Leon, and the bailliage of Lora, after the death of the incumbents: which the grand maſter and council, in conſideration of the protection the order received from the king of Spain, were obliged to paſs, after the german prince had made his vows.

FRANCE, at the ſame time, made another invaſion in prejudice of the rights of ſeniority, and the privileges of the order. The council of Henry III having iſſued out an order, authorizing the king to name ſome of his ſubjects to the grand priory of Auvergne, that prince wrote to the grand maſter to procure the three grand priories of France, St. Gilles

Gilles and Champagne, for Francis de Lorraine the queen's bro- JOHN DE LA CASSIERE.
ther.

THE order had another ſtorm breaking out upon it from Germany, where it was debated in a diet, whether it would not be proper to oblige the knights of Malta of the german language, to incorporate themſelves with the teutonick knights, and unite their commanderies to that order, to render it thereby more powerful, and better able to make war upon the infidels in Hungary. But this went no farther, the propoſal being baffled by the skill and dexterity of the commander Scaglia a piedmonteſe, and at that time embaſſadour from the order to the diet.

THE grand duke of Tuſcany ſends the chevalier Bongianni Giantigliazzi, with the grand maſter's leave, as his embaſſadour to Conſtantinople. The turkiſh ſultan, in a private converſation which he had with him, ſhewing him a plan of the city of la Valette, asked the embaſſador, if it was drawn exactly, and whether the place was as well fortified as it appeared to be. "Sir, (replied the knight) he who drew "this plan, forgot its chief fortification, which conſiſts in the courage "and valour of above a thouſand knights, who are ever ready to fight "to the laſt drop of their blood in defence of the place." 1577.

TROUBLES in the order, raiſed by eight caſtilian knights, who complained againſt the grand maſter and the council, as having greatly wronged them and their whole language, in conſenting to the diſpoſition which the pope and the king of Spain had made of the priories of Caſtile and Leon, and the bailliage of Lora, in favour of the archduke Wenceſlaus. The malecontents were inſtigated underhand by ſeveral great croſſes who fomented the ſedition. The grand maſter has recourſe to the pope, who cites the mutineers to appear before him; they own their fault, and the grand maſter, under pretence that as they had not any commanderies, nor any patrimony or money of their own, it would be impoſſible for them to undertake ſuch a journey, prevails with the pope to excuſe them from coming to Rome; they were however obliged to appear before him in full council, with each of them a wax taper in his hand, in order to make him and the council ſatisfaction, and to ask his pardon: which was granted them, after their having been firſt ſeverely reprimanded by the grand maſter. 1578.

THE death of the grand priour of Bohemia. The emperours had taken upon them to nominate to it, and the order for a long time had neither enjoyed the perſonal eſtate of thoſe who died, nor the mortuary, nor the profits ariſing from the vacancy of the priory. The grand maſter and council appoint the bailiff de Schomborn their embaſſador at the imperial court: this knight has a conference at Prague with brother Chriſtopher de Verdemberg, who had very great intereſt with the emperor; and to engage him to ſupport the rights of the order, the bailiff delivers him an inſtrument and a bull from the grand maſter, by which he conſtituted him grand priour of Bohemia: which affair ſucceeds agreeable to the intentions and deſires of the grand maſter.

HENRY, king of Portugal, acquaints the grand maſter with the death of his nephew king Sebaſtian, who was killed the 22d of September 1578, at the battle of Alcaçer, where ſeveral commanders of the order of St. John likewiſe loſt their lives, and notifies at the ſame time his own acceſſion to the throne.

JOHN DE LA CASSIERE. BROTHERS Gargallo biſhop of Malta, and Creſſin priour of the church, both of them men of a reſtleſs and turbulent ſpirit, began to raiſe a ſtorm which broke out about this time againſt the grand maſter their benefactor.

1579. THE death of the archduke Wenceſlaus, grand priour of Caſtile and Leon, which is followed by that of Don John of Auſtria, natural ſon to Charles V.

BROTHER Juſtiniani, grand priour of Meſſina, is named embaſſadour to the courts of Caſtile and Portugal, to make the compliments of condoleance upon the death of thoſe ſeveral princes, and particularly to make ſure of ſuccours from thence, that the order might be the better enabled to oppoſe the turks, who again threatened to invade Malta.

1579. BISHOP Gargalla renewing his incroachments on the authority of the grand maſter and council, pretends to make a judicial viſitation of the hoſpital of the Notable-city, in which he is oppoſed by the adminiſtrators, as being ſubject to no authority but that of the grand maſter and council. The biſhop excommunicates them: the clergy ſide with him, and levies contributions to ſupport the expences of this diſpute. The order appoints brother Damientaliata, a malteze divine of the order of St. Dominick, to defend their privileges. The magiſtrates of the cities preſent a petition to the grand maſter, complaining that the friends and creatures of the biſhop ſallied out of his palace in arms, and abuſed the citizens who perſiſted in the obedience which they owed their ſovereign. The grand maſter, to put a ſtop to this diſorder, ſettles a guard of fifty men in the town, now called the Victorious City.

THE grand maſter ſends brother Hugh de Loubens de Verdalle as his embaſſadour to the pope, to acquaint him with theſe diſturbances, and gives him inſtructions to apply to his holineſs for a confirmation of the privileges which his predeceſſors had granted to the order; and likewiſe to grant leave for the priour of the church, to confer, in caſe of the biſhop's refuſal, the leſſer orders, not excepting thoſe of deacons, upon young candidates for the eccleſiaſtical profeſſion. The pope appoints the archbiſhop of Palermo to take cognizance of theſe diſputes; but that prelate, upon his arrival at Malta, finds the animoſities carried to ſuch a height, that he remits the cognizance of the affair to the holy ſee, and the biſhop goes to Rome to defend his conduct.

1580. A great conſpiracy againſt the life of the grand maſter, whom three officers of the inquiſition had reſolved to poyſon: they are arreſted, and accuſe ſeveral knights, ſome of whom were great croſſes, and particularly one Petrucci, inquiſitor of Malta, of being their accomplices. Some knights of the languages of Italy, Arragon, and Caſtile, force their way tumultuouſly into the council, inſult the grand maſter, and without any reſpect to his dignity, challenge him to declare what proof he had of their having conſpired againſt his life. And although the vice-chancellor told them, that they had not been ſo much as once mentioned in the council, they yet were not ſatisfied, but inſiſted that the order ſhould ſend three embaſſadours to the pope, who were brother Anthony de Villars grand priour of Auvergne, brother Francis Guiral bailiff of Negrepont, and brother Anthony de Bologna bailiff of St. Stephens. But Bologna and Guiral not caring to intermeddle in ſo troubleſome an affair, excuſed themſelves from the journey, on pre-

tence

tence of their ill ſtate of health: which a little damped the heat and animoſity of the moſt violent. JOHN DE LA CASSIERE.

THE bailiff of Brandenburg, and ſeveral knights of the baliage of Sonneberg, are cited before the council of the order, for having, in oppoſition to their profeſſion, embraced the lutheran religion.

THE emperour pretends he has a right to nominate to the grand priory and the commanderies of the kingdom of Bohemia.

THE council, ſupported by the greateſt part of the convent, rebel againſt la Caſſiere. This ſedition was raiſed on three ſeveral accounts. The firſt was becauſe of the grand maſter's having forbid the knights of different languages to favour particularly the Nations and princes whoſe ſubjects they were born: His reaſon for it was, becauſe the ſpaniards, who, ſince the time of Charles V, had been bred up under the formidable power of the houſe of Auſtria, were for bringing the whole order to crouch to it. The ſecond cauſe was, the grand maſter's having iſſued out a publick proclamation to clear the town and the city of la Valette of all looſe diſorderly women, and his having forced them either to quit the iſland, or retire into the villages and hamlets which lay remote from the reſidence of the convent. The third occaſion was owing to the ambition of ſome great croſſes who aſpired to the grand maſterſhip; and who ſeeing the grand maſter, though he was very old, nevertheleſs enjoyed his health very well, were afraid they ſhould not outlive him, and therefore reſolved either to depoſe him, or force him to abdicate, and by that means make a vacancy in his dignity. 1581.

THE languages of Caſtile and Portugal, ſome add thoſe of Arragon and Germany, ſeveral knights of the three languages of France, with Mathurin del Eſcur, called Romegas, at their head, meet in a tumultuous manner, and complain, that the grand maſter, by the ſeveral orders he iſſued out, plainly manifeſted that his underſtanding was in a manner gone; that he was more intent upon the conduct of the malteſe women, than upon the enterprizes of the turks and the corſairs of barbary; that he took no care of filling the magazines of Malta; that he was always aſleep at council, and did nothing when he was awake but plague his knights: And thereupon they ſend deputies to him, to propoſe to him his naming of a lieutenant, ſince he himſelf was incapable of the adminiſtration. Upon his refuſal, a full council meets at brother Creſſin's, who was priour of the church, and the main ſpring of this ſedition, when they appoint Romegas prior of Toulouſe and Ireland, to be lieutenant of the maſterſhip; the ſpaniſh knights having preferred him before others of their own nation, in hopes of engaging the languages of France on their ſide. Such was the reſult of this ſeditious aſſembly, whoſe aim was to ſuſpend from his lawful authority, a grand maſter, who was valuable for his wiſdom, his piety and valour, only to put in his ſtead a knight, given up a prey to ambition, brave indeed and ſucceſsful in cruiſing, but of a ſavage nature, cruel to his enemies; and whoſe only merit was his being a formidable corſair.

BESIDES Romegas, who was in reality, though ſecretly, the head of the conſpiracy, and who, in outward appearance, ſeemed only to be drawn in to acquieſce to the ſentiments of the greateſt part of the knights, there were four others, who acted openly againſt the grand maſter. The firſt was Creſſin, whom the grand maſter had made priour of the church: This wretch ſeemed to be the moſt bitter enemy his benefactor

JOHN DE LA CASSIERE.

had. The ſecond was the bailiff Rivalle, who having miſſed of the grand maſterſhip, when monte carried it from him, fancied he ſhould get it, in caſe la Caſſiere could be depoſed. The third was Ducro, a great croſs; and the fourth, who was Romegas's creature and confident, was a frenchman, the commander de Maillo-Sacquenville by name.

THESE four ringleaders of the ſedition do not ſtop here; but, to carry their rebellion and outrage ſtill further, they, at the head of their accomplices, ruſh into the grand maſter's palace; arreſt him by virtue of an order of council; put him in an open chair, and carry him under a guard of ſoldiers like a criminal to the caſtle of St. Angelo, where they kept him priſoner. All the way as he went from the city of la Valette to the caſtle, he was expoſed to the ſhouts and inſolence of ſeveral young knights, and of thoſe ſcandalous proſtitutes who inſulted and abuſed him with abominable language, by way of reproach; but which, on the contrary, would, before equitable judges, be conſidered as real encomiums that redounded to his glory.

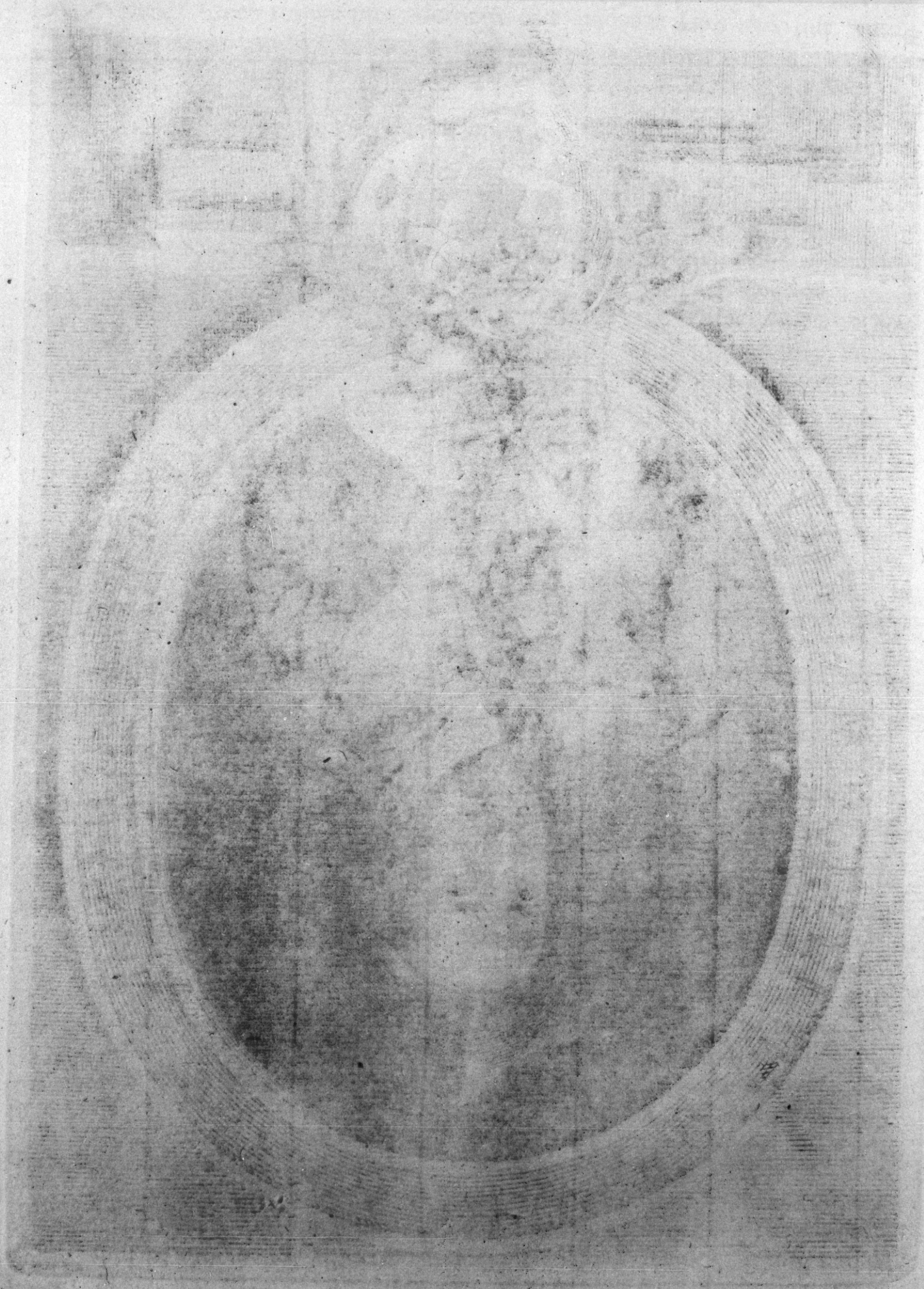
THE rebels, in order to get their proceedings approved of by the pope, the ſupreme head of the order, ſent him three embaſſadours, the chief of whom was Sacquenville the confident of Romegas, who got him named. The grand maſter, notwithſtanding his cloſe confinement, found means to ſend four other embaſſadours to Rome; theſe were the chevaliers de Blot Viviers, Peter Roux de Beauvais, Brother Don Francis de Guzman, and Brother Angelo Pellegrini.

TWO days after, Chabrillan, general of the gallies, returns back into the harbour of Malta, with the knights who had been out at ſea with him. He was no ſooner a-ſhore but he deſired to ſee the grand maſter, which the rebels durſt not refuſe him: whereupon he goes to the caſtle of St. Angelo, and offers the grand maſter to reſtore him to his authority, and carry him back to his palace at the head of 2000 men, made up either of the forces he had on board his gallies, or of the knights and the worthieſt people of the iſland, who deteſted this inſurrection. But the generous old man anſwered him with great wiſdom, that he expected to be reſtored by the authority of the pope, the firſt ſuperiour of the order; and that he had rather end his days in priſon, than give occaſion to his knights, whom he always conſidered as his children, to fight with one another upon his account.

THE embaſſadors of the two parties arrive at Rome: Thoſe of the mutineers, in order to bring his holineſs to conſent to the depoſing of the grand maſter, repreſent him as an old man that had loſt his ſenſes, and who was incapable of governing the order. The pope, to prevent his being impoſed upon by this aſſertion, ſends Gaſpar Viſcenti, auditor of the rota, as his nuncio, to Malta, to take cognizance of the affair on the place. This prelate, upon his arrival there, calls a general aſſembly of all the convent, and lays before them two briefs which he had brought with him; one for the grand maſter, and the other for Romegas; by which both of them were enjoined to come to Rome.

THE king of France, upon receiving advice of the ſhameful treatment which the grand maſter met with from his religious, ſends him a knight to aſſure him that he will employ all his power to reduce the mutineers to their duty.

LA CASSIERE arrives at Rome, attended with 800 knights. He makes his entry into that capital of the chriſtian world as it were in triumph.



HENRICUS MARTEL. CAST. DUX. ET PAR. HUIUS NOMINIS PRIMUS
Cars Sculp

triumph. The pope's court, the houſes of the cardinals, ſeveral princes and embaſſadors, go a conſiderable way to meet him. His holineſs receives him with great marks of eſteem, condoles and comforts him. Romegas ſollicites an audience; but the pope ſends him word that he will not ſo much as ſee him, till he has firſt abdicated his poſt of lieutenant of the maſterſhip. Romegas is ſo prodigiouſly afflicted upon his receiving of this order, that he falls in a ſwoon, and is ſeized with a violent fever, which carries him off in a few days. His partiſans are ordered to go and make their ſubmiſſions to the grand maſter. The commander de Sacquenville, coming up to the grand maſter, and going no further than asking to kiſs his hand, the cardinal de Montato cried to him, "Down upon your knees, rebellious knight; had it not "been for the goodneſs and clemency of your worthy grand maſter, "your head had been chopped off ſome days ago in the piazza Navona." Every body at Malta make their ſubmiſſions. The pope was for having the grand maſter return to Malta, there to enjoy the authority to which he was reſtored; but providence diſpoſed otherwiſe of him, and he died at Rome after a three months ſtay in that city. His corps was carried back to Malta, and his heart depoſited at Rome, in the Church of St. Lewis. His holineſs ordered this Inſcription to be put over it, which was made by the famous M. Anthony Muret.

JOHN DE LA CASSIERE.

"Fratri Joanni epiſcopo, magno militiæ Hieroſolymitanæ magiſtro,
"viro fortiſſimo, religioſiſſimo, ſplendidiſſimo, cujus, ut igne aurum,
"ſic calumniis ſpectata ac probata integritas, enituit, ſacra ſodalitas
"militum Hieroſolymitanorum patriæ. Principi optimo mærens poſuit.
"Vixit annos 78, obiit Romæ 12 Kalend. Januarii 1582.

The grand maſter, happening to die at Rome, made all the order afraid leſt the pope, as firſt ſuperiour, ſhould take upon him to name his ſucceſſor. This was the occaſion of an embaſſy and a famous deputation ſent by the convent of Malta to Gregory XIII, to intreat him not to infringe the order's right of election. The pope ordered a ſearch to be made into the regiſters of his predeceſſors, particularly thoſe of Boniface IX, Innocent VII, and Gregory XII, and after coming to a reſolution, diſmiſs'd the embaſſadors, with an aſſurance that he would in a little time ſend them a brief to proceed to an election, without any further explanation of his intentions, of which he told them ſignor Viſconti his nuncio was fully inſtructed. 1582.

IN fact, upon the 12th of January 1582, the chapter being met, and the ſixteen electors choſe, his holineſs's nuncio preſented them a brief, wherein he allowed them indeed to proceed to a kind of choice, but confined them to chuſe one of the three perſons whom the pope had propoſed, viz. Verdale, a knight of the language of Provence and great commander; Paniſſe, grand priour of St. Giles; and Chabrillan, bailiff of Manoſque. Verdalle, who had been a long time embaſſador at Rome, and was very acceptable to the pope and all his court, found the ſame favourable diſpoſitions towards him in the chapter; accordingly he was choſen and proclaimed grand maſter; and the pope ratified his election, and ſent a brief to incorporate and unite the dignity of turcopilier to the grand maſterſhip, a dignity which had been anciently annexed to the language of England.

HUGH DE LOUBENX DE VERDALLE.

A GENERAL chapter is held, which lays a general tax upon all the eſtates of the order. 1583.

HUGH DE VERDALLE.

THE Venetians ſeize two gallies of the order, by way of repriſals, for ſome merchandize that had been taken in turkiſh veſſels, and which was claimed by venetian merchants.

NEW fortifications ordered in the iſle of Goza.

THE language of Italy carries the point of precedence before that of Arragon.

1584. *Jan.* 9. THE proſecution and trial of the chevalier Avogadre, general of the gallies: He is deprived of his poſt, condemned to a year's impriſonment, and the revenues of his bailliage are confiſcated for three years, and paid in to the treaſury of the order.

THE grand duke's gallies cruize in company with thoſe of the order.

BROTHER Claude of Lorrain, called the chevalier d'Aumale, arrives at Malta in a galley of his own.

JOHN Andrew Doria, generaliſſimo to the king of Spain, arrives at Malta, and has a conference with the grand maſter.

THE pope's brief, excluding the knights, and incapacitating them for being made either biſhops of Malta, or priours of the church.

DEATH of pope Gregory XIII. The election of Sixtus Quintus.

A VENETIAN ſhip arreſted by the gallies of the order, by way of repriſals.

1585. This year is ſpent in debating the grand maſter's right of nominating the general of the gallies, and the knight who was to have the particular command of the admiral galley.

1586. AN order forbidding any man's carrying pocket piſtols and ſtilletto's about him; weapons fit only for banditti and aſſaſſins.

1587. SACONNAI, grand marſhal of the order, is puniſhed for taking a knight's ſervant, who had been accuſed of theft, out of the priſon of the Caſtellany.

CHARLES d'Orleans is put in poſſeſſion of the grand priory of France without any reſervation, and in the very ſame manner that Henry de Angoulême had enjoyed it.

BROTHER Michael de Sevre, grand prior of Champagne, takes a very inconſiderate ſtep, and appeals from the decrees of the laſt general chapter, to the ſecular tribunal.

THE ſpirit of ſedition ſtill continues in the convent. The grand maſter goes to Rome. The pope, to ſilence the malecontents, creates him a cardinal, and ſends him back to Malta.

1588. SEVERAL prizes taken by the knights who were out a cruſing.

1589. THE grand maſter makes choice of James Boſio to write the hiſtory of the order, which had been begun by the commander John Anthony Foſſan.

1590. DEATH of pope Sixtus Quintus, who is ſucceeded by Gregory XIV.

1591. THE jews and their effects are (by a particular brief of the pope) declared to be lawful prize.

1592. THE plague makes dreadful havock in the iſland of Malta. The jeſuits are brought in by biſhop Gargallo, and ſettle there.

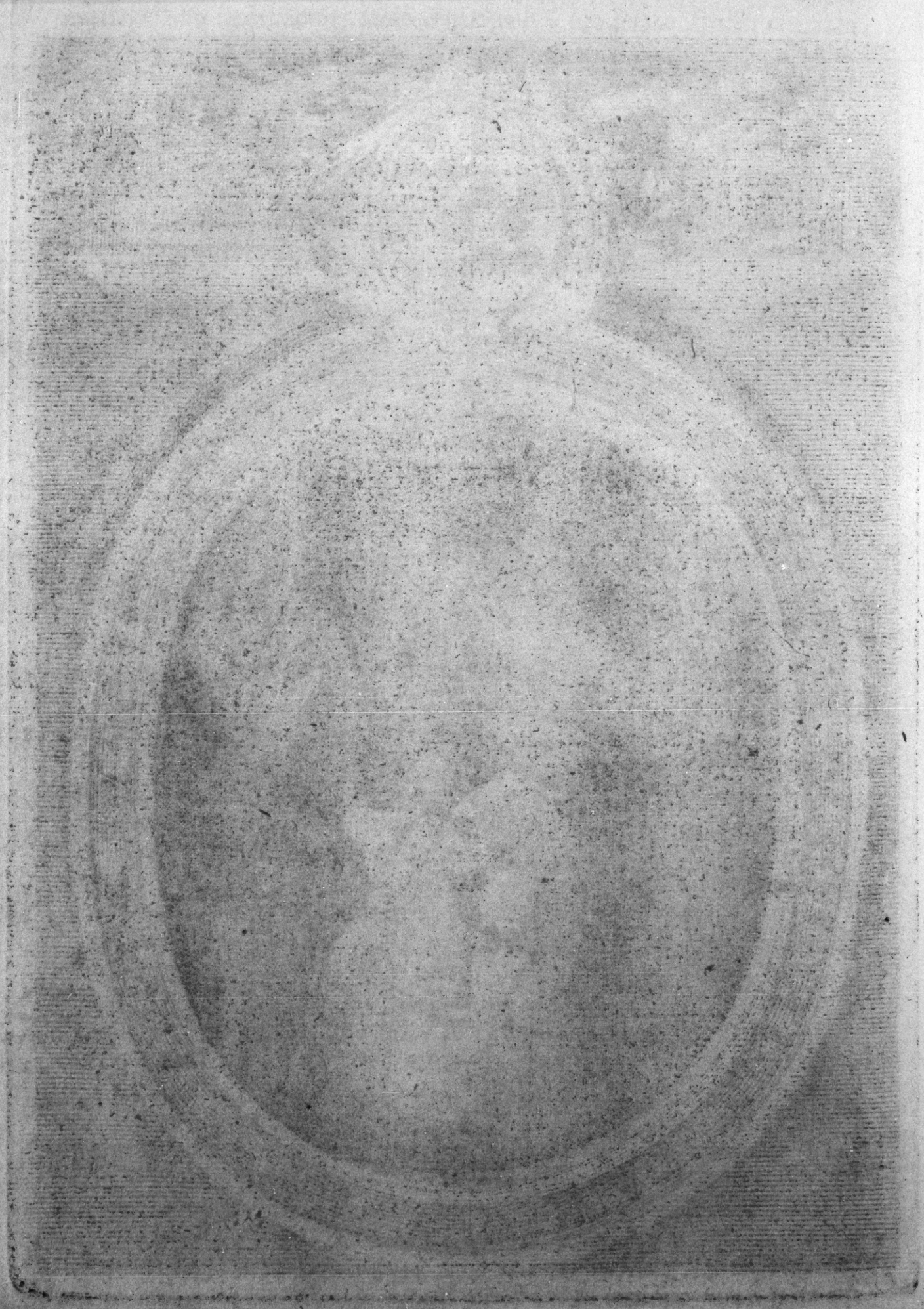
1593. THE commander, John Otho Boſio, is made vice-chancellor.

THE pope grants the priory of Barletto, vacant by the death of Cardinal Scipio of Gonzaga, to prince Ferdinand of Gonzaga, afterwards cardinal, and in fine duke of Mantua.

1594. THE grand priory of Venice, after having been poſſeſſed by cardinal Farneſe, devolves to cardinal Colonna.

HENRY

HENRIETTE MARIE DE LORRAINE CINQUANTE-DEUXIEME ARCHEVESQUE DE REIMS
Cars Sculp.



HENRIETTE MARIE FILLE DE HENRY IV ROY DE FRANCE ET DE NAVARRE
Carr sculp.

HENRY IV, after the death of Henry III, and during the time of the civil wars, diſpoſes of the grand priory of Aquitain in favour of the commander de Chattes; and of that of Auvergne, in favour of the baron de Bellegarde, though he was a layman. HUGH DE VERDALLE.

THE dignity of cardinal, which the pope had conferred on the grand maſter, is not ſufficient to put a ſtop to the reſtleſs and ſeditious humour of the malecontents: So that this prince, tired out with their continual murmurs and complaints, makes another voyage to Rome, and dies of grief. 1595.

BROTHER don Martin Garzez, of the language of Arragon, is choſen grand maſter: He had no favourites, no partiality, and his government was agreeable both to the knights and the people. 1596. MARTIN GARZEZ.

POPE Clement VIII confers the priory of Piſa upon don Antonio de Medicis.

THE turks ravage Hungary; and the council of the order, to encourage the ſuccouring of that nation, declares, by a ſolemn edict, that any knights who ſhould ſerve in that country againſt the infidels, the order will reckon that ſervice an equivalent to their reſidence, and that they ſhall be intitled to the ſame privileges as if they had reſided in the convent, or had ſerved on board the veſſels of the order. 1597.

THE emperor Rodolph II, iſſues out a diploma, which terminates the affair of Bohemia to the ſatisfaction of the order. 1598.

NEW troubles at Malta, occaſioned by the proceedings of the inquiſitors, whoſe ſucceſſors carry them to a ſtill greater height. 1599.

THE grand maſter and the council make a decree in favour of the Swiſs, allowing their children to be received in the priory of Germany, provided theſe children are born in lawful wedlock of father and mother, grandfather and grandmother, great grandfather and great grandmother, all roman catholicks, and ſtatutably qualified, who had never been mechanicks, but deſcended from officers, captains and commanders, whoſe profeſſion of arms was to be conſidered on the footing of nobility.

THE century ends with the fortifications which the grand maſter and the council make in the caſtle and iſle of Goza.

THE bailiage of Armenia ſuppreſſed; great diſputes between the languages of Italy and Germany, both of them claiming the priory of Hungary. 1600.

THE inquiſitors, to make their court to the pope, are continually making incroachments on the authority of the grand maſter and council, and make themſelves odious and inſupportable to the knights.

DEATH of the grand maſter don Martin de Garzez. Brother Alof de Vignacour, grand hoſpitaler of France, is choſen to ſucceed him. This knight, who was of the language of France, and of a very ancient family of the province of Picardy, was great croſs and hoſpitaler of the order, when his merit raiſed him to the dignity of grand maſter: And there has hardly ever been a maſterſhip more famous than his, whether we conſider its duration, which was upwards of twenty years, or the various events that happened in the order during his adminiſtration. 1601. ALOF DE VIGNACOUR.

THE grand maſter diſpatched ſeveral embaſſadors to notify his election to the principal ſovereigns of chriſtendom. The commander Rodrigo Britto was ſent to the pope; brother Nicolas Dellamara to the emperour; brother William de Meaux Bois Baudran was employed in the ſame quality at the court of the king of France; and don Bernard de Zuniga at that of his catholick majeſty. THE

ALOF DE VIGNACOUR. THE inquiſitor Veralli is for taking cognizance of the affairs of the government; in which he is openly countenanced by pope Clement VIII.

1602. THE gallies of the order ſeize upon the town of Mahometa on the coaſt of Barbary; an enterprize formed with great prudence, and executed with as much valour.

EMERY de Chattes made embaſſadour of the order to king Henry IV.

ENTERPRIZE of the knights upon the towns of Lepanto and Patras.

1603. A GENERAL chapter held.

1604. THE gallies of the order ravage the iſle of Lango, formerly ſo dear to the knights, during their reſidence at Rhodes; but now their ſucceſſours cary off 165 ſlaves, out of hatred of the turks.

1605. DEATH of pope Clement VIII.

1606. PAUL V. his ſucceſſour gives three commanderies of the language of Italy to one of his nephews, though they did not happen to fall vacant in the court of Rome: And a little while afterwards he likewiſe conferred the commandery of Benevento upon cardinal Buffaio.

1607. PROJECT of a knight, a dalmatian by birth, but of the language of Germany, propoſed to the order for getting the poles to reſtore the great commandery of Poſna, which was fallen into ſecular hands, upon condition of eſtabliſhing a body of knights in that Kingdom, to ſerve on horſeback againſt the turks; which did not ſucceed, by reaſon of the obſtacles put in the way by a prince of the houſe of Radzivil, whoſe anceſtors or relations had probably got poſſeſſion of it.

1608. TROUBLES at Malta in the inn and language of Germany, on account of an attempt which had been made to get Charles count of Brie, natural ſon to Henry duke of Lorrain, admitted into that language; the affair is carried to ſuch an height, that the Germans tear down the arms of the grand maſter and the order from off the gate of their inn, and leave only thoſe of the emperour.

1609. FRANCIS de Lorrain, called the chevalier de Gurſe, makes his firſt campaign on board the gallies of Malta.

THE chevaliers Freſenet, Maurot, and Gaucort, ſurprize the fortreſs of Lajazzo in the gulf of that name; make their way into it by means of a petard which blew up the gate; take a great booty, and after blowing up the fortifications of the place, carry off above 300 ſlaves.

1610. A YEAR fatal to France and the order of Malta, by the aſſaſſination of Henry the great.

1611. CORINTH taken and ſacked by the gallies of the order.

1612. THE prince of Vendoſme made general of the gallies of the order.

1613. THE grand maſter, upon receiving advice that the corſairs of Barbary deſigned to make an attempt upon the iſle of Goza, ſends troops, ammunition, and proviſions thither.

1614. A NEW alarm in the language of Italy, by the pope's granting the duke of Modena's ſon the gratiæ expectativæ, a kind of bull, upon the commandery of Reggio: A favour of a dangerous nature from the ill conſequences that might enſue.

1615. SIXTY turkiſh gallies appear off of the iſle of Malta, and land 5000 men, but are able to make no ſlaves from the care the inhabitants take to retire into the ſtrong-holds.

THE grand maſter makes an aqueduct to carry a fine large ſpring from the city of Malta commonly called the Notable-city, to the city of Valetta, and the piazza before the grand maſter's palace: a work worthy of the roman grandure. ALOF DE VIGNACOURT. 1616.

THE duke of Nevers is for founding a new order, or, properly ſpeaking, for ſeparating the old one of St. Sepulchre from the order of St. John of Jeruſalem. Brother don Lewis Mendez de Vaſconcellos, bailiff of Acre, a very able negotiatour, is diſpatched to the court of France, to traverſe the duke's deſigns. He arrives in France with the quality of embaſſadour extraordinary, and went to his firſt audience attended by the commander de Sillery embaſſadour in ordinary, brother de St. Leger, receiver of the priory of France, the commander de Formigeres captain of the life-guards, the commander de Girlande, and all the knights who were then at Paris, and about the court. He preſented his letter to the king, who gave as favourable an anſwer to it as could be wiſhed, and the duke of Nevers's project came to nothing.

FACARDIN, prince of the Druſi, comes to Malta, to implore the protection and ſuccour of the order againſt the grand ſeignior's perſecutions.

BOSIO, who was only an honourary knight, pretending to diſpute precedence with a knight who was his ſenior, was made ſenſible that his ſeniority could not be reckoned but from the day of his rehabilitation, and that an honourary knight could never be advanced to the dignities of the order. 1617.

THE treaſury of the order cauſe a galion to be built in the port of Amſterdam, which coſt 60000 crowns of gold. 1618.

NEW fortifications raiſed in the roads of St. Paul, of Marſa-Sirocco, and Marſa-Scala, and in the little iſle of Comino, ſituated between Malta and Goza.

CAGLIARES, biſhop of Malta, makes ſeveral incroachments on the authority of the grand maſter and council: he goes to Rome to ſupport them, and leaves behind him a vicar-general as pragmatical as himſelf. The young knights of all the languages, unable to endure the audaciouſneſs of that turbulent fellow, run to look for him in his houſe, in order to throw him into the ſea. The grand maſter obliges him to ſurrender himſelf, and ſends him to Rome to anſwer the proſecution againſt him. The pope is incenſed at this affair, orders his inquiſitor to examine into it, and threatens to excommunicate the grand maſter and council, whoſe ſubmiſſion at laſt puts an end to the affair. 1619.

THE army of the catholick league make an unſucceſsful attempt in order to ſeize upon the town of Suſa on the coaſt of Barbary. A conſiderable number of knights had a ſhare in this expedition, among whom are reckoned brother Anthony Barras, brother Francis Juxs, brother de la Meuſana, brother Merault de Pelons, brother Melchior de Gozon-Melac, brother Anthony an honourary knight, captain of foot in the ſervice of the king of Spain: and among the wounded were brother Alphonſo Caſtel S. Pierre, captain of the admiral-galley of the order; brother Anthony Maſtrillo, captain of the patroneſs; brother John de Saligy, a native of Auvergne; brother Ceſar de St. Peryer, of the language of France, who died at Malta of his wounds; brother Azeredo, a caſtilian, and brother Luys Mendez Vaſconcellos, a portugueſe.

ALOF DE VIGNACOURT.

FRANCIS Ottoman, a dominican friar, who pretended to be ſon to the grand ſeignior Achmet, comes to Malta, and is received there upon the recommendation of cardinal Verally, preſident of the congregation of the catechumens.

1620. ENTERPRIZE of the gallies of the order upon Caſtel-Torneze. The commander brother Alphonſo Caſtel St. Pierre is named by the general of the gallies to head that enterprize. They clap three petards to the gate, and break into the palace: which was a kind of a magazine to all the Morea. The general of the gallies has notice given him by a greek, that in caſe he does not retire immediately, his retreat will be intercepted by 4000 turks who were hard by. He orders a retreat to be ſounded, and St. Pierre, who received the ſame advice, forms a ſquadron, and makes his way to the ſea with the booty and the priſoners he had taken.

1621. DEATH of Paul V, who is ſucceeded by Gregory XV. This pope iſſues out bulls to confirm all the privileges which his predeceſſours had granted to the order.

1622. NEW complaints of the language of Italy, on account of being deprived of their right of ſucceeding to the vacant commanderies, by the popes nomination to them oftentimes before they became ſo.

THE commander de Chatte-Geſſan is ſent to Malta by king Lewis XIII, to deſire the order to join their gallies to his in order to fight againſt the hugonots.

THE chevalier de Caſſelani de Montemedan is by the council ordered to go with the gallies to Marſeilles, and to carry thither the great galion which had been built at Amſterdam.

THE grand maſter de Vignacour being a hunting, and purſuing a hare in all the heat of the month of Auguſt, was ſeized with a fit of an apoplexy, juſt as had happened fifty years before to the grand maſter de la Valette. They carried him to the new city, where he appointed brother Nicholas la Marra, great admiral of the order, to be his lieutenant. He afterwards received the ſacraments of the church with great devotion, diſpoſed of his effects as uſual, and died on the 14th of September, being 75 years old.

THE chapter met to chuſe him a ſucceſſour. There were two pretenders, viz. Mendez de Vaſconcellos a portugueſe, bailiff of Acre, who had been embaſſadour from the order to the courts of Rome and France, and de Paule, of the language of Provence, grand priour of St. Giles. Brother don LUYS MENDEZ had the preference, and was accordingly proclaimed grand maſter on the 17th of September; but he hardly enjoyed his dignity ſix months; and the little time that he outlived Vignacour, was employed in confirming the wiſe regulations he had made. Vaſconcellos being near fourſcore years of age, died on the ſixth of March 1623.

MENDEZ VASCONCELLOS.

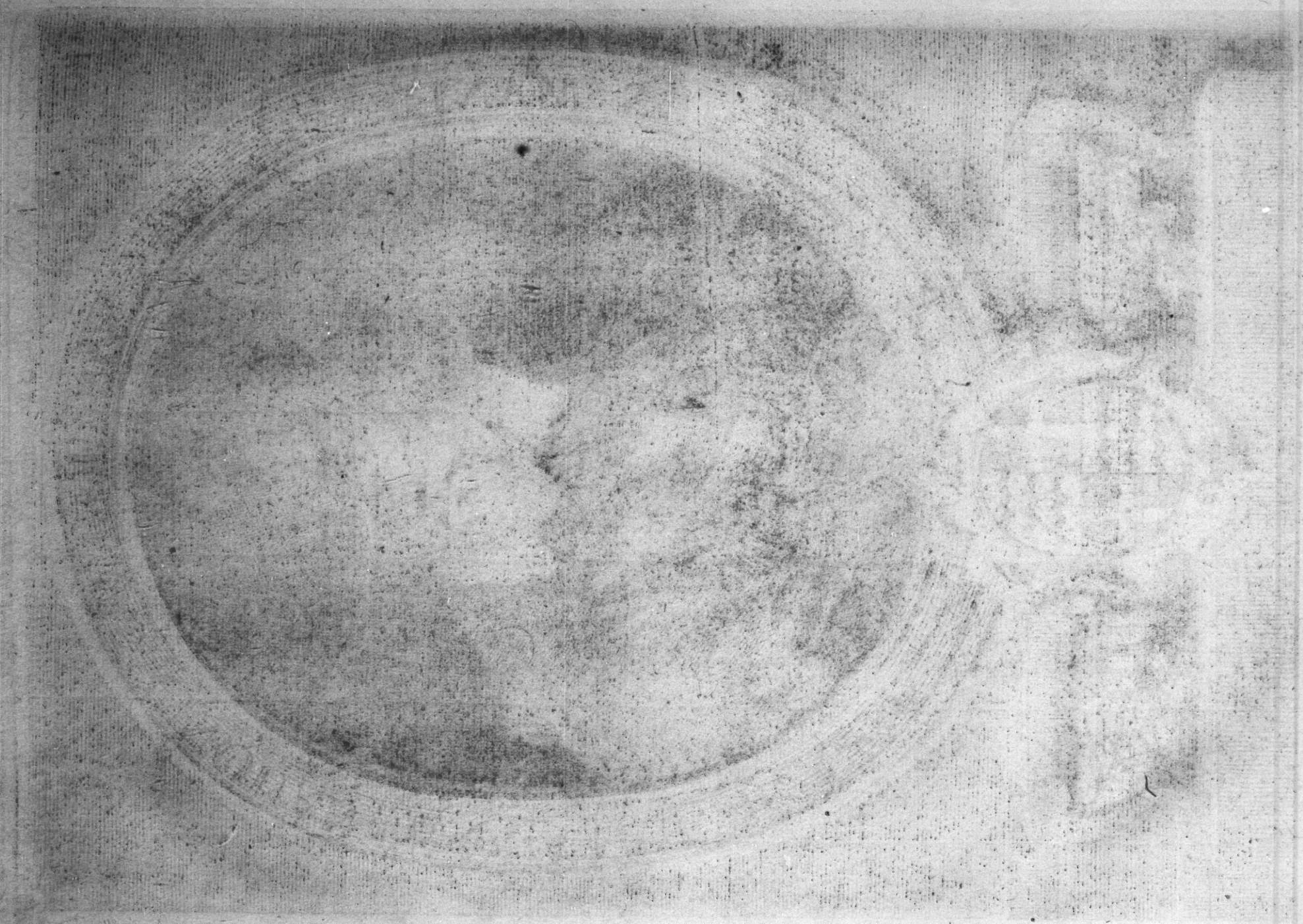
THE 10th of the ſame month they proceeded to the election of a new grand maſter, and the choice of the convent fell upon brother Anthony de Paule, priour of St. Giles, being ſeventy one years old. The commander de Tormegeres, embaſſadour of the order in France, dying about this time, the commander Durand de Villegagnon was put a ſecond time into that poſt, to notify the election of the new grand maſter to Lewis XV.

ANTHONY DE PAULE.

DEATH

54

D. LUDOVICUS MANDES DE VASCONCELLOS CINQUA. ARCHIEPISCOPUS ULYSIPPONENSIS PRIMAS LUSITANIÆ COMES &c.
Cars Sculp.



PAVLE CINQUANTE-CINQUIEME GRAND MAISTRE
FRERE ANTOINE DE PAVLA
L.C ans Sculp.

DEATH of pope Gregory XV, who is ſucceeded by Urban VIII. This pope gets Anthony Barberini, his great nephew, to be received into the order as a chevalier de juſtice, with a diſpenſation for keeping his reſidence, and ſerving in the gallies of the order. ANTHONY DE PAULE.

JOHN de Fonſeca, a portugueſe novice or probationer, has his head cut off in the great piazza of the palace, after having been found guilty of robbery and murder.

BROTHER Faulcon, priour of Capua, being convicted of embezzelling 15000 ducats of the revenue received from Naples, 2000 crowns of that of Rome, and 15000 ducats more of what the grand maſter Lewis Mendez left behind him, is condemned to perpetual impriſonment, and dies in priſon. 1624.

THE grand maſter does not want enemies, among a ſet of men who are impudent enough to fancy they can out-face truth, and make the blackeſt falſehoods paſs for matters of fact. They preſent a memorial to the pope, wherein they take notice that the grand maſter is a man of looſe life and converſation; that he is guilty of ſimony, and had bought his dignity with money. De Paule ſent the commander brother Denis Polaſtron de la Hilliere to Rome: who being a man of the greateſt probity and virtue, juſtified him in the moſt honourable manner from all theſe calumnies. The grand maſter had hardly got rid of this affair, when he had another upon his hands, which was full as troubleſome, becauſe pope Urban VIII was both judge and party in it. His holineſs took upon him to diſpoſe of the commanderies of the language of Italy: he had before given the two commanderies of Milan and Bufalora to don Antonio Barberini his nephew, and he afterwards gave that of Aſcoli to the chevalier Machiavelli; that of Volterra to the chevalier brother Donat Ruſtici; the right of ſeniority to the commander brother Hubert Ricaſoli, and the commandery of Monopoli to the chevalier brother Alexander Zambeccari. Theſe new conceſſions added to thoſe of the popes Paul V, and Gregory XV, which were computed to amount to no leſs than 17 commanderies, put all the language of Italy in a flame. The knights refuſed to make their campaigns, or to ſerve on board the ſhips and gallies of the order; and moſt of them retired to their own houſes and relations. The grand maſter, to remedy this diſorder, called a council, when it was agreed that they ſhould ſend an embaſſadour to the pope, to lay before him the juſt complaints of the order. They likewiſe ſent three others on the ſame account to the principal ſovereigns of Chriſtendom. Brother James du Liege-Charault, grand hoſpitaller, was ordered to Rome; brother John Conrard de Rosbach, bailiff of Brandenburgh, was ſent to the emperour; la Marra, priour of Meſſina, and general of the gallies, to the king of France; and brother don John Ximenes, priour of Navarre, to the king of Spain. Theſe embaſſadours were likewiſe directed to lay before thoſe princes an account of the abuſe of certain diſpenſations which were granted to the knights at Rome, by which they were allowed to diſpoſe of their effects, whereby the common treaſury was defrauded of its right, and which could end no otherwiſe than in the ruin of the order. We ſhall take notice of the iſſue of this embaſſy to Rome under the year 1626.

THE order makes an attempt upon the iſland of Santa Maura, in poſſeſſion of the turks, which miſcarries: twelve knights were killed in it, beſides a great number who were wounded. 1625.

ANTHONY DE PAULE.

A GREAT ſea-engagement, in which the order loſes two gallies, the St. John and the St. Francis: ſeveral knights were killed in it, others wounded, and ſome made ſlaves.

1626. TO theſe misfortunes muſt be added another; for the pope, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of the grand maſter and the council continues to beſtow the italian commanderies on his relations.

1627. THE order had hitherto never kept up above five gallies, but the grand maſter now cauſes a ſixth to be built.

1628. URBAN, who was no friend to the order, not ſatisfied with plundering it of its principal commanderies in Italy, which he beſtowed upon his relations, now publiſhes an ordinance, motu proprio, changing the method that had been always hitherto obſerved in the election of the grand maſters.

1629. BROTHER Achilles d'Eſtampes Valençai is made a great croſs de grace, (or by favour) upon the recommendation of Lewis XIII king of France.

ANTONIO Boſio, who was natural ſon to the bailiff brother John Otho, and adopted by his unckle James Boſio, made a great progreſs in polite literature, and eſpecially in the knowledge of eccleſiaſtical hiſtory; ſo that his profound capacity threw as it were a ſhade over the meanneſs of his extraction, as may be ſeen by his ſeveral works; particularly that of Roma ſubterranea. He ſucceeds his adoptive father in the poſt of agent to the order at Rome, and being the laſt perſon left of his name, he ſucceeds this year to all the eſtate and effects of the family.

1630. THE pope, ſtill intent upon reducing the government of the order, agreeably to his ſecret views, is for changing the old uſage that had been obſerved in general chapters.

1631. SOME chriſtian ſlaves who compoſed the crew of a turkiſh galley, commanded by Manni-Bei of Famaguſta in the iſle of Cyprus, rebel againſt him, take up arms, and either kill the captain and the ſoldiers of the galley, or force them to leap over-board, make themſelves maſters of the galley, and arrive ſafe at Malta.

A GENERAL chapter appointed on the 11th of May. The pope conſents that they ſhould retain the old uſage in it of ſixteen commiſſaries, two for every language: but he inſiſts that the inquiſitor ſhall preſide over them, and have a power of delegating, in caſe of abſence, any body whom he ſhall think fit in his place; that he ſhall likewiſe have a power of ſuſpending the chapter, as well as of prorogueing it. The grand maſter aſſures the pope that he is diſpoſed to obey him, but that the body of the order could not bear with patience his holineſs's introducing a perſon into the government who did not belong to the order, with the title and authority of preſident. The pope having no manner of regard to theſe remonſtrances, the council thought fit to ſubmit. But, in order to avoid the fire and violence of the young knights, they ſend them to ſea a cruiſing whilſt the general chapter is held.

ON ſunday the 11th of may 1631, this general chapter is opened, in which preſided the moſt ſerene lord Francis Anthony de Paule, grand maſter.

THE moſt reverend Imbroll, priour of the church.

Conventual bailiffs.

BROTHER	Claude Durré Ventarob,	great	commander.
	Francis Cremeaux,		marſhal.
	Tuſſin de Ternez Boiſtrigault,		hoſpitaler.
	Philip de Gaetan,		admiral.
	Lewis de Moncada,		conſervator.

Grand priours.

BROTHER	Juſte du Fay Gerlande,	prior of	Auvergne.
	George de Caſtelane d'Aluis,		Toulouſe.
	Antonio Maria de Ciaia,		Lombardy.
	Nicolas Cavarretta,		Veniçe.
	Nicolas de la Marra,		Meſſina.
	Philip Bardaxi,		Empoſta.

Capitulary bailiffs.

Signorin Gattenara, bailiff or priour of the bailiage of St. Euphemia.
Francis Sans, bailiff of Negrepont.
Ceſar Feretti, bailiff or priour of St. Stephens.
Alexander Benſi, bailliff or priour of St. Trinity of Venuſia.
Antonio Bracaccio, bailiff or priour of St. John near the ſea of Naples.

BROTHER	Humphrey de l'Hoſpital,	bailiff of	Majorca.
	Francis Puget Cheſſuel,		Manoſque.
	Juſte de Brun Laliege,		Leon.
	De Rosbach,		Brandenburg.
	John de Bernoi Villeneuve,		L'Aigle.
	Laurence de Figueroa,		St. Sepulchre.
	Lucius Grimaldi,		Pavia.
	Lewis of Britto Maſcarnay,		Acre.
	James Chriſtopher Abandlau,		&c.
	Alexander Orſi,		&c.

Lieutenants of the conventual bailiffs.

BROTHER Matthias James Phirt, lieutenant of the bailiff of Germany.
Thomas Hozis, lieutenant of the great chancellour.

Proxies of the priours.

BROTHER Biagio Brandao, proxy of the moſt ſerene ferdinand cardinal Infant, adminiſtrator of the prioury of Portugal.
Francis Buonaroti, proxy of the moſt illuſtrious don John Charles de Medicis, priour of Piſa.
Anthony Scalamonte, proxy of the illuſtrious brother Aldobrandino Aldobrandini, priour of Rome.

Triſtan de Villeneuve, proxy of brother James de Mauleon la Buſtide, priour of St. Gilles.
Robert de Viole Soulere, proxy of brother William de Meaux Baudran, priour of France.
Charles de Vajure, proxy of brother Peter de Beaujeu, priour of Champagne.
Julio Amali, proxy of brother Peter Vintimiglia, priour of Capua.
BROTHER Martin de Redin, priour of Navarre, by appearing in perſon ſuſpended the powers of brother Gineſio Ruiz his proxy.
Policarpe de Caſteloi, proxy of brother Peter George Pridorfila, priour of Catalonia.
Lewis Melzi, proxy of brother Frederic Huntd, priour of Ireland.
Anthony Pontremoli, chaplain of the language of Provence, proxy of brother Arteman, priour of Hungary.
Eberard, baron d'Eſtain, proxy of brother Theodore Rolman, priour of Denmark.
Don John de Zuniga, proxy of don Bernardin de Zuniga, priour of Caſtile and Leon.

Proxies of the capitular bailiffs.

John Baptiſte Calderari, proxy of the eminent cardinal Cornaro, great commander of Cyprus.
Baldaſſar de Marzilla, proxy of brother Lapert de Arbiza, bailiff of Caſpe.
Francis de Godoi, proxy of brother don Diego de Guzman, bailiff of Lora.
BROTHER Joachim de Challemaiſon, proxy of brother James de Chenu de Bellai, bailiff of Armenia.
Gabriel Dorin de Ligny, lieutenant and proxy of brother James du Liege-Charault, treaſurer-general.
Don Lewis de Cardenas, proxy of the illuſtrious bailiff brother Caraffa.
Gaſpard de Maiſonſeule, proxy of the bailiff brother Achilles d'Eſtampes Valençay.

Proxies of the languages.

Of Provence,		Francis Bagarris.
Auvergne,		Charles de Fay Gerlande.
France,		Alexander de Grimonval.
Italy,		Octavio Ceoli.
Arragon, Catalonia, and Navarre,	BROTHER	Gerome Bardaxi.
Germany,		John James de Welthauſe.
Caſtile and Portugal,		Gabriel d'Angulo.

The order being ſuppreſſed in England, no proxies were named for that language.

Proxies of the commanders of the priories.

the priory of St. Giles,	BROTHER	Henry de Latis-Entragues.
Toulouſe,		Francis de Crottes de la Menardie.
Auvergne,		Peter Lewis Chantellot la Cheſe.
France,		Peter de Carvel de Merai.
Champagne,		Joachim de Sennevoi.
Rome,		Curtius Bombino.
Lombardy,		Alphonſo Caſtel de St. Pierre.
Venice,		Fiorin Borſo.
Piſa,		Ugolin Griſoni.
Barletto,		Gerolamo-Zato.
Meſſina,		Philip Moleti.
Capua,		Alphonſo Dura.
the caſtellany of Empoſta,		Peter Marzella.
Catalonia,		Melchior Dureta.
Navarre,		Francis Torreblanca.
Germany,		John de Ropach.
Caſtile and Leon,		Alphonſo de Angulo,

Companions of the grand maſter.

the language of Provence, brother Girolamo de Merle Beauchamps, cavalcadour of the grand maſter, and brother Peter de Bernana Hornolach.		
Auvergne, France,	BROTHER	Baldaſſar d'Alben, and brother Foucaud de St. Hilaire.
Italy,		Adrian de Contremoulins, and brother Francis de la Grange.
Arragon, Catalonia, and Navarre,		John Minutolo, and brother Mario Alliata.
		N. N.
England,		John Baptiſt Macedonio, and brother Stephen del Portico.
Germany,		William-Henry de Waſperg.
Caſtile and Portugal,		Gondiſalvo de Albernoz, and brother don Bernardin de Norogna.

THE inquiſitor then preſented a brief from the pope, by which he was named to preſide at the election of the ſixteen commiſſaries appointed to regulate the affairs of the order; but not to have any vote there, to meddle in propoſing any matter, or to ſpeak his ſentiments in any debate. The grand maſter, either out of prudence or policy, ſuffered the chapter to accept this brief, and then they proceeded to the choice of the commiſſaries. There were two for each language.

For

ANTHONY DE PAULE.

For
- Provence, — Villanova bailiff of Aquila, and brother Francis Crotte la Menardie.
- Auvergne, — Gerlande priour of Auvergne, and la Liegue priour of Lions.
- France, — Boisrigault grand hospitaller, and brother Gabriel Dorin de Legai.
- Italy, — La Marra priour of Messina, and gattinara priour of St Euphemia.
- Arragon, Catalonia, and Navarre, — Sans bailiff of negrepont, and L'hopital, bailiff of Majorca.
- England, — Seriſſori the inquiſitour named by the pope's orders brother peter Lewis Chantelot la Cheſe, of the language of Auvergne, and brother don Juan de Villaroel of the prioury of Caſtile.
- Germany, — The bailiff brother James Chriſtopher Abandlau, and brother Evrard baron de Eſtain.
- Caſtile and Portugal, — Brother Thomas Hozes, lieutenant of the great chancellour, and brother Biagio Brandao.

THE chapter having conſigned over all its authority to theſe 16 commiſſaries, they, together with the inquiſitour, retired into the conclave, which was held in the hall of the palace of the tower. The inquiſitour, as has been already obſerved, preſided in it according to the popes's intentions, but had no vote or authority to make any motion. Boiſrigault the grand hoſpitaller, as being the oldeſt of the 16, propoſed the affairs on which they were to deliberate. Imbroll, priour of the church, in quality of the grand maſter's proxy, Abela the vice-chancellour, and brother Peter Turamini ſecretary to the treaſury, intervened in this aſſembly, in which very prudent regulations were made for determining the general and particular affairs that came before them. There has been no chapter held ſince this time, and therefore the judgements given, and the regulations made in this, ſerve at this day for a law, and are the rule for deciding of any diſputes that may ariſe in the order.

1632. THE order loſes the galley of St. John, which is wrecked by a ſtorm on the coaſt of Calabria. The crew ſaved themſelves on ſhore, and they afterwards got out the artillery and the principal effects.

THIS year the inhabitants of the iſles of Malta and Goza were numbred, which amounted to 51750, including men, women and children, and excluſive of the knights of the order, the clergy, and thoſe who were called at Malta, the Familiares of the inquiſition.

1633. BROTHER Imbroll, priour of the church, offers the order to write an hiſtory, when leave is given him to ſearch into the regiſters of the chancery. The year following cardinal Barberini recommended another to the order for the ſame purpoſe, viz. the chevalier brother Ceſar Mugalotti, who was admirably well qualified for it, and a perſon of great learning. Both of them began their work, but left it imperfect.

THE

PAVLVS V. PONT. MAX.
Cars sculp.

THE gallies of the order ſail out towards the end of April a privateering, under the command of general Valdi, and take, near the iſle of Zante, four ſhips or veſſels with 650 moors or negroes on board, which they were ſending from Barbary to Conſtantinople. The ſame general has another engagement with the corſairs of Tripoli, makes 338 of them ſlaves, and delivers 60 chriſtians. The venetians make heavy complaints that the gallies of the order take prizes in the ſeas, and upon the demeſnes of the republick. The malteze embaſſadour by the grand maſter's order, anſwers them, that the order would be willing enough to deliver back the grand ſeignior's ſubjects who had been taken in the gulph; but that as for the corſairs, they ſhould be ſold as villains and enemies to all religions and all nations. Another ſquabble with the republick of Lucca, which is followed with a decree againſt receiving any of that ſtate as chevaliers de juſtice: the pope makes up the diſpute. ANTHONY DE PAULE. 1634.

ADVENTURES of prince Guchia, who pretended to be ſon to Mahomet III, and whom his mother, who was of the houſe of Comneni, and a chriſtian by birth, had ſent to be educated among the chriſtians. The order eſpouſes this real or pretended prince.

THE ſchiſmatical greek chriſtians of the eaſt bribe the turks, and turn the european franciſcans out of the keeping of the holy ſepulchre, Calvary, Bethlehem, and other ſacred places of Paleſtine. The pope deſires the grand maſter and council, as better acquainted with the diſpoſition of the ottoman court, to take meaſures for reſtoring the latin friars to the guardianſhip of the holy places. The grand maſter and his council are of opinion, that they ſhould try what force could do, and not ſpare the ſchiſmatical greeks whenever they fell into the hands of any catholick princes. 1635.

THE pope's too great eaſineſs in granting the great croſs to ſuch as were no more than private knights, makes the order reſolve to oppoſe the brief which he had granted to the chevalier de Souvré; though his father had been governour to king Lewis XIII.

DEATH of the grand maſter de Paule in the 85th year of his age, after a ſickneſs of near three months: His epitaph contains his encomium and his character. 1636. June 10.

" Fratri Antonio de Paula magno militiæ hieroſolymitanæ magiſtro,
" principi gratiſſimo, ſplendidiſſimo, qui ob egregias animi dotes vivens
" in omnibus ſui amorem, extinctus deſiderium excitavit; pacem miri-
" fice coluit & affluentiam; ordinis vires, opes addidit, auxit: ampli-
" ori munire vallo urbem aggreſſus cum annum ageret magiſterii deci-
" mum quartum, ætatis ſupra octogeſimum (quintum) diuturno cum
" morbo conſtanter conflictus, ſemper ſe ipſo major piiſſimè ac religio-
" ſiſſimè quievit in Domino ſeptimo id. Junii anno Sal. 1636."

THE 13th of June 1636, brother Paul Laſcaris Caſtelard, bailiff of Manoſque, deſcended from the counts of Vintimiglia and the ancient emperours of Conſtantinople, was choſe ſucceſſour to Anthony de Paul. The next day the council, according to the uſual cuſtom, declared the new grand maſter ſovereign of the iſles of Malta and Goza, with all the rights his predeceſſors had enjoyed. PAUL LASCARIS CASTELARD.

MALTA ſuffers much from the dearneſs of corn: the grand maſter applies to the preſident of Sicily, who is hard-hearted enough to refuſe the ſuffering of any to be exported out of the iſland. Nari, general of

PAUL LASCARIS CASTELARD.

the gallies, addreſſes himſelf to the vice-roy of Naples, who allows him to take up 6000 loads and carry them away, free of all manner of cuſtom, and duty of exportation.

LASCARIS has a quantity of new ſpecies coined in order to pay the workmen who were continually employed in raiſing new fortifications, under the direction of Florian an engineer, colonel of a regiment of foot, whom the grand maſter honoured with the croſs and habit of the order.

BROTHER don Peter de Vintimiglia, of the ſame family with the grand maſter, makes a foundation for ever of the timber of a galley, bearing the name of St. Peter, and for the ſecurity of it ſettles two houſes of a thouſand crowns a year which he had upon the mole of Meſſina. Cavaretta priour of Venice makes the like foundation for another galley, which was to be called the St. Nicholas, and the commander Conrard Scheifurt de Merode founds the commandery of Breſlaw in the language of Germany.

THE grand maſter divides all the inhabitants of Malta into companies, to whom they give arms; ſome knights are ſet over them to inſtruct them how to make uſe of them to oppoſe the inroads and deſcents of the turks and corſairs.

1637. THE duke of Montalto, viceroy of Sicily, the preſident, and the reſt of the king of Spain's officers, are ſtill exaſperated againſt the order, and not only prohibit the exportation of corn, but give orders for arreſting all the malteze ſhips that ſhould put into the ports of the iſland. The occaſion of their uneaſineſs was, that as the two crowns of France and Spain were at war, ſome french knights who were on board either ſhips or gallies of France, had taken conſiderable prizes at the entrance of the harbour of Malta. Upon theſe orders of the regency, two gallies of the order putting into the port of Syracuſe, they were going to ſeize them. But the commodore being aware of their deſign, put off immediately and went out of the harbour. The governour or the commanding officer fired all the cannon of the caſtle upon him, to oblige him to come back: But he, in ſpite of his artillery, got out to ſea and returned to Malta. This behaviour of the Spaniards, who had continual proofs of the ſervices which the knights did their prince for the defence of his dominions, offended all Europe, and 'twas ſaid, particularly in the courts of Italy, that the gallies of Malta had never been cannonaded before, but by the corſairs and infidels. The duke of Montalto fearing leſt theſe reports ſhould reach his maſter's ear, or that the grand maſter ſhould complain to him, as he had juſt reaſon to do, thought fit to diſown the conduct of the governour of Syracuſe, and to condemn his proceedings, and to give a more ſubſtantial ſatisfaction for what had been done, promiſed to allow the exportation of corn to Malta.

THE commander de Talembach, of the language of Germany, offers the order to fit out a galley at his own expence: the propoſal was very agreeable to the council, but the war ſpreading more and more in Germany, Talembach's propoſal came to nothing.

THE commandery of Sarraſine is founded in Sicily, and the founder complimented with the privilege of wearing the habit of the order, and enjoying the profits of his commandery during his life.

1638. SOME french knights lie with a naval force in the channel of Malta, and take ſeveral prizes from the Spaniards, during the war between the

two crowns. Captain Paul, a ſerving brother, and a frenchman born, takes an algerine veſſel in the ſame place, carries it into Malta, and is well received there. But the grand maſter forbids him and all the knights to fight againſt any chriſtian prince; and writes about it to the king of France in very ſtrong terms, repreſenting to him, that ſome knights on board his gallies had juſt taken ſome ſicilian ſhips, which had interrupted the neceſſary commerce between the iſles of Sicily and Malta, and had exaſperated the king of Spain's miniſters, who gave out that all this was done in concert with the council of the order. PAUL LASCARIS CASTELLARD.

THE commander de Charolt general of the gallies goes a cruiſing, takes ſeveral little veſſels at firſt, and lights upon three large ſhips of Tripoli, that ſerved for a convoy to a great number of other veſſels. The malteze general, without amuſing himſelf with cannonading them, prepares to lay them on board, and divides his gallies. The admiral galley, and the St. Peter, under the command of the chevalier John Jerome de Gallean Chateauneuf, fell upon the commodore galley of the infidels. The St. Nicholas and the Victoria, commanded by brother John Baptiſte Caracciolo, and brother John Brandao attack the admiral: the St. Ubaldeſque and St. Anthony, commanded by brother Bartholomew Galiley, and brother Francis Talhult ſet upon the vice-admiral. The engagement was bloody, and the infidels made a brave defence. Four hundred and fifty turkiſh ſoldiers were on board this little fleet, which was commanded by Ibrahim Rais, called la Becaſſe, a renegado of Marſeilles, who for a long time had ſerved in quality of a pilot on board the gallies of the order, and whoſe wife and children were ſtill at Malta.

BUT he having been taken by the corſairs of Tripoli, had turned mahometan, had ſerved on board the infidel fleets, and by his valour and capacity raiſed himſelf to the poſt of admiral. Chateauneuf, who commanded the St. Peter, laid him aboard, and Marcel de Chateauneuf, the captain's brother, is the firſt who enters his ſhip at the head of a good number of knights; he cuts the turkiſh ſoldiers to pieces, ſeizes la Becaſſe, drags and carries him to Galean de Chateauneuf his brother, under whom he had formerly ſerved as a pilot. The other commanders had as good ſucceſs, ſo that all the little fleet was taken, and not ſo much as a ſingle veſſel eſcaped. They made 312 ſlaves, and the general of the gallies returns victorious into the harbour of Malta with twenty ſhips and veſſels laden with a rich booty. The order loſt ſeveral very brave knights in this engagement, and among others brother Denis of Vionteſſancourt, brother Bernard Perrot of Malmaiſon, brother David Sanbolin, a novice, and brother Nicholas of Biencourt, a ſerving brother, all of the language of France; brother Francis Iſnard, brother Piolomini, and brother Philibert Gattinara, of the language of Italy; brother Alonſo Garzez of Marcilli, an arragonian novice, and brother Gaſpard of Souſa, a portugueſe. A much greater number of knights were wounded, they never failing to expoſe themſelves without the leaſt reſerve on ſuch occaſions.

BALAGU, biſhop of Malta, to make his clergy more numerous, gave the tonſure and the four leſſer orders to all ſuch young fellows in Malta as preſented themſelves for that purpoſe. Theſe new eccleſiaſticks thought their tonſure was ſufficient to diſpenſe them from appearing in the companies in which they were enliſted; from mounting the

PAUL LASCARIS CASTELARD.

guard in their turns, and from performing the other military functions to which the grand maſter had obliged the inhabitants. The king of Spain and pope Urban VIII blame the biſhop's conduct, and condemn the pretended eccleſiaſticks to the tonſure, and to wear the habit of their order, and to ſerve in the church agreeable to that function as there might be occaſion for them, and ordered that all ſuch of them as ſhould be taken without their clerical habits, ſhould be obliged to mount the guard in the ſame manner as the other lay-inhabitants.

POPE Urban VIII, who had no affection for the order, but on the contrary reſolved to ſubvert the government of it, grants leave, without the privity of the grand maſter, to the old commanders to make their wills and diſpoſe of their effects: a ſtep calculated for the utter ruin of the treaſury of the order, which by this permiſſion is deprived of their perſonal eſtates.

SIXTEEN algerine gallies join together to make a deſcent in the Marca d'Ancona, and plunder the rich treaſure of our lady of Loretto.

CAPELLO, admiral of the venetian fleet meets, and purſues them; they fly into the port of la Valone belonging to the grand ſeignior, where the venetian admiral burns them without reſpect to their aſylum:
Amurat IV. this raiſes the grand ſeignior's reſentment, who threatens to fall upon them, but he is at laſt pacified with a ſum of money.

1639. SOME knights, who were juſt come to be their own maſters, mask themſelves in carnival time, in the habit of jeſuits. The fathers complain of it to the grand maſter, who orders ſome of the young men to be arreſted, but their comrades break open the priſon-doors and ſet them at liberty. Upon this they all go in a body to the college, throw the furniture through the windows, and force the grand maſter to conſent to their being ſent out of the iſland. Eleven jeſuits were put on board, four only ſtaid behind, who had hid themſelves in the city of la Valette. The council and the great croſſes did not diſcover any great concern at the baniſhment of theſe fathers, who in oppoſition to their intereſt, had taken upon themſelves to govern the grand maſters.

THE foundation of two commanderies; that of Nardo by Lewis Anthony de Maſſa, for the language of Italy; and that of Nice, by the grand maſter, for the language of Provence.

1640. THE prince of Heſſe d'Armſtat, general of the gallies, takes ſix veſſels of corſairs in the port of Goletta.

A YEAR fatal to the order by continuation of the wars between the chriſtian princes. The treaſury had not received ſo much as a ſingle crown from Germany for twenty years together. Moſt of the french and italian commanderies were ruined; the exchange ran very high amongſt them; ſo that a crown which was worth 13 or 14 tarins, would hardly produce eleven upon exchange, which obliged the grand maſter and council to take up 100,000 ducats of the bank of Genoa at intereſt, in order to carry on the fortifications of the iſland.

1641. NEW diſputes with the venetians, who as uſual ſequeſter the eſtates of the order.

ULADISLAUS IV king of Poland writes to the grand maſter, and pretends that the commanderies of Bohemia ought to be common to the poliſh knights as well as to thoſe of Bohemia, ſince both priories were of the ſame language.

WAR of the Barberini againſt the duke of Parma, in which they, under pretence of his debts, wanted to ſeize upon the dukedom of Caſtro. PAUL LASCARIS CASTELLARD.

URBAN VIII finding that ſeveral italian princes had entered into a league to prevent his ſeizing on the dominions of the duke of Parma, requires the grand maſter to ſend him the gallies of the order. His commands are immediately obeyed, but the allies ſeize in revenge upon all the eſtates of the order within their territories, and cannot be prevailed upon to take off the ſequeſtration till the order ſhews them, that notwithſtanding they had been forced to comply with the orders of the pope, their firſt ſuperiour, nevertheleſs the commanders of the gallies had private orders to be only on the defenſive, agreeable to their inſtitution, which obliged them to offer no inſult to any chriſtian prince, and which they had always obſerved. 1642. 1643.

A MEMORABLE action of general Boisbaudran, who expoſes himſelf to be ſurrounded by eight corſair gallies, rather than abandon one belonging to the order, which, by reaſon of the weakneſs of its crew, was not in a condition to keep up with him. 1644.

THE ſeaſon being ſtill favourable for keeping out at ſea, the grand maſter ſent the gallies again a cruiſing. On the 28th of September the knights diſcovered about 70 miles from Rhodes a ſhip to the leeward, not above four miles from them. The commodore being neareſt, immediately gave her chace: the St. John and St. Joſeph ſoon came up with her, and ſeeing her prepare for a vigorous defence, and that ſhe made a furious fire with her great and ſmall ſhot, the knights grapple with her, board her ſword in hand, and force the infidels to throw down their arms, and cry for quarter.

THREE other gallies, viz. the St. Laurence, commanded by Raphael Cotoner, the St. Mary by the chevalier de Piancour, and the victory by the chevalier Noel de Villegagnon Chanforeſt, meet with a great galion, which, in order to draw on the knights, conceals her ſtrength, and makes no parade with her artillery.

THE St. Mary, whoſe crew was in the beſt condition, was up with her before the two others; when without conſidering the great diſproportion there is between a ſingle galley and a veſſel of ſo vaſt a bulk, the chevalier de Piancour who commanded her, went to lay her aboard, upon which the other gallies advance to ſuccour him. The infidels ſeeing their captain and principal officers killed, ſtruck, after an engagement which had laſted ſeven hours, and in which the order loſt nine knights, viz. Boisbaudran the general, Piancour captain of the St. Mary, the chevalier Camillo Schotti, brother Sebaſtian Bertonmonbai, Charles Morans of St. Mark, brother Robert and Nicholas of Bouflers, and brother Stephen of Alegre, all knights probationers, and brother Severin Richard of Allemand a ſerving brother; but a much greater number of them were wounded. The turks loſt 600 men, beſides a conſiderable number who were taken priſoners, and among the reſt a lady of the ſeraglio, who was going out of devotion to Mecca with a young child, the reputed ſon of the grand ſeignior Ibrahim, who afterwards entered into the order of St. Dominick, where he went by the name of father Ottoman. The booty was ſo great, that it reimburſed the treaſury for all the expence the order had been at in fitting out its ſquadrons.

PAUL LASCARIS CASTELARD.

IBRAHIM hearing of the taking of his great galion, together with all the riches that were on board, ſends a herald to declare war againſt the grand maſter and the order.

1645. GREAT preparations made by the order to put itſelf in a condition to oppoſe the formidable power of the grand ſeignor. Succours, ammunition, and proviſions are ſent for from all quarters. A glorious and ever memorable action of Lewis vicomte of Arpajon, a nobleman of the firſt quality in France, who obliges all his vaſſals to take up arms; raiſes a body of 2000 men at his own expence; loads ſeveral veſſels with ammunition and proviſions, and ſets ſail with them, together with a good number of gentlemen, who were either his friends or relations; arrives at Malta, and preſents the grand maſter with a ſuccour, which was ſo very conſiderable, that the like could hardly have been expected from a ſovereign prince. The grand maſter thought he could not better acknowledge a ſervice of this importance, than by making him general of the troops, with the power of naming three lieutenant generals to command under him in thoſe places where he could not be preſent himſelf.

THE event ſhewed that the grand ſeignior's threatning of Malta was no more than a falſe alarm: But he invaded the iſle of Candia, beſieged and took Canea. All his naval and land forces, his mighty fleets and conſiderable armies fell upon that iſland. Malta now freed from any danger of an attack, ſends a ſquadron to ſuccour the beſieged. The viſcount of Arpajon takes leave of the grand maſter, who, in order to acknowledge the ſuccour he had ſo generouſly brought them, ſigns a bull in form, with the conſent of the council, granting him and his eldeſt ſon the privilege of wearing the gold croſs of the order, and declaring that any one of his younger ſons, or his deſcendants, ſhould be received, during their minority, into the order without paying any fees, and be honoured with the great croſs as ſoon as ever they ſhould have made their profeſſion; and that the chief and eldeſt branch of the family might quarter the croſs in their coat of arms.

1646. THE pope, at the king of Spain's requeſt, deſires the grand maſter to give the great croſs to don Philip ſon to the king of Tunis, who was turned chriſtian. The council oppoſe it vigorouſly, from the averſion they had of ſeeing a moor, whoſe converſion was much to be ſuſpected, fill up one of the firſt dignities of the order.

1647. BROTHER Jey, marſhal of the order, is named general of the gallies, but refuſes that poſt, from the conſideration that his dignity of marſhal gave him a right of commanding by ſea as well as by land. But embarking afterwards in order to join the venetian fleet, he meets an algerine coſair in the channel of Malta, near cape Paſſaro: An engagement enſues, in which the marſhal is ſhot with a muſket ball, of which he dies.

MASSANELLO raiſes a very dangerous ſedition in Naples.

THE adventures of Jacaya, a real or pretended prince of the ottoman houſe; his letters to the grand maſter. Cardinal Maurice of Savoy endeavours to engage the order to declare in his favour, notwithſtanding the uncertainty of his pretenſions. The grand maſter excuſes himſelf, becauſe, as he ſaid, it would be impoſſible to bring his deſigns to bear, or to ſupport his pretended right to the throne of Conſtantinople, without the concurrence of the greateſt princes of Europe.

POPE

POPE Innocent X, in prejudice of the privileges of the order, confers the commandery of Parma upon young Maldachino, nephew to Donna Olimpia, his holineſs's ſiſter-in-law. The order ſends embaſſadours to all the princes of chriſtendom to complain of this injuſtice, and to repreſent to them, that the order would be diſabled from fitting out any ſquadrons againſt the infidels, if it ſhould be ſtripped in this manner of its beſt commanderies. PAUL LASCARIS CASTELARD.

DEATH of the chevalier de Guiſe, who was killed in trying a canon.

THE treaties of Munſter and Oſnaburg deprive the order of a good number of commanderies to beſtow them on the proteſtant princes of Germany.

A FAMINE in the iſland of Malta. Cinqmars, commander of the St. Francis galley, meets a flemiſh ſhip laden with 2000 load of corn juſt purchaſed in Puglia: the maſter refuſes to ſell it to the grand maſter, but a ſudden ſtorm forces him to put into the harbour of Malta, where he ſells his corn to the great ſatisfaction of the people. 1648.

THE gallies of the order, after ſcouring the Levant ſeas, come back and put into the port of Meſſina. The magiſtrates of the city, from the apprehenſions they were under leſt theſe gallies ſhould, in their return to Malta, ſeize upon ſome merchant ſhips which were coming that way loaden with corn, lay an embargo on the St. Joſeph galley, commanded by don John de Bichi of the language of Italy, by way of hoſtage; but ſuffers the other three gallies, commanded by captains of the language of France, to go out of their port. Theſe officers deliver the grand maſter a letter from the magiſtrates of Meſſina; by which they tell him, that the only reaſon of their laying an embargo on the St. Joſeph galley, was in order to employ it in quelling an inſurrection of the people, who ſuffered exceedingly from the dearth of corn. The grand maſter anſwers, that he is willing to believe they have no direct intention to offend the order, by an embargo which was ſo highly injurious to it; but that they do a great injury to chriſtendom in preventing the gallies from returning to Candia to the ſuccour of the Venetians. However, the grand maſter ſends to the port of Auguſta for corn, which the magiſtrates of that town were ready to furniſh the order with.

THE famine increaſes at Malta: There is no wheaten bread to be had, not even ſo much as for the infirmary; ſo that the knights are forced to live on barley bread. They ſend every where for corn; but the captains of the veſſels of the order are forbid to touch at the ports of Meſſina and Palermo.

THE grand ſeignior Ibrahim is ſtrangled in an inſurrection of the janizaries, and they place Mahomet IV, his eldeſt ſon, on the throne.

CASSEIN the turkiſh general, purſues the war in Candia with great vigour, notwithſtanding the revolutions which had happened in the empire.

A GREAT diſpute carried on in the court of Rome, between the grand maſter and Imbroll priour of the church. This priour, who was a ſeditious man, pretended to have a right, by virtue of his own authority, and without the grand maſter's conſent, to convene an aſſembly of the brother chaplains; as if thoſe ſerving brothers, as well as himſelf, were not dependant on the grand maſter. The ſecond point in diſpute was this priour's pretending that he only had a right, independently

PAUL LASCARIS CASTELARD.

dently from the grand maſter, of viſiting the nuns of the order, and appointing them confeſſors. The grand affair in queſtion was, to get the pope to confirm the two volumes of the ſtatutes of the order which that priour had compiled, and which he was ſuſpected to have modelled according to his own private views, to the prejudice of the ſupreme and lawful authority of the ſuperiours of the order.

1649. THE battle of Foggia, at the mouth of the Dardanelles, in which the venetians defeat the turks, and take and burn a good number of their ſhips.

CONTINUATION of the ſiege of Candia, which is defended by Mocenigo captain general, Moroſini proveditor, the governour of the place, and the commander Balbiano general of the gallies of Malta, who being a man of very great experience was for that reaſon called to all the councils of war. There was a debate at this time about an half moon at the baſtion of Betlem, which the Turks had taken, and thereby put the reſt of the place in danger. This affair was canvaſſed in the council, when the commander Balbiano offered to recover the works; and in order to effect it, he put himſelf at the head of thirty knights and an hundred of the braveſt ſoldiers of his galley, commanded by the chevalier de Sales, nephew to the famous St. Francis de Sales biſhop of Geneva. The attack is made in the night: The knights in the dark get upon the half-moon and kill all before them. The turks wake in a ſurprize, but ſtand their ground and fight at firſt with vigour: but being too few to oppoſe the knights, they are forced at laſt to fly, to leap over the parapet and abandon the half-moon.

THE turkiſh general makes them the moſt heavy reproaches for their cowardiſe; they are aſhamed of having quitted their poſt, and in order to recover their honour, return the next morning in greater numbers. Caſſein, to facilitate their ſucceſs, ſprings a mine, which blows up ſeveral knights, and, among others, the chevalier de Sales. This knight falls back into the mine, where he is buried to the middle; but being dug out he perfects his lodgement, and gives the turks ſuch a warm reception that they are not fond of renewing the attack.

NOTWITHSTANDING the treaſury was at ſo low an ebb, and that a grievous famine infeſted the iſle of Malta, the grand maſter builds fort St. Agatha on the coaſt of Meleca, and ſupplies it with arms, proviſions and a good body of knights, in order to oppoſe any deſcent of the corſairs on that ſide.

1650. THE governours of Sicily, not ſatisfied with having refuſed the order liberty to export corn from thence to ſupply the iſle of Malta, refuſe likewiſe to allow them to have any biſket made for their gallies, under pretence that it would be a prejudice to the ſubjects of his catholick majeſty. The grand maſter ſends an embaſſador to don John of Auſtria, who interpoſes with his authority, and removes theſe obſtacles.

FOUNDATION of a library at Malta, and a ſtatute made providing that all the books which ſhall be found in the perſonal eſtates of any of the knights, ſhall not be ſold like their other effects, but ſhall be tranſported to Malta.

THE diſcontent of the king of Spain's miniſters in Sicily againſt the order is renewed, on occaſion of the continual ſeiſures which the french made of the ſicilian and ſpaniſh ſhips; moſt of the french veſſels being com-

commanded by knights of that nation. Which hinders the gallies of the order from being ſupplied with proviſions from Sicily. PAUL LASCARIS CASTELLARD.

SEVERAL prizes made by the gallies of the order near cape Bon; among others an engliſh veſſel is taken, with a cargo on board belonging to infidels. They here make thirty-two priſoners, among whom is Mahomet Ben Theſs, ſon to the king of Fez and Morocco, a youth of twenty-one years of age. Upon their return from this cruiſing, the gallies of the order, and thoſe of the pope, join the venetian fleet. 1651.

THE ſpaniſh miniſters and governours in Sicily, incenſed more and more at the continual prizes made by french veſſels, moſt of which were commanded by knights of that country, order all the eſtates of the order in that kingdom to be ſequeſtered, and iſſue out a prohibition againſt ſupplying Malta with any proviſions, or ſuffering any malteſe veſſels to put into the ports of the iſland. 1651.

THE grand maſter and council, ſurprized at theſe rigorous orders, endeavour to pacify the king of Spain, and accordingly iſſue out a general prohibition, by which all the knights are forbid going on board any ſhips that were to act againſt chriſtian princes: And the agents of the order at the court of France, make freſh inſtances that the french ſhips may not come and attack thoſe of Spain in the channel of Malta, and off of the coaſt of Sicily. They likewiſe ſent expreſs orders to all the governours in the ports of Malta to keep off the rovers, and not ſuffer them to put into the ports of the order, as happened afterwards to the chevalier de la Carte, who after a ſmart engagement off of Goza, offering to put into the road of Marza Sirocco, was fired upon by the batteries planted there, and forced to tack about; which coming to the knowledge of don John of Auſtria, the king of Spain's generaliſſimo, he took off the ſequeſtration and opened a free commerce between Malta and Sicily.

THE crew of the malteſe gallies being very much weakned by the many voyages they were obliged to make into Candia, the pope being informed of the difficulty the order had to fit out a ſquadron for want of ſlaves, made the grand maſter a preſent of 250.

THEY build a ſeventh galley at Malta. 1652.

THE order makes a purchaſe of the iſle of St. Chriſtopher in America; for which they were obliged to the chevalier de Poincy. He commanded in that iſland; but the property of it was veſted in a company of french merchants, under the protection of the crown of France. He had built a caſtle there, which he fortified like a citadel, and had ſeveral veſſels for the defence of the iſland againſt the attempts of pirates. His enemies dreading his power, conſpired to ruin him, or at leaſt to turn him out of his government. Our knight having notice of their evil deſigns, writes to the grand maſter on that ſubject, and tells him that his effects were very conſiderable, but that if he ſhould die in the iſland they would be ſeized on either by the company of merchants or by his own enemies, and therefore he deſired they would ſend him a knight or two to ſupply his place in caſe of his death, that the order might not be defrauded of what he left behind him. The grand maſter referred the care of this affair to brother Charles Huault de Montmagni receiver of the priory of France, giving him at the ſame time an expreſs commiſſion, as procurator general of the order, to go over to the iſles of

PAUL LASCARIS CASTELARD.

America that held of the crown of France, and a power of chuſing ſome other knight to be his companion in the voyage, and ſupply his ſtead in caſe he died.

THE grand maſter did not ſtop here; but being fully ſatisfied of the good intentions of the chevalier de Poincy, who acted in all this affair only for the good of the order, he wrote to the bailiff de Souvré, his embaſſadour at the court of France, and directed him to uſe his endeavours with the king to gain two points that ſeemed to him to be of great importance; the firſt was to interpoſe his royal authority to put a ſtop to the enterprizes of Patrocles de Thoiſſy, the chief of the oppoſite party, and a mortal enemy to the commander de Poincy; the other article was to purchaſe the rights of the proprietors of the iſland, and to get if he could Guadaloupe, Martinico, and other neighbouring iſles, comprehended in the purchaſe.

THIS negotiation was carried on by the bailiff de Souvré with all imaginable dexterity, and the iſland of St. Chriſtophers was ſold to the order by a contract made at Paris, and ratified at Malta. This conveyance was made on two conditions; the firſt was, that the order ſhould engage to pay all the debts which the company of merchants, who were the proprietors, owed to the inhabitants of the iſland; the ſecond was, that they ſhould pay the ſellers the ſum of 120000 livres tournois. In this bargain was comprehended not only the property and lordſhip of St. Chriſtophers, and the little neighbouring iſles, as St. Bartholomew, St. Martin, St. Croix, and ſome others; but likewiſe all the dwellings, lands, negroes, merchandize, ammunition and proviſions, which was afterwards confirmed by the letters patents of king Lewis XIV, granted at Paris in the month of March 1653. After this purchaſe the grand maſter appointed the chevalier de Sales to aſſiſt with his counſel the chevalier de Poincy, who was very old, and who died ſoon afterwards. The knight, far from having any perſonal eſtate to enrich the order, left only behind him ſeveral Debts, which he had contracted to ſupport himſelf in his government.

1653. THE gallies of the order join the venetian fleet, and ſail for Candia. Contagious diſtempers deſtroy abundance of the ſoldiers and crew of the malteſe ſquadron: The general brings it back in a weak condition. In the midſt of the channel of Malta he meets three veſſels of Tripoli: They cannonade one another. The malteſe general not finding himſelf well enough manned to attempt to board them, ſends to Malta for ſuccours. The convent murmured exceedingly on this occaſion, and ſaid that the general wanted courage more than force; and that it was the firſt time the gallies of the order had paſſed a whole day in cannonading the enemies ſhips without laying them aboard; however the grand maſter ſent out ſeveral gallies, each manned with ten knights, a good number of ſoldiers and ſlaves. But there had riſen a gale of wind in the night that was favourable to the infidels, who had made uſe of it to ſail off; ſo that the next morning when they were preparing to attack them, they found them gone off clear, without their being able to gueſs which way they ſteered their courſe. The ſquadron was obliged to return back into the harbour of Malta, to the great mortification of the grand maſter, who expected to ſee his great nephew that commanded the ſquadron return back crowned with glory and victory.

A GREAT

A GREAT diſpute happens at the entry of the emperour's embaſſadour at Madrid, about precedency between Abbé Icontri the grand duke of Tuſcany's embaſſadour, and the bailiff brother don Juan de Tordeſillas, embaſſadour of the order. The grand duke's embaſſadour pretends to preceed that of Malta, who oppoſes it with vigour, and preſents a memorial to his catholick majeſty, wherein he ſhewed that the miniſters of the order of Malta had time out of mind preceeded all ſuch as were not deputed by kings, and who were not allowed to enter when the kings of Spain went to maſs. This diſpute is decided in favour of the embaſſadour of Malta. PAUL LASCARIS CASTELARD.

THE court of France is diſpleaſed at the grand maſter's conduct in having iſſued out orders by which the king's ſhips were denied the uſe of his ports. A french fleet being in the channel of Malta, was attacked by a terrible ſtorm, and offered to put into a port of the iſland for ſhelter. The grand maſter, who was afraid of incenſing the ſpaniards, refuſes to let the king's ſhips come in, and fires upon them. The whole court exclaimed againſt the action, and called it high treaſon: and they talk of no leſs than ſeizing all the eſtates of the order within the kingdom, and uniting them to the demeſnes. The grand maſter excuſes himſelf on account of the engagements which his predeceſſors, with the conſent of our kings, had entered into with Charles the Vth, and ſends the deed of conveyance of the iſle of Malta to court: at laſt this affair is made up by the dexterity of the bailiff de Souvré, and the credit of M. de Lomenie ſecretary of ſtate, one of whoſe ſons had been admitted into the order a little before, though he was a minor, and the grand maſter afterwards by way of acknowledgement gave him the commandery of Rochelle. 1654.

THE venetians prevent the turks from coming out of the Dardanelles: this occaſions an engagement in which the infidels loſe 14 veſſels, ſeven of which were burnt, two ſtranded, and five taken. 1655.

FIVE gallies of the order coming into the port of Genoa, and ſaluteing only the town, and the king of Spain's admiral, the genoeſe order them to be attacked, the genoeſe admiral pretending a right to be ſaluted as well as the reſt. The knights refuſed it, whereupon the magiſtrates ſignify to the commodore, that they will fire upon his gallies, and ſink them if he does not comply. The general of the gallies, to ſave his ſquadron, is forced to give them ſatisfaction.

AS he goes out of the harbour, he meets a genoeſe veſſel, and ſends to ſpeak with her. Finding it was no more than a merchant ſhip, he only tears to pieces the flag, which had the arms of the republick on it, till ſuch time as he might meet with, and revenge the inſult that had been offered him, upon ſome gallies or men of war.

A DECREE of the ſupreme council, declaring, that no genoeſe ſhall be admitted into the order till ſuch time as ſatisfaction ſhall have been given for the violence which had been committed upon the ſquadron of the order.

THE malteze ſquadron goes to join the venetian fleet which they meet at the mouth of the Dardanelles, conſiſting of 24 gallies, ſeven galeaſſes, and 28 large ſhips, under the command of Laurence Marcello. The grand ſeignior's armada, commanded by Sinan Baſſa, advances to open the paſſage. A battle enſues between the two fleets: the turks are defeated by the chriſtians, who gain a compleat victory, and re-

duce the isle of Tenedos. But this advantage was bought dear by the death of the venetian general, who was killed in the engagement by a cannon shot.

PAUL LASCARIS CASTELARD.

THE duke of Ossuna, viceroy of Sicily, dying about this time, the king of Spain appoints brother Martin de Redin, of the language of Arragon, to succeed him; he goes from Malta to Sicily to take possession of his new dignity.

THEY baptize at Malta the young turk, supposed to be Ibrahim's son before-mentioned, and Mehemet Bintheſi, who passes for the son of the king of Fez and Morocco.

1657. THE war of Candia may well enough be stiled the war of Malta, the order never failing to put every year a squadron to sea for the defence of that island. This year the gallies of the order joined the venetian fleet, commanded by Lazaro Mocenigo a noble venetian, in the channel of Jero. The chief design of the turks was to recover the isle of Tenedos. With this view Mehemet the grand vizier kept a great body of troops near the Dardanelles ready to embark, in order to make a descent upon it. The christian fleet coming near the place, and landing some troops to take in fresh water, the turks attacked them and fell with such fury on a german battalion, that not being able to sustain the charge, they fled, and falling foul on the other battalions, threw all into disorder and confusion. The turks pursued them to the sea-side, and cut a good number of them to pieces, among which was the chevalier de Tessancour.

THE turkish fleet appears, consisting of 30 gallies, nine galeasses, and 18 ships, besides saicks and other small vessels. The commander of it had orders to sail out of the Dardanelles, and do all that lay in his power to recover the isle of Tenedos. The pope's gallies join the christian fleet under the command of the priour de Bichi, to whom the venetian general gives the precedence, on account of his representing the pope.

ANOTHER sea-engagement at the Dardanelles between the two fleets. The turks are defeated. The venetian general ascribes the victory to the naval skill and valour of the maltese squadron, and sends a brigantine on purpose to congratulate him on this occasion. But the general, desirous of burning some turkish gallies which had retired under the cannon of the fortresses, and advancing too far, a ball from one of the castles set fire to the St. Barbe, which was boarded by the venetian admiral, and blew it up. The general lost his life, and of 700 men that were on board, there were but 250 saved by the christian saicks that hastened to their succour. The confederate fleet separates, the malteze and the pope's gallies return towards the west, and the venetians not being now strong enough to fight the turkish fleet, the infidels besiege and retake Tenedos.

1657. DEATH of the grand master Lascaris, in the 97th year of his age.
Aug. 14. The bailiff Lascaris his great nephew erected a fine monument for him in the chapel of the language of Provence, in the church of the priory of St. John, on which the following epitaph is engraved.

D. O. M.

" Hic jacet frater Joannes Paulus de Lascaris Castelard M. magister &
" melitæ princeps qui nascendo ab imperatoribus & comitibus Vintimi-

" liæ

HERMAN MARTIN VAN WIJNEN
ANNO MAIJ DIE 1 AN. 1637
Cuyp Sculp.

" liæ accepit nobilitatem, vivendo in conſiliis & legationibus fecit " ampliſſimam, & moriendo inter omnium lacrymas reddidit immor- " talem. Regnavit annos XXI, inter principes fortunatus, erga ſub- " ditos pater patriæ, erga religionem bene-merentiſſimus, ſeptima tri- " remi quam annuis redditibus ſtabilivit, nova commenda quam inſtituit, " aliis atque aliis ædificiis quæ conſtruxit, tot terrâ marique victoriis " omnibus celebris, ſoli Deo ſemper affixus obiit die decimâ quartâ " Auguſti anno Domini 1657, ætatis ſuæ 97."

PAUL LASCARIS CASTELLARD.

AFTER paying the laſt duties to the grand maſter, the convent was to proceed to the choice of a ſucceſſour. There were two potent and formidable factions at Malta. Martin de Redin, priour of Navarre and viceroy of Sicily, was at the head of the firſt; and in his abſence the commander don Antonio Correa Souſa his intimate friend had the management of his party. But there was another party formed, called the flying ſquadron, conſiſting of old commanders and great croſſes, who had been principally concerned in the government under the preceeding reign; the inquiſitour of Malta Redin's enemy was at the head of this cabal. He, in order to ruin the oppoſite party, preſented a brief from the pope dated the 9th of December 1656, in which his holineſs ordered him, in caſe of the death of the grand maſter Laſcaris, to declare all ſuch knights deprived of either active or paſſive voice, as ſhould be convicted of having caballed or employed money, promiſes or threats for the election or excluſion of any perſon whatſoever; every ſuch perſon the pope interdicted from a right of voting, as being a vicked and ſimoniacal perſon.

THE inquiſitour propoſed by this declaration to make Redin's election miſcarry, but it had a quite contrary effect. The knights of his party imagined themſelves after this obliged in honour to perſiſt in their firſt diſpoſition. Notwithſtanding all the declarations of the inquiſitour, who ſignified by his ſecretary, that Martin de Redin priour of Navarre was excluded from the election, as being an ambitious perſon, who had employed unworthy expedients to advance himſelf to the grand maſterſhip. This nobleman had a majority of votes, and accordingly was proclaimed grand maſter. Odi, in a rage, entered proteſts againſt it. REDIN, to elude the effects of it, ſent the pope an authentick account of his election, declaring to him at the ſame time, that if his holineſs had any exceptions to his perſon, he was ready to renounce it. The pope, who did not care to be ſubſervient to the paſſion of his officer, and was vexed that he had employed his authority in oppoſing a knight that was a miniſter of the king of Spain, and the option of the greateſt part of the knights who eſteemed him, readily approved the grand maſter's election. He drew up a brief for that purpoſe, and ſent it to the inquiſitour with orders to carry it himſelf, and declare to the council, that his holineſs acknowledged Redin for the lawful prince of Malta. Thus the very perſon who had oppoſed his election with the greateſt fury and paſſion, had the mortification to be as it were the herald to proclaim it. The priour de Bichi, nephew to the pope and general of his gallies, came to Malta, where he waited upon the grand maſter, who conferred upon him the rich commandery of Polizzi in Sicily. And this nobleman, who was the favourite nephew of his holineſs, having joined his gallies to thoſe of the order, the grand maſter,

MARTIN DE REDIN.

MARTIN DE REDIN. before he went out of the harbour, made him a preſent of a croſs ſet with diamonds, valued at 1200 crowns.

1658. THE grand maſter's firſt care was to provide for the ſecurity of the iſland, and to prevent the infidels from making deſcents, eſpecially in the night-time. For this end he built towers all along the coaſt at proper diſtances for the peaſants of each quarter of the country who mounted the guard to retire to, and made a fund out of his own purſe for the ſubſiſtance of ſuch as ſhould be employed in this ſervice, and keep watch in the night-time.

THE pope recalls the inquiſitour Odi, and Caſanatta is put in his ſtead. The grand maſter orders that whenever a knight who hath only the little croſs, is inveſted with the character of an embaſſadour, if there ſhould happen to be any knights who are great croſſes in the ſame court, they ſhall be obliged, for the honour of the order, to attend and wait upon him in all his functions.

THE richeſt commanderies become ſucceſſively the prey of the pope's nephews. Alexander VII gives the commandery of Bologna to Sigiſmund Chigi, and divides that of Frano into three commanderies, giving the beſt of them to Charles Chigi.

1659. THE commander de Mandolx is appointed a ſecond time general of the gallies: he puts to ſea with his ſquadron to join that of the pope: he meets near Auguſta with two brigantines of Barbary, which he takes, and the infidels that were on board them ſerve to recruit his crew of galley-ſlaves which was very much weakened. The two ſquadrons join, and receive in an iſland of the archipelago a letter from the venetian general with advice that the grand ſeignior's fleet was retired into the harbour of Rhodes, but was immediately to ſet ſail from thence to go to Conſtantinople, and that if they would come up and join the main fleet they would have an opportunity of fighting the infidels, and ſhareing with him in the glory of their defeat. The two ſquadrons ſailing on, chace three turkiſh galiots in their way. One of the three eſcapes by rowing vigorouſly; the two others run a-ground, and one of them is taken. The pope's general ſeizes upon it, and will needs carry it to Civita-Vecchia, to ſhew his maſter that he had been in ſight of the enemy. He declares to the general of the order that he is reſolved to return weſtward: this reſolution of retiring ſurprized Mandolx exceedingly, who could not comprehend the reaſon of it, and who thereupon broke out into the moſt heavy complaints upon that account, and indeed in very harſh terms. But nothing could prevail upon the priour of Bichi, who was obſtinately reſolved to go: the malteze general does not think proper to ſeparate from him, for fear of expoſing the pope's ſquadron to be attacked by the infidels; ſo both ſquadrons ſteer back to the weſt, and retire into their reſpective ports.

1660. THE year following was famous for the peace between the two crowns of France and Spain to the inexpreſſible ſatisfaction of the grand maſter and the whole order, who now ſaw themſelves enabled to obſerve that neutrality between chriſtian princes, which the order had always profeſſed ever ſince its foundation.

THE grand maſter, after having ſuffered the moſt racking pains from a ſtone of four ounces weight, died on the 6th of February. His epitaph mentions his ſervices, and contains an account of the ſeveral dignities he had filled up.

D. O. M.

HENRIETTE AMANDE DE CLERMONT
Cars Scalp

D. O. M.

MARTIN DE REDIN.

" Æternæ memoriæ ſacrum M. magiſtri D. de Redin magni Xaverii " ob genus propinqui, cujus ante ætatem præmatura virtus ſiculæ, de- " inde neapolitanæ claſſium præfecturam meruit. Adultus ad ſummum " Pontificem & Hiſpaniarum regem legatus, profectus exercitus regios " apud Catalaunos & Calicos, cæteroſque Hiſpaniæ populos ſummo cum " imperio rexit, inde victoriis, meritis atque annis auctus, ex priore Na- " varræ atque Siciliæ prorege princeps Melitæ electus inſulam propug- " naculis ac turritis ſpeculis, urbes aggeribus horreis annonâ ac vario " beili commeatu inſtitutis munivit. Ducis Bullonii exemplum ſecutus " expeditionis hieroſolymitanæ principibus Europæ ſe ultrò vel ducem " vel comitem obtulit. Obiit die ſexta Februarii 1660, ætatis 70. Im- " perii tertio."

ANNET DE CLERMONT.

AFTER the grand maſter's funeral, the convent met as uſual to proceed to the choice of his ſucceſſour: the one and twenty electors having duly weighed the merit and capacity of the candidates, agreed unanimouſly in the election of brother Annet de Clermont de Chattes Geſſan, bailiff of Lyons: and the electing knight proclaimed him grand maſter of the order of St. John of Jeruſalem: Two days after the council acknowledged him as ſovereign prince of the iſles of Malta and Goza.

THIS title of ſovereign, which reflects an honour upon the families of the knights who are advanced to the grand maſterſhip, was nothing extraordinary in the illuſtrious houſe of Clermont. Their anceſtors, before the treaty made A.D. 1340. between Humbert Dauphin, and Ainard de Clermont, enjoyed all the rights of ſovereignty in the dominions they poſſeſſed between Dauphiny and Savoy. We find in hiſtory that the viſcounts of Clermont levied troops, made war, alliances and treaties, and laid what taxes ahey pleaſed on their ſubjects before the treaty of 1340. Theſe viſcounts always kept ſtrong garriſons in the towns and caſtles of Chavacert and Sauſſin; places which at that time were looked upon as impregnable, and lay both of them upon the river Gué, which divides Savoy from the territories that belonged to the lords of Clermont.

ANNET de Clermont roſe to the grand maſterſhip purely by his virtues. His courage, his piety, a diſtinguiſhing zeal for religion, his good nature and humanity in all his actions, and a moſt engaging and obliging manner of receiving people, made all the knights wiſh for the long continuance of his reign: but providence diſpoſed otherwiſe of him. This great man, who ſeemed to be born to make his order happy, fell ſick three months after his election. Some wounds which he had received at the ſiege and taking of Mahometa in Barbary, bleeding afreſh, put an end to his life in the 73d year of his age; he died in the arms of his knights to their great affliction. His epitaph contains his character, and the principal actions of his life.

D. O. M.

" HIC jacet emin. Frater Annetus de Chattes-Geſſan, qui à comi- " tibus Clarimontis ortum accepit, à pontificibus ſacras claves & Thia- " ram utramque per majores in Caliſto 2. ſedis apoſtolicæ acerrimos " defenſores. Hoc uno verè majorum omnium maximus quod tiaræ " ſupremam coronam adjunxit, creatus nemine diſcrepante ex bajulivo

" Lugduni

ANNET DE CLERMONT.

" Lugduni mag. magiſter & Melitæ princeps. Eum apicem merita jam-
" pridem exegerant, vota nunquam præſumpſerant; ſed virtutes tule-
" runt ſuffragium, pietas in divinis, prudentia in humanis, ſuavitas in
" congreſſu, majeſtas in inceſſu, mareſcalli integritas, terræ mariſque
" imperium; de ſuo nihil ipſe contulit, niſi quod amicis obedivit. Reg-
" navit ad perennem memoriam vix quatuor menſibus: brevis vitæ
" nulla pars periit: primam religioni, ſecundam populo, tertiam ſibi,
" omnem Deo conſecravit. Obiit inter lacrymas, & vota omnium die
" ſecunda Junii 1660, ætatis ſuæ ſeptuageſimo tertio."

TWO days after they had paid the laſt office to the grand maſter de Chattes-Geſſan, the chevalier d'Arfevilliere of the language of Auvergne, grand marſhal of the order, and whom the late grand maſter, a few days before his death, had nominated to the poſt of lieutenant-general to the maſterſhip, called a general aſſembly for the election of a new grand maſter. After the preliminary ceremonies uſed on ſuch occaſions, the languages retired into their reſpective chapels to chuſe the three perſons who were to vote in the election of a grand maſter, and to pitch upon a fourth voice which was to repreſent the knights of the language of England.

1. THERE were in the language of Caſtile and Portugal 32 perſons that had voices, who elected the chevalier de Ximenes the great chancellour, Hozes bailiff of Lora, Barriga the vice-chancellour, and for the language of England, they named the commander Xelder.

2. THE language of Arragon, in which Catalonia and Narvarre are comprehended, had 35 perſons that had votes, who elected Bueno priour of the church, Galdian priour of Armenia, Raphael Cotoner adminiſtrator of the bailiwick of Majorca, and for England they choſe Nicholas Cotoner brother to Raphael.

3. GERMANY had not above 12 perſons that had votes in the convent, and their choice fell upon the grand bailiff of Breſlaw, Oſterhauſſen grand priour of Denmark, and the commander Oſotiſcki, and for England they pitched upon the commander de la Tour.

4. THERE were 78 perſons that had votes in the language of Italy, who named Sfondrati bailiff of St. Euphemia, Bondinelli priour of Aquila, with the priour of Rochelle; and for England Tancred bailiff of Venuſia.

5. FRANCE had 56 perſons that had votes, who elected Valençai grand priour of Champagne, Anthony de Conflans lieutenant to the grand hoſpitaller, and the commander Gilbert d'Elbene, and for England they named Joachim de Callemaiſon.

6. THERE were 89 knights that had votes in the language of Provence, who choſe Monmejan a great commander, Polaſtron la Hilliere priour of Toulouſe, ſaint Marc bailiff of Manoſque, and for England the bailiff de Mandolx.

7. AUVERGNE ſtaid in the nave of the church, near the perſon of the marſhal d'Arfevilliere, on account of his poſt of lieutenant of the maſterſhip. There were 35 votes in this language who named the marſhal de l'Arfevilliere, Gerlande bailiff of Lyons, with the commander de l'Arfevilliere brother to the lieutenant; and for England the commander de la Roche.

INTRIGUE and cabal prevailed very much in this election, and the commander de Valençay, who ſecretly aſpired to this dignity, even during the life-time of the laſt grand maſter, thought himſelf ſure of nine votes. But when the election came on, there were ſeveral other old commanders who put up as candidates, particularly the marſhal de Arfevilliere, Raphael Cotoner, Monmejan, St. Marc, and Hozez above-mentioned, who though they had their ſeveral parties, yet all agreed to exclude Valençay, whoſe party ſeemed the moſt numerous and formidable.

VALENÇAY, to weaken this cabal, pretended to give up his hopes and pretenſions, and accordingly told the principal leaders of the oppoſite party ſeverally, that he and his nine friends would readily join in their election: which put them upon their guard againſt one another. But Bueno priour of the church found out the artifice, and aſſured them that Valençay deſigned only to diſunite them with his inſidious promiſes, and that therefore, in order to ſhew him they were not to be impoſed on, and to exclude him entirely, they ſhould all of them by concert compromiſe their votes, and leave it entirely to ſome one of their party to diſpoſe of them, taking an oath to concur bona fide in the election of ſuch perſon among their number as he ſhould judge moſt deſerving of the poſt of grand maſter. Twelve old commanders or great croſſes came into the propoſal, and agreed in naming the great commander Monmejan, a knight highly eſteemed for his probity, to be the perſon to whom they would refer the diſpoſal of their votes. He was far from imitating the grand maſter de Gozon on the like occaſion and naming himſelf, but declared in the aſſembly, that he thought they could not make a better choice than of the perſon of Raphael de Cotoner bailif of Majorca.

THESE twelve electors concurring with the nine of Valençay's party, choſe three others out of thoſe that had been named for the language of England, who were the bailiff de Mandolx, Tancred bailiff of Venuſia, and Nicolas Cotoner bailiff of Negrepont. Theſe 24 electors choſe brother John Diodati priour of Venice to be preſident of the election, the commander brother Denis Ceba of the language of Italy to be electing knight, the commander brother Francis Deidié for chaplain of the election, and the commander brother Michael Porruel of the language of Arragon for ſerving brother of the election. This election put an end to that of the 24, and theſe laſt having all the power lodged in themſelves, choſe 13 new electors, which with them three made up the number of 16, who were to have the final nomination of the grand maſter.

1. BARRIGA of the language of Caſtile and Portugal, vice-chancellour of the order, was the firſt perſon elected.

2. THE commander brother Anthony de Glandeve Caſtelet, of the language of Provence, choſe for the language of England.

3. THE commander brother Adrian de Contremolins, of the language of France.

4. THE commander brother Lewis de Fay Gerlande, of the language of Auvergne.

5. THE commander brother Adolfe Frederick de Reede, of the language of Germany.

6. THE commander brother Henry de Villeneuve Torenque, of the language of Provence.

7. THE commander brother John de Forſat, of the language of Auvergne.

8. THE commander brother Henry de la Salle, of the language of France.

9. THE commander brother Francis Ricaſoli, of the language of Italy.

10. THE commander brother Iſidore d'Argai, of the language of Arragon.

11. THE commander brother don Antonio Correa de Soura, of the language of Caſtile and Portugal for England.

12. THE commander brother Francis Wratiſlau, of the language of Germany.

13. THE commander don Lewis Kelder, of the language of Caſtile and Portugal.

THE ſixteen electors, after taking the uſual oaths, and ſhutting themſelves up in the conclave, directed the electing knight to go up into the gallery which looks into the church, and proclaim that they had choſe brother don Raphael Cotoner bailiff of Majorca to be their grand maſter. Immediately Te Deum was ſung by way of thankſgiving: and all the knights came afterwards to kiſs his hand, and take the oath of obedience, and the next day the council gave him the title of ſovereign prince of the iſles of Malta and Goza.

RAPHAEL COTONER.

1660. June 6.

WE obſerved under the year 1645, that the turks, after having threatened the iſle of Malta with a ſudden invaſion, fell with all their forces upon that of Candia, which belonged to the ſtate of Venice. St. Theodora was the firſt place they attacked. They carried it without any great reſiſtance, and put all the garriſon to the ſword. They next inveſted Canea both by ſea and land, and took it after a bloody ſiege which laſted forty days. The governour ſurrendered upon honourable terms, and the infidels were very punctual in keeping the articles of the capitulation.

THE year following, the venetian, the malteze, and the pope's gallies landed a conſiderable body of troops under the command of the duke de la Valette. This general endeavoured to retake Canea, and inveſted it: but the turks came with a conſiderable body of troops and forced him to raiſe the ſiege. They afterwards took Rhetimo, Muſcava, Melo-potamo and Calamo. Their principal deſign was to beſiege the capital of the iſland; but as they were ſenſible the place was fortified both by art and nature, and that there was a garriſon in it numerous enough for an army, they only built a fort to hinder their incurſions, and to block up the place. This fort they called New Candia, and furniſhed it with a garriſon of 6000 men.

THE two parties caried on the war for ſeveral years with various ſucceſs. The venetians finding themſelves preſſed by the formidable power of the turks, applied to moſt of the european princes for ſuccour. pope Alexander VII, and Raphael Cotoner grand maſter of Malta, ſent them their gallies. Lewis XIV king of France ſent them alſo 3600 men under the command of a prince of the houſe of Eſt. But this prince being ready to embark, the commander de Gremonville, of an illuſtrious family in Normandy, whom the king named for the prince of Eſt's lieutenant, and the chevalier Paul a ſerving brother, and one of the ableſt ſea-officers in Europe, were appointed to carry over the troops.

THE

Cars Sculp.

The duke of Savoy ſent two Regiments of foot of 500 men each. The genoeſe offered a conſiderable ſuccour of men and money, provided the venetians would treat them as their equals. But as thoſe two republicks had time out of mind fought againſt one another to determine that nice diſpute, the venetians were ſo jealous of their ſuperiority, that they refuſed to accept the genoeſe re-inforcement upon that condition. RAPHAEL COTONER.

THE deſign of the chriſtian generals was to recover the town of Canea; but not having troops enough to beſiege it in form, and to hinder the infidels from throwing ſuccours into it, they reſolved to take ſome forts, that were in the hands of the turks, and to lay in the neighbourhood of Suda. Their firſt attempt was upon the poſt of Sancta Veneranda, which the infantry took by ſtorm. The turks at the noiſe of this attack, advanced that way, and came to an engagement with the battalion of Malta, which repulſed and put them to flight. They next took Calogero, which the turks abandoned; and Calami, which took them up no more time than was neceſſary to adjuſt the capitulation. Apricorno, made a better defence: it was a place of difficult acceſs, by reaſon of a narrow way which they muſt neceſſarily paſs through, and which the turks had in a manner ſtopped up, with a prodigious number of trees they had felled for that purpoſe. Some ſquadrons of their troops ſallied out of the place to reconnoitre the forces of the chriſtians. Garenne a french officer at the head of two ſquadrons, charged them briskly, and put them to flight. But ſome turks obſerving, that he in his eagerneſs to purſue them, had advanced a pretty way before his main body, they turned ſhort upon him, and ſtruck off his head at once, with a ſabre. The campaign ended with different ſucceſs on both ſides. The chriſtians, who beat and were beaten on ſeveral occaſions, retired to Cicalaria, a place covered on one ſide with inacceſſible mountains, and on the other, by a wood; and the turks incamp at Maleta.

THE 24th of January of the following year, the general of the gallies of the order met a veſſel of Tunis off of cape Paſſaro in Sicily, which he took. He made on this occaſion 130 ſlaves, among whom was the cadi dey of Tunis's ſon, and a choaoux of the grand ſeignior's, who had been carrying his orders to Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, and other places on the coaſt of Barbary. Gravié a ſerving brother, as he was cruiſing near Tripoli, took ſoon afterwards another ſhip of the infidels, with 150 janiſaries on board, deſigned to reinforce the garriſon of Gigibarta a fortreſs of Barbary. 1661.

TOWARDS the middle of April, brother Paul a ſerving brother entered the port of Malta, with three of the king of France's gallies, and the grand maſter ſent him a compliment by his ſeneſchal. As ſoon as he landed he went up to the palace to pay his duty to him, as to his ſuperiour; and the grand maſter received him with great demonſtrations of kindneſs, omiting no teſtimony of that regard which he thought due to the merit and valour of a perſon, who had raiſed himſelf from a private ſea-officer, to the poſt of lieutenant to the lord high admiral of France.

THOUGH the grand maſter was at a very great expence, in ſending conſiderable ſuccours to Candia; nevertheleſs by his good management, there was no want of funds for other purpoſes; of which he did

RAPHAEL COTONER. did not fail to make a worthy uſe, ſuitable to his natural generoſity, and the magnificence of a great prince. He employed part of them this year in enlarging the infirmary; and at the ſame time, beautified the church of the priory of St. John, with excellent paintings and pictures of devotion, which ſtill remain in that church as a perpetual monument of his piety. In the mean time the gallies of the order putting to ſea, joined the pope's ſquadron, which was commanded by the priour de Bichy, near Auguſta; ſailing afterwards into the archipelago, they met the venetian fleet near the iſle of Andros, and went together in queſt of that of the turks. They ſcoured all the ſeas thereabouts, but having no manner of news of it, the allies ſeparated in order to return home. The malteze gallies keeping on their courſe, met off of the coaſt of Calabria two Barbary galiots of fourteen benches each, which the knights took after a ſlight reſiſtance. This is reckoned to be the year when the ſenate of Venice, in conſideration of the continual ſervices which the republick received from the order, made a decree by which the knights of Malta were allowed to wear their arms at Venice, and all other places within their territories: a privilege that was not indulged the natural ſubjects of the ſtate.

1663. IN the beginning of the year 1663 the doge uſed great inſtances with the grand maſter to ſend out the gallies of the order. Cotoner thought at firſt that he, out of reſpect to the holy ſee, ought to wait for the pope's ſquadron, but having advice that his holineſs kept them at Civita-Vecchia, through the apprehenſions he was under of his moſt chriſtian majeſty's juſt reſentment for the inſult which had been offered the embaſſadour of France and his lady by the pope's guard of Corſi, the gallies of the order put to ſea on the 15th of May under the command of the commander de Breſlaw, and ſailed for the Levant. After ſome prizes of ſmall conſequence which the general of the gallies ſent to Malta, he joined the venetian fleet upon the 22d of the ſame month near the iſle of Andro. George Moroſini a noble venetian was the admiral of it, who told him that the turks had fitted out no fleet this year, and that therefore he ſhould employ the forces of the allies in cruiſing at ſea, and ſcouring the coaſts of the infidels.

THE grand maſter Cotoner dies of a malignant and contagious fever, which ran over the whole iſland, and was particularly rife in the city of la Valette. He was a prince truly worthy of his dignity, prudent in his conduct, pious in his ſentiments, magnificent in his way of living, and without any view but the defence of the chriſtians, the ſervice and happineſs of his knights, and the honour of his order. The knights of his language erected a fine monument for him in the chapel of Arragon, and put over him the following epitaph.

Aragonum quicunque teris Melitenſe ſacellum.
Sacraque ſigna vides, ſiſte viator iter.
Hic ille eſt primus Cotonera è ſtirpe magiſter,
Hic ille eſt Raphaël, conditus ante diem.
Talis erat cervix Melitenſi digna corona:
Tale fuit bello conſiliiſque caput.
Cura, fides, pietas, genius, prudentia, robur
Tot dederant vitæ pignora cara ſuæ,

Ut

IACOBVS SECVNDVS MAGNAE BRITANNIAE FRANCIAE ET HIBERNIAE REX
Carv Sculp.

Ut dum cæleſtes citius raperetur ad arces,
Ordinis hæc fuerit mors properata dolor.
Qui ne mutatas regni ſentiret habenas,
Germano rerum fræna regenda dedit.
Cætera ne quæras, primus de ſtirpe ſecundum
Promeruit: ſatis hoc, perge viator iter.

ON the 23d of October, Bandinelli priour of Aquila, whom the grand maſter a few days before his death had named lieutenant of the maſterſhip, called a general aſſembly of the convent for the election of a new grand maſter: there were in it at this time 293 perſons who had votes. After the preliminary ceremonies, a circumſtance happened in this which had never happened before in any former election, which was that the grand maſter's brother was choſen his ſucceſſour. For though there were not wanting in the order, and even at Malta, ſeveral perſons that might juſtly pretend to this dignity, and who were admirably well qualified for it, yet the merit of the two brothers was ſo generally known, that as ſoon as ever the eldeſt expired, there was an unanimous concurrence of all the voices, of people as well as knights, even before the election came on; in favour of brother Nicholas Cotoner bailiff of Majorca: ſo that all the electors, the 21 as well as the 16, went into the conclave for form ſake only to keep to the letter of the ſtatutes, and immediately afterwards brother Don Emanuel Arrias, vice-chancellour of the order, who was choſe the electing knight, proclaimed him grand maſter; and the next day he was declared in full council ſovereign of the iſles of Malta and Goza. NICHOLAS COTONER.

THE corſairs of Barbary having carried their piracies as far as the coaſt of Provence, Lewis the XIVth, to repreſs their inſolence, was adviſed to ſettle a colony on the coaſt of Barbary, and to build a fortreſs with a port well fortified for the ſecurity of his ſhips, and ſituated ſo as to be able to give advice from time to time when any ſquadrons of the infidels ſhould put to ſea. The village of Gigeri was propoſed to him for this purpoſe, which lies near the ſea between the towns of Algiers and Bugia, fifteen miles from both of them. Near this village there was an old caſtle built on the top of a mountain and almoſt inacceſſible. The king appointed the duke of Beaufort great admiral of France, to put this project in execution, and deſired the grand maſter to ſend the gallies of the order to his aſſiſtance. He did ſo, and accordingly the malteze ſquadron joined the king's fleet in Port-Mahon. The chriſtians landed their troops without oppoſition, and immediately ſet to work in laying the foundations of the fort which they had orders to build. The moors, alarmed at an enterprize which tended to reduce them under ſubjection, ran to arms, and with their artillery demoliſhed the works that had been begun. The duke of Beaufort detached part of his cavalry to repulſe the enemy; but as this body had no infantry to ſuſtain them, and the moors had notice by their ſpies that the french were but few in number, they broke into the village ſabre in hand, and forced the french to retire to the ſea-ſide. The duke of Beaufort finding he was not able to ſtand his ground in that country, reſolved to embark, but could not do it ſecretly enough to hinder the moors from getting notice of it: ſo that the rear conſiſting of 400 men, were moſt of them either killed or taken priſoners. To make 1664.

Nicholas Cotoner. the misfortune ſtill greater, one of the king's ſhips, called the Moon, which was old, and had ten troops of horſe on board, was caſt away ſeven leagues from Toulon, ſo that this expedition did not prove more ſucceſsful than that of the emperour Charles V. at the ſiege of Algiers.

1665. The continuation of the affair of the commander de Poincy in relation to the iſle of St. Chriſtophers, which the order ſells to a company of french merchants, who make a ſettlement there under the king's protection.

This year the ſquadron of the order ſcoured all the ſeas of the archipelago, but took no prizes except a few felucca's laden with corn and merchandize belonging to ſome turkiſh traders. Two veſſels commanded by the chevaliers de Crainville and de Temericours were more ſucceſsful. De Crainville was on board a ſhip of 40 guns, called the Garden of Holland, which he had taken the year before from an algerine corſair, though he had only a frigate of 22 guns, on board of which now was Temericours, a young knight of great courage, who had already ſignalized himſelf on ſeveral occaſions. Theſe two knights, who were intimate friends, roved in concert over all the ſeas of the Levant; and in the channel of the iſle of Samos they met a caravan going from Alexandria to Conſtantinople, compoſed of ten ſhips and twelve ſaicks. The number and ſtrength of the enemy ſerved only to inflame the courage of the two knights; they ruſhed into the middle of this little fleet, ſunk ſome veſſels, took four of the richeſt with two ſmáll ones, and put the reſt to flight.

The ſame year was famous for an action which will immortalize the memory of the chevalier d'Hoquincourt. This gallant commander was in the port of the iſle Daufine, when he was ſuddenly inveſted by 33 of the grand ſeignior's gallies that were carrying troops to the iſle of Candia. The admiral that commanded the fleet landed all his beſt arquebuſiers, who made a continual fire upon the malteze veſſel, at the ſame time that the turkiſh gallies cannonaded it with all their artillery. The infidels, after mauling the tackling of the veſſel, advanced to board it; ſome attack it at the poop, as others do at the prow. The knight makes head on all ſides, as if he had been invulnerable, though his veſſel was hurt in ſeveral places, and that he had loſt abundance of ſoldiers, he yet cleared it of all the turks that offered to board him, and threw them headlong into the ſea. The turkiſh general, in a rage at this obſtinate reſiſtance, and aſhamed of the little ſucceſs of his gallies in cloſe fight, ordered them to open their ranks, and leave him a paſſage to come up with the veſſel himſelf. At the ſame time his crew plied their oars, and vigorouſly puſhed forward the admiral galley; but the effort he made threw the malteze veſſel clear out of the port, and a favourable gale ſpringing up, d'Hoquincourt got to the firſt chriſtian port, after ſinking ſeveral gallies of the turks, and killing them above 600 ſoldiers.

An action of ſuch diſtinguiſhed valour and reſolution deſerved a better fate than this gallant knight met with a little after. For he, this very campaign, being on board the ſame veſſel, a ſudden guſt of wind daſhed him againſt a rock near the iſle of Scarpanta. The veſſel was ſhattered to pieces, and the knight was drowned. The chevalier de Grilles, his particular friend, and 170 ſoldiers or mariners, periſhed in this ſhipwreck.

THE duke of Beaufort great admiral of France, as he is in chace of ſome corſairs of Barbary, arrives in the harbour of Malta; he is ſaluted by all the cannon of the ports, but would not ſee the grand maſter, who refuſed to give him the title of highneſs. A little after M. de la Haye the french embaſſadour to the port, paſſed likewiſe and put in at Malta. NICHOLAS COTONER.

DEATH of Philip of Auſtria, the fourth of the name, king of Spain, who is ſucceeded by don Carlos his ſon. This change of ſovereign occaſions a new inveſtiture, which the commander Galdian, general of the gallies, receives in the name of the order from the duke of Sermonetta viceroy of Sicily, and takes the oath of fidelity uſual in ſuch ceremonies. 1666.

THE commander d'Elbene, general of the gallies, comes with his ſquadron to Barcelona to convoy the empreſs who was going to the emperour, to whom ſhe was married by proxy. This princeſs, after her landing at Final, wrote a very obliging letter to the grand maſter, to thank him for the good offices ſhe had received from the general of the gallies.

THE pope makes three great croſſes, the firſt of whom was one of his nephews: the other two were conſiderable officers in his palace.

THE grand viſier Achmet comes with a conſiderable body of troops into candia, to put an end to the war and ſiege of the capital of the iſland. The venetians apply as uſual to the pope and the grand maſter; whoſe ſquadrons join near Auguſta, and ſail from thence to the coaſts of Candia, and the iſle of Standia. Francis Moroſini a noble venetian was generaliſimo of all the chriſtian army, Antonio Barbaro another noble venetian was governour of the town, and the marqueſs de Ville a piedmonteſe was commander of the troops in garriſon, all generals of extraordinary valour; and though emulation made them enemies and jealous of one another's glory, they yet made a gallant defence.

DEATH of Alexander VII, who is ſucceeded by Clement IX.

CLEMENT, purſuant to the poſſeſſion with which his predeceſſors had inveſted themſelves, names the chevalier brother Vincent Roſpiglioſi his nephew to the bailiwick of St. Euphemia vacant by the death of brother Philip Sfondrati. This renews the uneaſineſs and complaints of the language of Italy, which was continually plundered and ſtripped of its rights by theſe papal nominations.

ARTICLES of agreement between the landgrave of Heſſe cardinal and grand priour of Germany, and John de Witte chancellour and penſioner of the province of Holland, with reſpect to ſome eſtates of the order depending on the commandery of Harlem in that province, which the magiſtrates had ſeized on. By this treaty, in which the protection of his moſt chriſtian Majeſty and the negotiation of the Comte d'Eſtrades were of great ſervice, the dutch engage to pay 150000 florins to the order to indemnify them for the eſtates which they had ſeized on in the provinces of Holland and Weſt-Frizeland; and the order, in conſideration of this ſum, renounced all their right to thoſe eſtates, ſaving ſtill to themſelves their right to all the eſtates to which they had a title in the other provinces, with full liberty to ſue for their reſtitution, or get at leaſt an equivalent for them. 1668.

THE marqueſs de Ville, general of the land forces in the iſle of Candia, quits the venetian ſervice, out of diſguſt of the ill treatment he met with from general Moroſini. The venetian embaſſadour, with the king's leave,

NICHOLAS COTONER. leave, propoſes to the marqueſs St. André Montbrun to go over to Candia to command in the ſame quality. The honour of defending a place, for whoſe preſervation all the princes of Chriſtendom intereſted themſelves, determines the marqueſs of St. André to accept the command. He ſets out poſt and goes to Venice, where he embarks, and lands at the port of Tramate in the iſland of Candia on the 21ſt of June.

GENERAL Moroſini gains a victory over the turks at ſea.

A STRONG ſuccour of french troops arrives in Candia, conſiſting of 7000 men under the command of the duke de Navailles. The duke of Beaufort great admiral of France commandcd the fleet.

1669. THE count of St. Paul brother to the duke of Longueville was at the head of the volunteers, among whom were the duke of Chateau-Thierry, brother to the duke of Bouillon, the duke of Roannez, and the comte de la Feuillade.

THE order, ever zealous for the defence of the chriſtians, ſends a battalion of 400 men into Candia, under the command of brother Hector de Fay la Tour Mauburg.

THE count of St. Paul, at his return from Candia, touches at Malta, where he is received with great honours after having performed quarantain in an houſe ſituated at the Bormole.

THE duke of Navailles, when the time fixed by his inſtructions is expired, returns back into France.

THE malteze battalion, after loſing abundance of men, think of retiring from a place which in a few days conſumed all the ſuccours that arrived from abroad.

A FLEET of 40 ſhips arrive in Candia with a new reinforcement of 4500 men, moſt of them germans, among whom were 400 vaſſals of the duke of Brunſwick. Beſides this re-inforcement, count Waldeck arrives there at the head of 300 men; and the grand maſter of the teutonick order ſends a choſen band of 150 men well provided, beſides ſeveral noblemen of different countries who came as volunteers, and fought under the banner of the order.

THE ſieur de Temericourt, eldeſt brother to the chevalier of that name, cruiſing at ſea under the flag of Malta, took a turkiſh ſhip of 40 guns near the iſle Scarpante, commanded by the corſair Buba Aſſan. He manned it a-new, and in company with another veſſel commanded by the chevalier de la Barre, ſailed into the ſeas of Alexandria, where deſcrying two ſultanas laden with merchandize, he advanced to get between them and the harbour. As his veſſel was a better ſailer than his conſort, he fell upon the ſultana which was the fartheſt advanced, and after pouring in a broad-ſide prepared to board her, when he received a musket-ſhot in the head that knocked him down upon the deck, which however did not hinder him from exhorting his officers and ſoldiers to continue the engagement. The infidels ſeeing it would be impoſſible for them to eſcape from the chriſtians who had grappled the two ſhips together, deſperately ſet fire to their veſſel in order to make their enemy periſh with them. The chevalier de la Barre, who was on the point of taking the ſecond ſultana, ſeeing the danger his friend was in, quits the ſultana, runs to his ſuccour, and clears him of the veſſel that was on fire. But Temericourt did not live to enjoy his victory, he dying the next day of his wound; and the ſultana, which la Barre was juſt upon

the

the point of taking, made off whilſt he was employed in aſſiſting his friend, and got into the port of Alexandria. NICHOLAS COTONER. 1670.

THE grand maſter and the council ſend the commander brother Antonio Correa de Souſa the grand-maſter's gentleman of the horſe as their embaſſadour into Portugal, to compliment don Pedro brother to don Alphonſo king of Portugal, upon his marriage with the queen his brother's wife, and his taking upon him the Regency of the kingdom. He was ordered at the ſame time to demand back the grand priory of Crato, vacant by the death of cardinal don Ferdinand infante of Spain. But as the miniſtry of Portugal had got that rich benefice into their hands, they perſuaded the regent that the nomination and patronage of it was lodged in the crown, and therefore all the anſwer he gave was, that the clearing up of that affair demanded ſome time. However at laſt he gave up the priory to brother don John de Souſa, who had a true right and title to it by a particular grant from the convent.

THE reducing of the iſle of Candia, and the peace which the venetians had concluded with the turks, make the grand maſter apprehenſive that they would now turn their arms againſt Malta. To put the iſland in a condition of baffling all their efforts, he, in conjunction with the council, applies to the duke of Savoy, deſiring of him an excellent engineer, Valpergo by name, who comes by his orders to Malta, and gives directions for the raiſing of new fortifications. The firſt was named the Cotonera. The next thing was to add new works to the Floriana, with a fauſſe-braye and two bulwarks, one on the ſide of port Meczet, and the other towards the great port. And in order that the entrance of the great port might be compleatly defended, they built a royal port, called Ricaſoli, from the name of a commander who gave the order 30000 crowns for that work.

DEATH of pope Clement IX, who is ſucceeded by Clement X. 1671.
This pontiff writes a brief to the grand maſter to congratulate him upon the pains he took of fortifying an iſland which ſerved for a bulwark to all the dominions of the chriſtian princes.

THE chevalier de Vendoſme, in ſpite of all the oppoſition of the old knights, prevails with the pope to grant him an expectative grace upon the grand priory of France. This brief was at laſt regiſtered in the chancery of the order, but upon condition that the new grand priour ſhould make good the mortuary and profits ariſing from the vacancy to the order.

PRINCE Charles of Lorrain, ſon to the duke d'Elbæuf, and Maurice de la Tour d'Auvergne duke of Chateau Thierry, ſon to the duke of Bouillon, are received into the order.

THE grand maſter and council finding the number of ſerving brothers too great, make a regulation, forbidding the reception of any more for the future till ſuch time as new orders ſhould be iſſued out for that purpoſe.

ROME labours under a great dearth of corn: the pope ſends over 1672.
all Italy to get a ſupply, and cardinal Altieri his nephew writes to the grand maſter in his holineſs's name, and deſires him to ſend the ſquadron of the order to convoy his ſhips. Orders were accordingly diſpatched without loſs of time for that purpoſe to the bailiff de Harcourt, of the houſe of Lorrain, general of the gallies, and to the chevalier de Fovelle Ecrainville, who commanded the admiral-galley.

NICHOLAS COTONER.

THE chevalier de Temericourt, a famous corſair, is attacked by five great veſſels of Tripoli: he defends himſelf with ſo much courage and intrepidity, that after ſhooting the maſts of two of them by the board, and killing abundance of their men, the infidels, deſpairing to take him, tacked about, and left him at liberty to keep on his way. But he was ſoon after caught in a dreadful ſtorm, which drove him upon the coaſt of Barbary, where his veſſel was caſt away, and he himſelf was taken by the moors, who carried him to Tripoli, and from thence to Adrianople. Mahomet IV, who was there at that time, asked him if he was the perſon that with a ſingle veſſel had fought five of the largeſt of thoſe of Tripoli. "'Twas my ſelf (replied the knight). What country-"man are you? (ſaid the ſultan). A frenchman, (replied Temericourt). "You are a deſerter then, (ſaid Mahomet) for I am in ſtrict peace with "the king of France. I am a frenchman, (ſays Temericourt to him); "but beſides that quality, I am likewiſe a knight of Malta; a profeſ-"ſion which obliges me to expoſe my life againſt all the enemies of the "chriſtian faith." The grand ſeignior deſiring to get him into his ſervice, ſent him at firſt to a priſon, where he was treated with great humanity, and made him all thoſe advantagious offers that might poſſibly tempt a young warriour who was but 22 years old; and to encourage him to change his religion, he promiſed to marry him to a princeſs of his blood, and to make him a baſha or his great admiral. But theſe pompous offers had no effect upon the young knight; he reſiſted them with as much courage and reſolution as he had done their arms. The grand ſeignior, incenſed at his ſteadineſs, reſolved to try if harſh uſage could not ſhake his conſtancy, and accordingly ordered him to be thrown into a dungeon for a fortnight. They there gave him the baſtinado, put him to torture, and mangled his limbs, during which this noble confeſſor of CHRIST JESUS did nothing but call upon his holy name, and implore his grace that he might die for the confeſſion of it. In fine, the grand ſeignior ordered his head to be cut off: his body was at firſt left at the place of execution, but Mahomet, to prevent any veneration being paid to it by the chriſtians, ordered it to be thrown into the river which runs by Adrianople.

1673. A DISPUTE between the french commodores and the officers of the order about the ſalute when they met at ſea: Lewis XIV pronounces againſt himſelf. This negotiation, which was of a very delicate nature, ſucceeds by the addreſs of the commander de Hautefeuille embaſſadour from the order to his moſt chriſtian majeſty.

THE mainotes, of the greek religion and inhabitants of the mountains of the Morea, implore the grand maſter's aſſiſtance to enable them to throw off the turkiſh yoke. The ſquadron of the order comes upon their coaſt, but finding them not united among themſelves, ſome of them being for recovering their liberty, and others for continuing ſtill faithful to the turks, the gallies of the order give over the enterprize.

IN the year 1618 the duke of Oſtrog a poliſh nobleman had, with the conſent of the republick, made the order of Malta heir to all his eſtate. This great family being now extinct by the death of duke Alexander d'Oſtrog, the chevalier prince de Lubomirski gave immediate advice thereof to the grand maſter. But duke Demetrius the petty-general of the crown laying claim to the inheritance, under pretence that he

he had married the ſiſter of duke Alexander, the grand maſter ſent prince Lubomirski a letter of attorney to maintain the rights of the order. NICHOLAS COTONER.

THE admiral brother Paul Raphael Spinola takes three merchant ſhips richly laden, in the gulph of Magra. 1674.

THE viceroy of Sicily applies to the order for ſuccours. The grand maſter immediately ſends him the ſquadron of the gallies. Several great croſſes go on board them, as a teſtimony of their zeal for the king of Spain's ſervice, whoſe ſubjects they were born. In the mean time the Chevalier de Valbelle throws a ſupply of french troops into Meſſina.

THE grand maſter Nicolas Cotoner makes an indowment to maintain the fortreſs of Ricaſoli in the iſland of Malta.

THE king of England declares war againſt the rovers of Tripoli, and his ſhips are well received in the ports of Malta. 1675.

FREDERICK de Mogelin the king of Poland's envoy arrives at Malta, and preſents the grand maſter with a letter from that prince, in which he tells him, that, as his territories were continually infeſted by the turkiſh forces, he ſhould be exceedingly obliged to him if he would make a diverſion by ſome conſiderable enterprize. The grand maſter anſwers him, that by complying with the ſollicitations of his poliſh majeſty, he would do no more than diſcharge the obligations of his own profeſſion; that the order had always employed their forces againſt the infidels, but that they would now increaſe their armaments, in order to anſwer the wants and inſtances of his majeſty.

THE viceroy of Sicily endeavours to engage the order, as being a feudatary of that crown, to make war againſt the people of Meſſina. The grand maſter anſwers him, that they are forbid by the very inſtitution of the order ever to concern themſelves in any war between chriſtians, and that there was nothing of that nature to be found in the deed of infeofment of Malta.

THE Poſt-houſe is ſettled at Malta in the fort of Marza-muzet, which the grand maſter Manoel has in our time ſecured with very neceſſary fortifications.

CHARLES II. king of England writes in a very obliging manner to the grand maſter, to thank him for the great civilities he ſhewed to his admiral and his ſhips, which he received into the harbour of Malta.

THE genoeſe embark ſome troops from the Milaneſe, and tranſport them into the port of Melazzo, where the gallies of the order were at that time under the command of the Bailif de Spinola, who out of complaiſance for the viceroy of Sicily, and forgetting the inſult the ſquadron of the order had received in the port of Genoa, conſents that the Patrone of that commonwealth ſhould have the poſt of the Patrone of Malta: the great affection he had for his country was undoubtedly the motive of his acting in that manner, and perhaps too it might be to make a compliment to Auguſtine Durazzo, commodore of the genoeſe, who had married Spinola's niece. 1676.

A dreadful plague at Malta, which deſtroys a great number of knights and abundance of people.

MALTA being almoſt depopulated, is no longer able to ſupply the ſame number of knights for the gallies; ſo that in the naval expeditions, where before the plague broke out, they uſed to have one and 1677.

twen-

NICOLAS COTONER. twenty knights on board every galley; the number was this year reduced to eleven for the admiral, and nine for the other gallies.

THE dignity of marshal being now vacant, the commander brother Lewis de Fay Gerlande, and brother René de Maisonseule, both of the language of Auvergne, of the same standing in the order, and who had passed through the same employments, aspired to it in opposition to each other. After a long dispute, the grand master, and some common friends of the two claimants finding no way to decide the competitorship perpersuaded them to agree, that they shall enjoy this dignity alternately, and each have his month.

1678. MAISONSEULE dies two years after this compromise. Gerlande being left alone in the post, puts to sea with five gallies, and meets two algerine corsairs off of cape Passaro: but instead of laying them aboard, as was the constant practice of the knights, he only cannonaded the two corsairs: this made Maisonseule be regretted, and occasioned great complaints at Malta against Gerlande, who excused himself by saying that the wind was against him.

CAPTAIN Peter Fleeches, a native of Majorca, meets an algerine corsair in the same place, and sinks him, but saves an hundred turkish soldiers, whom he afterwards sold to the order for an hundred pieces of eight per slave.

THE pope is desirous of putting an end to the disputes between the order and the republick of Genoa. He speaks to the maltese Embassador upon that subject, who by order of his superiours told the pope, that the order was all obedience, and that notwithstanding the insult which had been offered by the genoese, it was yet ready to pay a blind and implicite submission to whatever determination his holiness should think fit to make in the case. The pope not caring to take upon him the decision of that affair, it was spun out some time longer.

DON John of Austria grand prior of Castile being dead, the grand master and council design to retrench 8000 ducats from the revenue of that rich benefice, in favour of several persons: but the king of Spain, who laid claim to the right of patronage of that grand priory, opposes the curtailing of its revenue.

1679. PEACE concluded between France and Spain by the marriage of Charles II, with the princess Maria Louisa, eldest daughter to the duke of Orleans, his most christian majesty's brother. Brother don Juan de Villa Vicioſa goes to compliment his catholick majesty in the grand master's name, and obtain his leave to export a quantity of corn, which arrives at Malta at a time when a famine was beginning to ravage the whole island.

1680. THE grand master, who some years before had been seized with a kind of palsy, is now attacked with very severe fits of the gout and stone. A slow fever steals away from him his strength by insensible degrees, without any way lessening his courage or his vigilance, but a dysentery forces him at last to keep his bed. He appoints brother don Arland Seralte priour of Catalonia to be lieutenant of the mastership, and dies with great sentiments of piety on the 29th of april, in the 73d year of his age. This prince, who by his artful management had procured his brother the dignity of grand master, owed his own advancement to his merit only. He kept up his dignity by a superiority of genius, that made him respected by all who approached him: he had

PRINCIPE SOBERANTIE, ET GRANDE MAITRE, DE LORDRE DE MALTHE.
Carr Sculp.

had an excellent talent at negotiations; was bold in his enterprises, and prudent in the choice of proper means to execute them: he had all his fellow knights for his friends; communicated his designs but to very few among them, and never had a confident. He was buried in the chappel of the language of Arragon, and the following epitaph was put on his tomb. NICOLAS COTONER.

D. O. M.

" Fratri D. Nicolas Cottoner, magno hierosolymitani ordinis magi-
" stro, animi magnitudine, consilio, munificentiâ, majestate principi,
" erecto ad Mahometis dedecus ex navigii rostris, ac sultanæ prædâ
" trophæo: Melitâ magnificis extructionibus, Templorum nitore, ex-
" plicato, munitoque urbis pomœrio, splendidé auctâ: cive è pestilen-
" tiæ faucibus pene rapto: Hierosolymitano ordine, cui primus post fra-
" trem præfuit, legibus, auctoritate, Spoliis amplificato: republicâ
" difficillimis seculi, belli temporibus servatâ: verè magno quod tanti
" nominis mensuram gestis impleverit, pyramidem hanc excelsi testem
" animi, D. D. C. fama superstes. Vixit in migisterio annos XVI.
" menses VI. obiit 29 aprilis 1680, ætatis 73. Post ejus obitum execu-
" tores testamentarii tumulum hunc fieri mandavere."

Three days after Cotoner's funeral, they met to chuse him a successor. Parties had been forming during his ilinefs, and were still carried on. The Treasurer de Vignacour was sure of ten votes, and did all he could to engage the spanish language on his side, but in vain.

THE Electors name the priour of Rochelle, D. Gregory Caraffa, a neapolitan. This choice was agreeable to all, but especially to the italians; who for 128 years before, had not had a grand master elected from among their countrymen. GREGORY CARAFFA.

THE new grand master applies himself diligently to regulate the affairs of the order, and finish the fortifications that had been begun by his predecessour.

GENERAL Correa returns to Malta with six algerine ships, which he had taken, after having run a great risque of being taken himself. 1681.

THE bailif Colbert succeeds Correa in the post of general of the gallies of the order.

THE bailif d'Arrias, who for 24 years had enjoyed the post of vice-chancellor, and distinguished himself in the discharge of it, made a voluntary resignation of his office to the grand master, who upon the chancellor's presentation, appointed the commander Carriero a portugueze, secretary of the treasury, to succeed him. Carriero's post is given to the commander Bovio, who was afterwards grand prior of England. 1682.

BROTHER Jerom Molina, bishop of Malta, is translated to the bishoprick of Lerida. The king of Spain upon the grand master's presentation, names brother David Coceo Palmieri a man of admirable probity to the see of Malta.

THE king of France writes to the grand master to notify to him the birth of the duke of Burgundy. Great rejoicings at Malta: The french knights of the three languages distinguish themselves by the noble feasts they make on this occasion.

GREGORY CARAFFA. THE dukes of Ganfron and Berwick come to Malta. This laſt receives the croſs from the hands of the grand maſter, with the title of grand priour of England.

1683. THE turks beſiege the city of Vienna with a formidable Army. John Sobieski king of Poland, the duke of Lorrain generaliſſimo of the emperor's forces, and the duke of Bavaria join to relieve it: The infidels are beaten in ſeveral engagements, and are at laſt repulſed with ſo much loſs, that they are ſcarce able to repaſs the Danube.

1684. THIS ſucceſs induces pope Innocent XI to conclude a league with the emperor, the king of Poland, and the ſtate of Venice, againſt the infidels. The grand maſter is deſirous to ſhare in ſuch a laudable engagement, writes about it to the pope, and prepares all his forces to join the confederates. The ſquadron of the order puts to ſea, under the command of the bailif of St. Stephens, alarms all the coaſt of Barbary, and drives the enemy out of the two iſlands of Preveſa and Santa Maura.

1685. A new armament of the order commanded by brother Hector de la Tour Maubourg. The venetian fleet and the popes gallies join the malteſe ſquadron at Meſſina. Moroſini Generaliſſimo of the republick attacks Coron, and takes it after a ſtout reſiſtance from the beſieged. The knights diſtinguiſh themſelves in the ſiege by incredible efforts of valour, particularly by driving the infidels out of a fort which they had recovered from the venetians. General la Tour is killed in this attack.

1686. FORT St. Elmo is rebuilt, and the caſtle of St. Angelo fortified by the grand maſter's care.

THE knights put to ſea again in the ſpring, under the command of Erbeſtin grand priour of Hungary, meet the pope's gallies at Meſſina, and ſail together for the Levant. The venetian fleet joins them at the iſle of Santa Maura. They beſiege old Navarino, take it and go from thence to attack new Navarino, a place of great importance by its ſituation and the convenience of its harbour, but defended by a ſtrong garriſon. Moroſini after ſome days ſiege takes it, and advances with his fleet to Modon, a town of greater ſtrength, but forced in like manner to ſurrender; ſeveral knights loſt their lives at theſe ſieges.

THE confederates encouraged by their good ſucceſs, advance towards Napoli di Romania the capital of the kingdom of the Moea. They land there on the 30th of july, and lay ſiege to the place; they rout the ſeraſquier three times as he attempted to relieve it, and take it after a month's ſiege and a gallant defence made by the beſieged. General Erbeſtein ſets ſail for Malta. Nineteen knights were killed at this ſiege, with a conſiderable number of their ſoldiers.

THE commander D. Fortunato Caraffa the grand maſter's brother, prince John Francis de Medicis priour of Piſa brother to the grand duke, and brother Leopold Kolloniſtch biſhop of Neuſtat, are made cardinals.

1687. NEW preparations are made at Rome for the Levant. The grand maſter fits out eight gallies, under the command of brother Claude de Mechatein. A deſcent in Dalmatia. The three fleets join before Caſtelnuovo which ſurrenders, and thereby leaves the venetians entire maſters of all the Adriatick gulph. Pope innocent XI writes to the grand

grand maſter to compliment him upon the valour which his knights had ſhewed in this expedition. GREGORY CARAFFA.

THE duke of Uzeda is made viceroy of Sicily in the ſtead of count de St. Stephen, who eſcorted by a convey of Malteſe gallies, goes to take poſſeſſion of the viceroyalty of Naples.

BROTHER don Emanuel Pinto de Fonſeca is made bailiff of Acre. 1688. Brother D. Felix Inigo de'Aierva quits the poſt of grand conſervator for the bailywick of Caſpa. Brother Ximenes de la Fontaza bailiff of Negrepont is made grand conſervatour, and is ſucceeded in his bailywick by the great chancellour Correa. Brother D. Philip Eſcoveda is made great chancellour. Brother Fabio Gori gets the bailywick of Venuſia. brother Feretti receiver of Venice is made bailiff of St. Euphemia. The admiral Cavaretta takes the bailywick of St. Stephens. Averardo de Medicis ſucceeds him in the admiralty, and Spinelli bailiff of Armenia is named general of the gallies.

THE ſquadron puts to ſea again in the ſpring, being headed by 1689. the commander Mechatein. The generaliſſimo Moroſini is made doge this year, and ſends out the venetian fleet. The two armies joining, attack the fort of Negrepont. The ſiege proves long and difficult, and they are obliged to raiſe it at laſt, after having loſt abundance of men, and 29 of the braveſt knights.

THE grand maſter is ſenſibly afflicted at this loſs. His grief, with 1690. a retention of urine which came upon him at the ſame time, throws him into a fever: he gives away his effects, appoints his feneſchal brother don Charles Caraffa to be lieutenant of the maſterſhip, and thinks of nothing but another world. He dies on the 21ſt of July, in the 76th year of his age, after having enjoyed the grand maſterſhip nine years and ten months. Never was the humility of a religious united in greater perfection to the virtues of a ſoldier. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a particular manner by his love for the poor. His body was carried to the chappel of the Language of Italy, where he had cauſed a monument to be erected for himſelf. The Epitaph which he himſelf compoſed two years before his death, is ſtill to be read upon it.

D. O. M.

" Fr. D. Gregorius Caraffa Aragonius è principibus Roccellæ, mag-
" nus hieroſolymitani ordinis magiſter, cui vivere, vitâ peractâ, in vo-
" tis erat. Quia mortem primam qui prævenit, ſecundam evitat; hoc
" ſibi adhuc vivens non mauſoleum, ſed tumulum poſuit reſurrecturo
" ſatis. An. dom. 1688."

The following inſcription was engraved on the marble under his ſtatue.

" Emeritos venerare cineres, viator. Hic jacet Fr. D. Gregorius Ca-
" raffa ab Aragonia, M. M. clarus genere, genio præclarior. Heroas
" quos in nomine geſſit, in virtute expreſſit. Effusâ comitate, diffuſis
" triumphis, populos habuit amatores, orbem fecit admiratorem. Bis
" ad Helleſpontum, toties ad Epirum, Peloponneſum, Illyrium, im-
" pertito ductu, prævalidâ ope claſſes delevit, regias expugnavit. Mu-
" nificentiâ, pietate princeps laudatiſſimus. Urbem, Arces, Portus,
" Xenodochia, Templa ampliavit, reſtituit, ornavit. Publico ſemper
Religi-

" Religionis bono curas impendit & ſtudia. Ærarium ditiſſimo ſpolio " cumulavit. Obiit die 21 Julii anno æt. 76. mag. 10, ſal. 1690.

ADRIAN DE VIGNACOURT.

NEW cabals for the election: they agree at laſt in favour of brother Adrian de Vignacourt, great treaſurer of the order, nephew to Alef de Vignacour, who was elected to the ſame dignity in 1601. He takes poſſeſſion of the two iſlands, and ſends the commander Riggio to Palermo to notify his election to the duke of Uzeda, viceroy of Sicily.

THE ſquadron returns from the Levant, whither it had been ſent to join the venetian fleet, and brings the firſt account to Malta of the taking of Valonne, which occaſions great rejoicings.

THE grand maſter from his great liberality, relieves the preſſing neceſſities of the widows and children of all ſuch of his ſubjects as had been hiſted in the laſt wars. Several knights follow his example.

1691. THE order maintains a galiot well manned to give chace to the corſairs of Barbary, who were continually roving up and down the ſicilean ſea, even to the very channel of the two iſlands.

CARDINAL Pignatelli a neapolitan is choſe pope on the 8th of Auguſt, and takes the name of innocent the XII.

THE grand maſter erects ſeveral magazines, and adds conſiderable fortifications to all ſuch places as were not in a good condition of defence. In the midſt of theſe employments, which were only intended for the ſecurity of his order, he receives letters from the emperour Leopold the I, acquainting him that the imperial army, commanded by prince Lewis of Baden, had juſt gained ſo compleat a victory over the turks, that 30000 of them had been killed on the ſpot.

A LARGE and fine arſenal erected at Malta for building of gallies. The miniſters of the court of Rome are for comprehending the eſtates of the order in an extraordinary tax, which the pope was raiſing upon all eccleſiaſtical poſſeſſions. The new pope, of his own accord exempts them from it, without ſtaying for any remonſtrances from the order; and by a brief of the 7th of December, renews the permiſſion which his predeceſſors had formerly granted of carrying the holy ſacrament on board the gallies.

1692. THE grand priour of Meſſina, general of the gallies, puts to ſea, and advances towards the coaſt of Barbary, without finding any opportunity to ſignalize his courage. He ſails for the Levant, joins the popes gallies at Meſſina, and the venetian army at Napoli di Romania: All the fleet goes to attack Canea, a place of importance on account of its port, and one of the moſt agreeable cities of the iſle of Candia. After a ſiege of 24 days, they are forced to retire; the ſeaſon being too far advanced, the ſquadron of the order returns back to Malta at the time they were making publick rejoicings there for the taking of the fortreſs of great Waradin by the imperial army.

THE marqueſs d'Orville, nephew to Vignacourt arrives at Malta, where he is received with all the honours uſually paid to the nephews of the reigning grand maſter.

1693. THE iſle of Malta is greatly terrified on occaſion of a dreadful earthquake which began on the 11th of January at ten a clock in the evening, and laſted three days, overturning ſeveral buildings in that ſpace of time. The ſame earthquake deſtroys entirely the town of Agoſta in Sicily: Four gallies arrive from that iſland, and bring the

grand

ADRIANVS VTRECH. EPISCOPVS
Cars Sculp.

grand maſter an account of this misfortune. He immediately diſpatches away the general of the ſquadron with five gallies to go to the aſſiſtance of the inhabitants; orders publick prayers all over the iſland and a faſt of three days to appeaſe the wrath of heaven, and forbids the uſual diverſions of the carnival this year. He after this ſets about repairing the damage which the earthquake had done in Malta. ADRIAN DE VIGNACOURT.

SEVERAL veſſels were in want of maſts, rigging, and other things neceſſary for their putting to ſea. The grand maſter ſends for every thing that was wanting to the fleet, and has it brought from Amſterdam. He likewiſe gives orders for repairing the magazines and the ovens which the order had at Agoſta. The commander Ferrao, who was entruſted with this commiſſion, rebuilds theſe ſtructures with much greater magnificence than before, and puts the arms of Vignacourt over them.

THE grand priour, after coaſting all the iſles of the archipelago with his ſquadron, returns to the bay of Terra-nova, gives chace to a ſhip of Tunis, and boards it notwithſtanding its being defended by 130 ſoldiers, takes it after ſome reſiſtance, and brings it to Malta. There he finds the grand maſter very much diſpleaſed with him. He was accuſed of having avoided an engagement with three corſairs and a tartan, which he met going to the Levant. The general clears himſelf by proving that he had purſued the enemy briskly till night came on, and reſolved to attack them the next day, but that the corſairs got off in the dark, and he could never get ſight of them afterwards. After a full examination into the affair, and the taking of depoſitions in form, the general is declared innocent.

A NEW armament under the command of brother Francis Sigiſmund count of Thun, who was named general in the place of the grand priour of Meſſina. 1694.

TAKING of the town of Scio after a week's ſiege.

THE king of France and the duke of Savoy are for raiſing ſubſidies upon the eſtates of the order lying within their territories, under pretence of the exceſſive expence of the war. The grand maſter repreſents to them the privileges of the order, and both the princes deſiſt from their deſign.

THE pope takes upon him the arbitration of the difference between the order and the republick of Genoa, and reconciles thoſe two powers. Several genoeſe are admitted into the order.

GENERAL Sigiſmund puts to ſea again and chaſes a ſhip of Tripoli. He takes it after an engagement of two hours, and ſends it to Malta, himſelf ſtill keeping on his courſe towards the Levant. His voyage was entirely uſeleſs, becauſe the venetians whom he joined would not engage in any enterprize under pretence that the ſeaſon was too far advanced. 1695.

THE grand maſter's ſickneſs, which occaſions great canvaſſings for the future election, but they are ſtopped by his recovery. The pope makes the order a preſent of a great number of galley-ſlaves whom he ſends to Malta. 1696.

THE grand maſter is ſeized with a violent fever, and prepares for death. He names the bailiff of Leza don Gaſpar Carnero of the priory of Portugal to be lieutenant of the maſterſhip, parts with all his effects, and dies on the 4th of February, after having been grand maſter near 1697.

ſeven years, and lived 79. Piety and innocence of life and converſation had ever made up the character of this prince. His integrity and his beneficent temper procured him a general eſteem, and he was never liable to any reproach but that of having ſuffered himſelf to be governed by ſome favourites who were much more intent upon their own intereſts, than they were on thoſe of the order, or the honour of the perſon who gave them all his confidence. They buried him in the chapel of the language of France, where this epitaph is to be ſeen.

D. O. M.
Eminentiſſimi principis
Fr. Adriani de Vignacourt mortales exuviæ
Sub hoc marmore quieſcunt.
Si generis ſplendorem quæras
Habes in ſolo nomine,
Habes in affinitatibus penè regiis.
Si religioſæ vitæ merita ſpectes,
Charitatem erga pauperes & infirmos indefeſſam,
Erga peſte laborantes generoſam
Mirari poteris.
Et ita intemeratam morum innocentiam,
Ut mori potiùs, quam fædari voluerit.
Magni Aloffii ex patre nepos,
Integritatis, fortitudinis, & juſtitiæ laúde
Simillimus;
Tanti principis famam eſt aſſecutus.
Vixit ſanctiſſimè, ſanctiſſimè obiit,
anno ſalutis 1697.

THE aſſembly for the election of a new grand maſter is held on the 7th of February: the electors are divided into ſeveral factions, but unite at laſt in favour of brother Raimond Perellos de Roccaful of the language of Arragon, bailiff of Negrepont, and 60 years of age. Two days after he takes poſſeſſion of the ſovereignty of the two iſlands; and the 15th he aſſembles the council in order to reform the abuſes that had crept into the order. The popes had frequently yielded to the importunity of ſome ambitious knights, and granted them briefs to be received great croſſes of grace: which made the old knights, when they ſaw themſelves ſupplanted by theſe young men of the recompence due to their ſervices, retire frequently into their own countries; when thinking they had juſt reaſons to be diſguſted with the order they became more indifferent to its intereſts, and left their eſtates to their families; an affair the care of which was of the utmoſt importance to the order. Accordingly they reſolved to write to his holineſs on that ſubject, and to deſire him not to grant for the future any ſuch briefs, which ſtruck at the very foundation of their diſcipline. They likewiſe made a regulation by which all ſuch as were profeſſed in the order were forbid to wear any gold or ſilver on their cloaths; and abſolutely prohibited all games of chance. The duke of Veraguas, viceroy of Sicily, who had long ſolicited to obtain a brief in favour of the commander Riggio receiver of Palermo, for the making of him a grand croſs, continues his inſtances warmly, and ſucceeds in obtaining it, becauſe they found the brief had been diſpatched by Vignacourt.

RAIMOND PERELLOS.

PETRUS PRAMOND PERIGORD. EPISCOPUS. COMES. ET. PAR. FRANCIÆ. PRIMUS. ELEEMOSYNARIUS. REGIUS. ET. SACRI. CONSILII. REGII. IN. STATU. ET. CONSILIIS. REGIIS. MINISTER. OBIIT. ANNO. 1697.
Caro Sculp.

PEACE concluded at Reſwick between France and Spain. Publick rejoicings at Malta upon that occaſion. Boris Petrowits Seremetef a near relation of the Czar's, comes to viſit the grand maſter with letters of recommendation from the pope and the emperour. He is received with all the honour due to his quality and merit. RAIMOND PERELLOS. 1698.

POPE Innocent XII puts an end to the diſputes that had continued a long time between the biſhop of Malta and the priour of the church, with reſpect to their juriſdiction. Both parties ſubmit with joy to the deciſion of the holy father, and the grand maſter by way of acknowledgement, cauſes his holineſs's ſtatue in braſs to be erected over the great door of the church of Victory with this inſcription. 1699.

" INNOCENTIO XII optimo & ſanctiſſimo Pontifici, diſſidiis com-
" poſitis inter eccleſiaſticum & magiſtrale forum exortis, utrique juribus
" piè ſervatis, pluribus commendis liberaliter reſtitutis; Em. & Rev.
" Dom. Fr. D. Raimondus de Perellos Roccaful grato & unanimi om-
" nium voto tot tantaque beneficia æternitati dicavit MDCIC."

THE gallies of the order attack two veſſels of Tunis. The wind ſhifting on a ſudden, parts them, and gives the corſairs an opportunity to make their eſcape. The grand maſter and council having been miſinformed of this accident and fearing the officers had been wanting in their duty, appoint commiſſioners to examine into the affair, which they perform with the utmoſt care, and clear the officers of all manner of blame.

THE bailiff Spinola general of the ſquadron embarking on the 15th of February, ſpies a man of war belonging to the enemy off of Sicily, and comes up with her by hard rowing. The admiral-galley which followed him cloſe, having loſt its main ſail by a guſt of wind, Spinola reſolved to board her. The engagement was bloody on both ſides. The commander Spinola the general's brother receives a mortal wound by the grand priour of Meſſina's ſide, who fought leaning upon his valet de chambre, being ſo very old that he could not ſtand unſupported. The valet de chambre is killed, and the priour holds with one hand upon the frame of wood that ſuſtains the compaſs, and continues fighting. Victory was going to declare for the knights, when the enemies ſhip bears with all its force upon the admiral-galley and ſplits it. A ſouth wind riſes and blows a terrible ſtorm which diſperſes the ſquadron. The commander Javon captain of the St. Paul goes to the ſuccour of thoſe who were caſt away in the admiral, and ſaves fifty of them, among whom were general Spinola, the commander Broſſia, and the chevalier de St. Germain, and reſolves to ſtay in the ſame place to get off the reſt, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of the pilot, who aſſures them they were in great danger, " I ſhall be happy enough, (ſays the captain) if " I loſe my life in ſaving but a ſingle man of them." The wind however drove him away in ſpite of all his endeavours. Two and twenty knights and above 500 men, both officers as well as ſoldiers, periſhed either in the engagement or the wreck. The other gallies are driven by the tempeſt towards the Levant; they join again at Auguſta and return to Malta. The grand maſter provides for the ſubſiſtence of the families of ſuch of his ſubjects as had periſhed in this engagement.

PERELLOS had long ſeen with pain, that ever ſince the order had laid aſide their men of war and had only kept up a ſquadron of gallies, the Barbary corſairs were continuallly taking the chriſtian merchant-

ſhips,

RAIMOND PERELLOS.

ſhips, making deſcents upon the coaſts of Italy and Spain, plundering the villages, and carrying off from time to time a great number of families into ſlavery.

THE chriſtians had caſt their eyes for upwards of fourſcore years paſt upon the knights of Malta their old protectors for redreſs, but in vain: there had hitherto been always too many difficulties ſtarted before a ſquadron of men of war could be provided at Malta: but Perellos being in the maſterſhip, and aſſiſted with the advice of the bailiff Zondodari who ſucceeded him, fancied that all theſe obſtacles might be ſurmounted, and brought the council into his meaſures more eaſily than he could have imagined. So that as ſoon as he had raiſed the funds neceſſary for building of men of war, he ſearched through the whole order for a knight who had the moſt skill to inſpect their building, and was the beſt qualified to command them. The choice fell upon the chevalier de St. Pierre of Normandy, a captain in the king of France's fleet, who afterwards obtained the commandery of Pieton in the grand maſter's gift for his ſervices. 'Tis to this commander we are indebted for the Project to extirpate the corſairs of Barbary, which has been printed abroad among the works of the Abbé de St Pierre his brother, and had been highly approved of by the grand maſter.

THE St. Paul galley is driven by a guſt of wind upon the rocks of the little iſle of Oſtrica near Palermo; and notwithſtanding all that general Javon could do, he was loſt with three knights and 70 men of his crew: the reſt were ſaved by the other gallies.

1701. THE ſquadron returns towards the coſt of Barbary, and meets the ſultana Binghen, a large ſhip of 80 guns, with 300 fighting men on board. The engagement was long and the loſs conſiderable on both ſides, but at laſt the knights had the advantage and carried the ſhip with them to Malta. The grand maſter ordered the ſtandard of it to be put in the church of St. John at Aix, the birth-place of the chevalier Ricard, as as a monument of the valour of that knight, who had chiefly contributed to the victory.

DEATH of Charles II king of Spain. Philip V ſucceeds him, and confirms all the privileges of the order.

CARDINAL Albani is choſe pope in the room of Innocent XII, and takes the name of Clement XI.

THE ſquadron of the order advances as far as Goletta and attacks the infidels in the very port; they carry a large ſhip and a brigantine of the enemy back with them to Malta, having only loſt one knight and four ſoldiers in this expedition.

1703. THE grand priour of England goes to Rome in quality of embaſſadour extraordinary, in order to prevail with the pope to make a regulation with regard to the inquiſitour of Malta's pretenſions concerning his jurisdiction. This affair met with ſeveral delays. but was at laſt terminated to the grand maſter's ſatisfaction.

1706. THE ſquadron of ſhips commanded by the chevalier de St. Pierre ſails towards the Levant, meets three ſhips of Tunis, and gives them chace. The St. James man of war loſes its maſt before the engagement and goes off. The St. John attacks the enemy's admiral, which carried 50 guns and had 370 ſailors on board, and takes it whilſt the reſt of the enemies fleet croud all the ſail they can to get off. This ſhip was added to the ſquadron of the order and called the St. Croix or Holy Croſs.

THE

THE commander de Langon carries a convoy of ammunition to Oran, and with a ſingle ſhip of 50 guns paſſes through the midſt of the algerine fleet which fired upon him continually, and throws a ſupply into the place, notwithſtanding all the efforts of the infidels, who fought in the preſence of their king. This action occaſioned his being raiſed ſoon after to the dignity of lieutenant-general of the ſquadron of the order, and commander of the men of war. RAIMOND PERELLOS. 1707.

THE king of Spain writes to the grand maſter, by which he deſires him to ſend the ſquadron of the order a ſecond time to the relief of Oran. Preparations are made for it, but not ſent away, becauſe of a report which was ſpread that the infidels had taken the place, and that the grand ſeignior was making a powerful armament. 1708.

PERELLOS, in the midſt of his concern at this news, is attacked with the gout and a violent fever. He receives the ſacrament with great ſentiments of piety, and prepares for death, after having named the grand priour of Meſſina Tancred de Sienna to be lieutenant of the maſterſhip. Finding himſelf a little eaſier the next day, he gave brother Alexander Albani the pope's nephew, who was afterwards bailiff of Armenia, the commandery of Viterbo, that was fallen vacant by the death of Rondinelli: he inſenſibly grows better and recovers his health entirely. 1709.

A STRONG report that they are fitting out at Conſtantinople a fleet of 20 ſultana's, 40 gallies, and a great number of little veſſels, and that all theſe preparations are deſigned againſt Malta. The council, not to be taken unprovided, deſire ſuccours of the pope, who immediately diſpatches a tartan laden with powder, and other proviſions neceſſary to ſuſtain a ſiege, with 150 ſoldiers, and a promiſe to ſend a more conſiderable reinforcement as ſoon as poſſible. The commander d'Alegre is ſent to the king of France; the commander de Sannazar to Leghorn; and the commander de Monteclair to Genoa. They all came back with conſiderable forces, and landed at Malta with a great number of knights who crouded from all parts to contribute to the defence of the order. They name the general officers; they divide the ſoldiers into ſeveral bodies, and muſter near 10000 men, all of them reſolved to make a gallant defence.

AFTER all, the mighty armament of Conſtantinople, which had made ſo much noiſe, proves to be no more than five ſultana's, which go to join three other ſhips that came out of the ports of Tunis and Tripoli. They are apprehenſive of a deſcent on the iſle of Goza; they tranſport every thing thither that is neceſſary to defend it; and Tancred grand priour of Meſſina, notwithſtanding his great age and infirmities, obtains the grand maſter's leave to go over thither. He conſults with the commander de Langon lieutenant-general, and the commander de Montfort governour of the iſland, about repairing the fortifications, and puts it in a good poſture of defence. But the enemy deſpairing perhaps of ſucceeding in caſe they ſhould attempt to attack it, only burnt a few little veſſels which they found upon the coaſt, and ſailed back to the Levant.

THE grand maſter makes conſiderable additions to the magazines which his predeceſſour had built, and by that means improves commerce, and brings in plenty in his dominions.

RAIMOND PERELLOS.

UPON the news that four ſultana's were put to ſea with a brigantine in order to make a deſcent in Calabria, the grand maſter ſends out commander de Florigny with a ſquadron. After ſome days ſail they ſpy a large ſhip, which they know to be the admiral of Tripoli, commanded by the famous corſair Baſſa-Ali-Antulla-Ogli-Stamboli. He had 600 men on board with 56 guns and 40 patterero's, and was attended by a tartan of 12 guns, 30 patterero's, and 200 men, commanded by Mahmut Ogli Caſdagli, who was reſolved, notwithſtanding the orders of his general to the contrary, to ſtand the attack of the ſquadron. The commander de Langon who was captain of the St. James began the engagement with his cannon; the enemies ſails took fire, and both ſhips were in a flame. The turks deſpairing to quench it, plunge into the ſea; the knights ſend out their long-boats to their ſuccour, and ſaved 400 of them, among whom was the rais of the admiral of Tripoli, and 50 chriſtian ſlaves whom they ſet at liberty. The chevalier Pagani de Nocera and five men on board the St. John were loſt.

1710. THE grand maſter ſends for corn to the Levant, and by that means provides againſt a dearth in Malta, whither the viceroy of Sicily had refuſed for above a year to allow any corn to be exported as uſual.

THE commander de Langon ſails with the ſquadron of ſhips towards the coaſt of Barbary. He meets the admiral of Algiers with 500 men on board, and takes it after a long engagement in which all the enemy's officers were killed. This victory was fatal to the order by the death of the commander, whoſe valour and admirable qualities occaſioned his being greatly regretted. His body was carried to Carthagena, and buried under the great altar of the cathedral. The grand maſter, to immortalize his memory, ordered a tomb-ſtone to be erected in the nave of the church of St. John, on which the following epitaph was engraved.

D. O. M.

" FRATRI Joſepho de Langon Alverno, cujus virtutem in ipſo tyrocinii flore maturam Gallicæ naves fecere, Thraces ſenſere, Melitenſes habuere victricem. Oranum dira obſidione cinctum, cum unica religionis navi, cui præerat, onerariam ducens, penetratâ Algerii claſſe, ejuſque rege teſte vel invito, militem & commeatum invexit. Generalis claſſium præfectus ad tripolitanorum prætoriam incendendam plurimo momento fuit. Laudes tamen conſilio & fortitudine ſibi ubique coemptas in alias continuo tranſtulit. Supremâ tandem Algerii nave ſubactâ, acceptoque inde vulnere acerbo, victor fato ceſſit, die 18 Aprilis 1710 æt. 41. E. M. M. F. D. R. de Perellos-Roccaful ad benemerentiæ argumentum mortuo hoc mœrens poſitum voluit Cenotaphium ad memoriæ perennitatem".

1711. ATTEMPT of the inquiſitour of Malta upon the infirmary of the order. The tribunal of the inquiſition had been introduced into the iſland by pope Gregory XIII, but with ſo much tenderneſs and caution, that they were ſcarce ſenſible of it. The biſhop of Malta was the firſt perſon inveſted with this commiſſion. Some time after they put in an officer of the court of Rome, but enjoined him not to do any thing without the concurrence of the grand maſter, the biſhop, the priour of the church, and the vice-chancellour, and he was expreſsly reſtrained from taking cognizance of any crime but that of hereſy. They did not

not at that time think of oppoſing an authority, the exerciſe of which was lodged in the firſt perſons of the order, nor foreſee that the inquiſitours might in time "make themſelves not only independent but in- "ſupportable to a body of knights deſcended of the moſt noble blood "of Chriſtendom, and whoſe order is inveſted with a ſovereign power "over its ſubjects." RAIMOND PERELLOS. Memorial preſented to Lewis xiv.

DELCI, who exerciſed the office of inquiſitour in 1711, after having carried his pretenſions ſo high, as to inſiſt that the grand maſter's coach ſhould ſtop when it met his, thought he ought not to ſuffer the infirmary of the order to continue any longer exempt from his juriſdiction. 'Twas the moſt privileged place of the order *, entruſted to the guard of ſome french knights who were infinitely zealous for their liberty, and ſubject to no authority but that of the grand hoſpitaller. No one elſe, of what quality ſoever, can enter it without firſt leaveing the marks of his dignity at the door. The officers of the inquiſition got in by ſurprize, and began to make a viſitation in form. The commander d'Avernes de Bocage, overſeer of the infirmary, upon notice of this attempt, came in great haſte to oppoſe it, turned them out immediately, and entered a proteſt of nullity againſt all they might have done in his abſence. Dec. 7.

THE grand maſter ſends the grand priour Zondodari to Rome as embaſſadour of the order, to give the pope an account of the unjuſt pretenſions of the inquiſitour. The overſeer of the infirmary goes himſelf to France to repreſent the caſe to his moſt chriſtian majeſty, who writes in very warm terms to his holineſs upon that ſubject, and engages him to diſown and ſtop the attempts of his deputy. 1712.

BROTHER James de Noailles, embaſſadour of the order in France, dies at Paris in the 59th year of his age. The bailiff de la Vieuville ſucceeds him in that quality, who makes his entry on the 4th of December with all the ceremonies uſed at the entry of the embaſſadours of ſovereign princes. Apr. 22.

THE commander Zondodari, embaſſadour extraordinary at Rome, makes freſh complaints againſt the inquiſitour for taking upon him the granting of patents to a great number of malteze to exempt them from the obedience which they owed their ſovereign.

BROTHER Adrian de Langon, captain of the St. Catherine, attacks ſeven algerine veſſels, puts them to flight, and takes one called the Half Moon of 40 guns, and manned with 400 men. Thirty ſix chriſtian ſlaves are delivered on this occaſion, and the order loſes only ſeven men in the engagement. 1713.

THE pope writes to the grand maſter to engage him to ſend the gallies of the order to cruize off of the coaſt of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, where the corſairs of Barbary were continually taking prizes.

THE commander de Langon chaſes an algerine corſair of 56 guns and 500 men, comes up with him off of the iſles d'Hieres, ſhoots all his maſts by the board in an engagement of ſix hours, and ſinks him when he could not prevail upon him to ſtrike. They could ſave no more than two chriſtians and ſix turks of all the crew. 1714.

* The very marſhall of the order cannot go into the infirmary without leaving his ſtaff of command at the door.

THE

RAIMOND PERELLOS.

ANOTHER ſhip of Barbary taken, in which they made 95 ſlaves. Death of the bailiff de la Vieuville embaſſadour of the order in France. The bailiff de Meſmes ſucceeds him in his poſt.

THE great preparations made at Conſtantinople give them an alarm at Malta. The grand maſter writes to all the knights to be in a readineſs to ſet out upon the firſt orders, for that purpoſe repairs all the fortifications, and provides all things neceſſary for the defence of the iſland.

THE knights diſperſed over the ſeveral parts of Europe begin to rendezvous in order to ſet out. Some whoſe advanced age would not ſuffer them to undertake ſuch a journey, remit the revenues of their commanderies to the grand maſter, in order to their being employed in the defence of Malta, and others, though diſabled from acting by their great age and infirmities, are reſolved to go and aſſiſt at leaſt with their advice.

1715. THE french knights not excepting the novices, ſignalize their zeal in taking up conſiderable ſums on their own credit, which they lay out in buying a great quantity of arms and all kinds of ammunition. They ſend this ſupply to Malta and agree to follow ſoon after. The grand maſter in the mean time takes 150000 crowns out of the treaſury, and borrows a larger ſum in his own name, employing it all in fetching from different places every thing that was neceſſary to make a vigorous defence: he gets a re-inforcement of troops and gallies from the pope, and obtains leave to raiſe men in the eccleſiaſtical ſtate.

WHILST all theſe preparations were making at Malta to oppoſe the enemy, an unknown perſon of a handſome aſpect came to offer his ſervice to the grand maſter in quality of an engineer. His offers were the more readily accepted as he ſeemed to be well skilled in fortifications. Some knights were appointed to ſhew him all the works, particularly thoſe of la Valette, upon which he gave them ſeveral good hints, and a great idea of his capacity. Two days after he was flown, and whatever ſearch was made after him, they could never find him. They made no queſtion but he was a ſpy ſent by the turks to obſerve the condition of the iſland. This adventure made the grand maſter think of ſending ſome perſon on whom he could depend to Conſtantinople, in order to get a more perfect account of the grand ſeignior's deſigns. Andrew Veran of the town of Arles, who had lived a long time at Malta, offered himſelf for this commiſſion, and accordingly ſet out with a veſſel laden with merchandize under pretence of trading in the Levant. He firſt landed at Napoli di Romania the capital of the Morea, where he met with the captain-general of the republick of Venice. He learned from him that the turkiſh armament was increaſing every day, but that it ſeemed to be deſigned only againſt the venetians. Sailing from thence to the Dardanelles, he was informed that the infidels had declared war againſt the State of Venice. He arrived at Conſtantinople where he ſaw the count des Alleurs the french embaſſadour, who took him under his protection, and gave him an exact account of all the deſigns of the port.

IN the mean time the knights were arriving at Malta from all quarters, none of them failing to bring ſome ſuccour along with them. They fitted out a naval force, and the ſquadron of the order joined that of the pope, that they might be enabled to meet the ottoman fleet. Veran

J. Raoux pinxit *L. Cars filius sculp:*

J. Raoux pinxit *L. Cars filius Sculp.*

returned back to Malta, and by the account he gave of the motions of the turkiſh army, they found that either the grand ſeignior had no deſign upon that iſland, or which was more probable, that he had altered his meaſures upon the advice he had received of the good condition it was put in by the grand maſter's care, and the vaſt reſort of the knights thither from all parts. RAIMOND PERELLOS.

THE republick of Venice deſires ſuccours from the grand maſter againſt the turks. The order ſends them five men of war and ſome gallies, which give chace to three corſairs of Barbary, and take one of 54 guns with 500 men on board: they bring it in to Malta with four ſaicks laden with all ſorts of proviſions. 1716.

DISPUTES between the commanding officers of the auxiliary ſquadrons. The pope puts an end to them by giving the commodore of the malteze ſquadron the title of his lieutenant-general.

THE ſquadron of the order takes ſeveral turkiſh ſhips laden with merchandize, and carries them to Corfu, where the chevalier de Langon, who commanded the pope's ſquadron, gains ſeveral advantages over the infidels.

THE ſhips of the order, with a re-inforcement of two frigates and ſome light veſſels, put to ſea again to join the allies. A malteze privateer ſinks a large turkiſh ſhip and ſaves part of the crew. 1717.

A SEA-engagement between the auxiliary troops and the turks near the iſle of Stags. The infidels, whoſe ſhips ſuffered a great deal, fly away after having cannonaded one another for two hours together. The auxiliary troops came off without loſs. The bailiff de Bellefontaine, who commanded the fleet, ſignalized himſelf in an extraordinary manner all this campaign, and was received at his return by the grand maſter with the higheſt marks of diſtinction.

THE ſquadron puts to ſea again, re-inforced with the St. John man of war of 70 guns, and goes to join the venetian fleet. The turks grow leſs eager to carry on the war, and the chriſtian armada finds few opportunities of ſignalizing it ſelf this campaign. 1718.

THE pope gives the croſs of Malta to the king of Poland's natural ſon. The ſquadron of the order make a conſiderable prize in the Archipelago, where they take two gallies richly laden from Conſtantinople, on one of which the baſha of Romelia with all his family was going to Napoli di Romania. 1719.

THE chevalier Fraguier, firſt enſign of the grand maſter's company of guards, brings his moſt chriſtian majeſty a preſent of birds of prey, a preſent which the grand maſters are uſed to make to the king of France.

THE chevalier d'Orleans takes the oaths before the king for the grand priory of France, which was vacant upon the voluntary reſignation of the grand priour de Vendôme. 1720.

THE grand maſter Raimond Perellos de Rocafull being worn out with his great age and a fit of ſickneſs, which had been upon him upwards of a year, dies after a reign of 22 years. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his liberality to ſuch families as had been ruined by the infidels; made conſiderable improvements in the fortifications of the iſland, and omitted nothing he thought might any way contribute to ſupport the luſtre and glory of his order.

MARC ANTONIO ZONDODARI.

THE electors being aſſembled with the uſual ceremonies, chuſe the bailiff Marc. Antonio Zondodari for their grand maſter: He was a native of Sienna, and highly worthy of the maſterſhip on account of his perſonal merit and his illuſtrious birth. The rejoicings made on this occaſion are heightned by the taking of two large corſairs of Barbary, which were brought at the ſame time into the harbour. This ſucceſs is ſoon after followed by the taking of the admiral of Algiers, a ſhip of 80 guns, and 500 men on board.

THE bailiff Ruffo is made general of the gallies of the order. The grand maſter obtains a brief from the pope, to oblige all ſuch knights as had upwards of 300 l. annual income, to maintain every one a ſoldier at his own expence for the ſecurity of the iſland, but it does not appear that this brief was ever put in execution.

1721. THE ſquadron which the grand maſter had granted the king of Spain to guard his coaſts, puts to ſea under the command of the bailiff de Langon, and chaſes a galiot of Barbary that was cruiſing off of the coaſt of Sardinia. They cannot come up with her, but take a pink which ſhe had made a prize of a little before. The St. John man of war, of which the commodore was on board, meets ſome days afterwards with an algerine veſſel of 40 guns, comes up with her, and takes her after an hours engagement. Twenty chriſtian ſlaves were delivered and 260 infidels made ſlaves. A few days after they meet the ſquadron of Tunis conſiſting of the admiral, the Patrone, and the Porcupine. The two firſt get off in the night after a long and ſmart engagement, but the Porcupine was forced to ſtrike, after having ſtood it out againſt all the five till ten at night. They deliver 32 chriſtians who were ſlaves in this ſhip. This ſucceſs which was owning to the valour of captain Alognis de la Grois, caſts ſuch a terrour over all the coaſt of Barbary, that no corſair dares ſtir out to cruiſe.

1722. DON Carlo Conti, prince of Poli, nephew to the pope, receives the croſs of the order from the hands of cardinal Pamphileo, grand priour of Rome.

THE grand maſter, who had been attaked for upwards of ſix months with a kind of gangrene in his bowels; dies on the 16th of June, at the age of 63 years 7 months and 15 days. This prince who was highly eſtimable for his ſingular piety, took great care to fortify the iſland, was exceeding charitable, maintained a regularity of diſcipline in his order, as much by his example as his authority, and wanted nothing but a longer reign to anſwer in every reſpect the great hopes conceived of him.

ANTONIO MANOEL DE VILHENA.

BROTHER don Raimond d'Eſpong, bailiff of Negropant, lieutenant of the maſterſhip, calls the council together, and after the uſual ceremonies, the electors agreed unanimouſly in the choice of d'Anthony Emanuel de Vilhena a portugueſe, of the language of Caſtile, to be their grand maſter: His birth, his perſonal virtues, and his perfect knowledge of the rules and maxims of the order made him truly worthy of this promotion. He had paſſed through all the dignities of the order, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf in them all. He had hardly finiſhed his caravans when he was made captain of the admiral galley, and was wounded in an engagement with two Tripoli ſhips, which general Antonio Correa de Souſa took in 1680. Four years after he was made captain of one of the men of war, which the order ſent to aſſiſt the vene-

F. FRIDERICVS. MARCHIO. DE. HOM. MAGNVS. MAGISTER. HOSPITALIS. IERVSALEM.
Cars Sculp

HENRICVS PRINCEPS AVRAICVS COMES NASSOVIVS
Cars Sculp.

venetians in the conqueſt of the Morea. They made him ſucceſſively major and then colonel of the country militia. In 1692 he had the command of the 8th galley, and the year following that of the St. Anthony. He was made great croſs of grace in 1696, commiſſary of the navy two years afterwards, and commiſſary of war in 1701. The dignity of great chancellour of the order was conferred upon him in 1713. He quitted it three years after to take that of bailiff d'Acre; was choſe one of the 21 electors for the election of the grand maſter Zondodari, and the ſame year was made procurator of the treaſury. Theſe ſeveral poſts, in all of which he behaved himſelf to the infinite ſatisfaction of the order in general, were ſo many ſteps to raiſe him to the maſterſhip. ANTHONY EMANUEL DE VILHENA.

THE new grand maſter's firſt care was to put the iſland in a ſtate of defence againſt the invaſion with which the turks ſtill threatened it. He built fort Emanuel on the little iſle of Marſa-mouſſet, which the infidels might have eaſily ſeized on, and would thereby have greatly facilitated their ſucceſs: He likewiſe ordered all ſuch knights as were 19 years of age to repair to him.

THE grand ſeignior's great preparations againſt the order were made at the inſtance of a ſlave, called Hali, whom Mahomet Effendi, his embaſſadour in France, had redeemed as he paſſed by Malta. This ſlave, who was beloved by the knights and in favour with the grand maſter had ſerved in the navy, and had been for ten years iman or chief of the turkiſh ſlaves that were at Malta. Upon his return to Conſtantinople, he gave the miniſters of the port an account of the forces of the order, and perſuaded them that it would be an eaſy matter to ſurprize the iſland by the help of thoſe ſlaves, who were ever prepared for a revolt, and were more in number than the inhabitants: that in order to ſucceed in their attempt, they needed only fit out a ſquadron of ten ſhips, and appear with it before Malta, where the ſlaves would infallibly take arms, and their inſurrection crown them with ſucceſs.

THE project pleaſed the grand vizier: accordingly commodore Abdi Capitan put to ſea with ten ſhips; Hali embarked likewiſe with a captain's commiſſion, when they came and preſented themſelves before Malta: but the wiſe precautions the grand maſter had taken, rendered the executing of their deſign impracticable. They retired after a few broadſides, and Abdi Capitan ſent the grand maſter the following letter.

"THE firſt man of the iſle of Malta, the heads of his council, and "chiefs of the languages of France, of Venice, and other nations that "adore the Meſſias, are advertiſed by this letter, that we have been "expreſsly ſent by the grand ſeignior the maſter of the univerſe and re"fuge of the world, to order them to deliver up to us all ſuch ſlaves "as are under their miſerable government, that they may be preſented "before his ſupreme and auguſt throne. This is his pleaſure and his "deſign in ſending us with this ſquadron. If you fail to obey, dread"ful puniſhments will make you repent your fault. Send your anſwer "to Tunis."

THIS ſtile ſo agreeable to the pride of the grand ſeignior's officers, did not however hinder the grand maſter from anſwering the letter, in hopes that it might be of uſe in procuring the deliverance of ſome chriſtian ſlaves. The tenour of his letter, which was wrote with politeneſs and

ANTHONY EMANUEL DE VILHENA.

and dignity, was as follows. "That the deſign of his order was not "to ſcour the ſeas in the view only of making ſlaves, but to cruiſe "with their ſhips for ſecuring the liberty of the ſeas to all chriſtian "veſſels; that they attacked ſuch only as diſturbed commerce, and "who deſerved to be made ſlaves, for endeavouring to make the chri- "ſtians ſo: that they had nothing ſo much at heart as the delivery of "ſuch of theirs as were in ſlavery, and that if his highneſs was in the "ſame diſpoſition, they were ready to enter into a treaty for reſtoring "the ſlaves on both ſides to their liberty, either by way of exchange "or ranſom, as was generally practiſed among princes; and that if his "highneſs would let them know his intentions, they ſhould not be "wanting on their part to ſecond them."

1723. THIS anſwer was directed to the marqueſs of Bonac, the french embaſſadour at Conſtantinople, with a deſire that he would deliver it to any miniſter of the port whom he ſhould judge proper. The french embaſſadour, judging by the contents of the letter, and the delicacy with which it was wrote, that the grand maſter's deſign was not ſo much to anſwer the commodore of a ſquadron, as to communicate his intentions to the grand ſeignior himſelf by his firſt miniſter, ſent it to the grand viſier. Some days after he ſpoke to him about it, and was agreeably ſurprized to find him diſpoſed not only to make an exchange of ſlaves, but to enter into a treaty of peace with the order of Malta. The marqueſs of Bonnac, perſuaded that ſuch a peace would be of great advantage to all chriſtendom in general, as well as to the order in particular, laboured at it with great application, and prevailed ſo far with the grand vizier, whom he had wrought upon by his probity and ſincerity more than by the ſuperiority of his genius, that all the articles which he propoſed were agreed to. This being done, he ſent them to the grand maſter, and wrote to the court of France, upon the ſame ſubject, which after a mature examination ſent him orders to continue his endeavours to bring the affair to a happy concluſion.

THE grand maſter had the propoſals of the port examined, and ſent his obſervations on them to M. de Bonnac. They choſe rather to make a limitted truce than a peace; they took all the neceſſary precautions to keep the order from all manner of ſtain or reproach, and the grand vizier agreed to every thing. The articles ſtipulated between them were,

1. THAT the ſlaves ſhould be exchanged on both ſides, and that if there ſhould be more on one ſide than on the other, the ſupernumerary ones ſhould be delivered at the rate of 100 pieces of eight per head.

2. THAT this exchange ſhould extend no farther than to ſuch ſlaves only as had been taken by the ſhips of the malteſe and the grand ſeignior.

3. That the truce ſhould continue for 20 years, at the expiration of which time they might treat for another.

4. That the republicks of Africa ſhould not be comprehended in the treaty, and that the port ſhould not give them any ſuccour either directly or indirectly againſt Malta.

5. THAT the malteſe ſhould have the ſame privileges as the french in all the grand ſeigniors dominions.

6. THAT the treaty ſhould be null, whenever any chriſtian prince ſhould be at war with the port.

THE news of this treaty was received at Conſtantinople with great applauſe. But the captain baſha reſenting that an affair which related to the ſea, ſhould be treated without firſt conſulting him, engaged all the ſea officers to oppoſe it. They carried their point ſo far as to make the grand vizier change his note, who ſeeing their univerſal diſcontent, did not care to carry the negotiation further. However he told the marqueſs of Bonnac, that he had not changed his views, and that it would be an eaſy matter to bring that affair on foot again, by only taking certain meaſures to gain the conſent of the ſea officers, whoſe own intereſt would infallibly oblige them to give into the ſcheme. 1724. ANTHONY EMANUEL DE VILHENA.

DURING this negotiation, the account of which I thought it would not be proper to interrupt, the grand maſter upon advice that a Tunis man of war was cruiſing in company with a tartan, between the iſles of Maritimo and Panteleria, and had taken two barks, viz. one of Sicily, and the other of Genoa, ſent the St. John man of war and a frigate to look out for them. They meet the corſairs, who purſue them for ſome time to reconnoitre them, but afterwards think fit to ſtand off and endeavour to get from them. The malteſe frigate comes up with the ſhip, and after exchanging broadſides for four hours together forces it to ſtrike. This ſhip was an excellent ſailer, and had been given by the grand ſeignior to the bay of Tripoli, who had made her his patronne. She was mounted with 48 guns and 14 braſs pattereroes, with four hundred men on board, of which no more than 267 turks ſurvived. Three and thirty chriſtian ſlaves recover their liberty on this occaſion. This important victory was owing to the valour of the chevalier de Chambray who commanded the frigate. The St. John man of war purſued the Tartan and took it, and both the prizes were brought to Malta.

POPE benedict XIII. is deſirous of giving the grand maſter and the order of Malta a diſtinguiſhing mark of his affection. He diſpatches a gentleman of his bed-chamber to Malta, to preſent that prince with a long * rapier, and a helmet which he had conſecrated at chriſtmas with great ſolemnity. The preſent is received with all poſſible acknowledgements by the grand maſter, who conſiders it as a new motive to ſignalize himſelf more and more in the practice of all the vertues which have ſo juſtly gained him the reſpect of his brother knights, the friendſhip of the princes of Europe, and the paternal tenderneſs of his holineſs. 1725.

* THE Rapier is a ſilver ſword gilt, about five foot long. The helmet is a kind of cap of purple velvet, embroidered with gold, and embelliſhed with an holy ghoſt of pearls.

A DISSERTATION UPON THE Ancient and Modern GOVERNMENT OF THE Religious and Military ORDER OF St. JOHN of JERUSALEM,

THOUGH an hiſtory of this order ought naturally to give an account of the firſt conſtitutions, ſtatutes, and original form of its government, yet a ſeries of time, and a variety of conjunctures have inſenſibly occaſioned changes therein, which are unavoidable in the condition of human nature; and it would betray a groſs ignorance of the inconſtancy and weakneſs of mankind, to offer to judge of the preſent conſtitution of a ſtate by its ancient cuſtoms, and the practice of the firſt ages after its eſtabliſhment.

THIS conſideration determined me, for the entire ſatisfaction of the reader, to annex at the end of this work, a particular diſcourſe upon the preſent ſtate of the order of Malta. I ſhall firſt treat of the ſeveral claſſes, into which the order is divided. My next enquiry ſhall be into the proofs of noble deſcent that are required in order to be admitted into the firſt claſs. Afterwards ſhall follow a particular account of the nature of the commanderies and the qualities requiſite to be entitled to them. From thence I ſhall paſs to the dignities which give a right of ſitting either in the general chapter, or in the council, and ſhall add at the end of this article a liſt of the principal offices of the order, and of the perſons that have the right of nomination to them; and this treatiſe will conclude with the form obſerved in the election of the grand maſter, a dignity of a ſingular nature, which whoſoever is inveſted with, enjoys an entire ſovereignty and all the royalties of a prince over the ſecular inhabitants at the ſame time that, with regard to the knights, he is conſidered only as the head and ſuperiour of a religious and military republick.

THE church has in its boſom various orders of religious, who without exerciſing the ſame functions, have all of them their particular merit in the ſight of God, and who by their variety contribute each in his reſpective way to the ornament and beauty of the church. Some ſequeſtring themſelves voluntarily from the converſation of mankind, buried as it were in ſolitude and wrapped up in their own virtue, ſpend their days in the contemplation of eternal truths. Others more con-

verſant

verſant in the world, apply themſelves chiefly to the inſtruction of their neighbour, and contribute to the eaſing the care of paſtors, when called in to their aſſiſtance in the eccleſiaſtical miniſtry. There are ſome ſo enflamed with zeal for the converſion of infidels, that they go to the fartheſt parts of the earth to preach the goſpel. The ſame zeal, but acted by a charity of another kind, made a body of gentry ſome ages ago take up arms to preſerve the chriſtians from being made ſlaves by the Mahometans and infidels; and 'tis of the form of government of this laſt kind of religious, whoſe hiſtory I have juſt concluded, that I am going to give an account of in this place,

ARTICLE I.

Of the ſeveral claſſes of religious in the order of St. John.

THE hoſpitallers conſidered merely as religious, are divided into three claſſes, all of them different from one another with reſpect to birth, and rank, and functions. The firſt claſs conſiſts of thoſe whom they call knights of juſtice, i. e. as the formulary of their profeſſion expreſſes it, ſuch, the ancient nobility of whoſe deſcent, merits their being admitted to that degree of honour: and none but theſe are qualified to be advanced to the dignities of bailiffs and priours, whom they call grand croſſes, or to that of grand maſter. Time, which is too frequently the author of abuſes and irregularities, has introduced a practice of admitting other perſons into the rank of knights of juſtice, who are not qualified like them, and who are called knights of grace: they being ſuch as being deſcended of fathers of noble extraction but of mothers of ignoble or plebeian birth, have endeavoured to throw a veil over this notorious defect by a papal diſpenſation.

THE ſecond claſs comprehends the religious who are chaplains, and belonging in that capacity to the metropolitan church of St. John, where they perform divine ſervice. Out of this body they generally take their chaplains both for the great hoſpital of Malta, and for the ſhips and gallies of the order; and they exerciſe the ſame function in the grand maſter's chappel. Notwithſtanding that in all the ſtates of chriſtendom, the clergy have the firſt rank, on account of the dignity of their miniſtry, nevertheleſs the knights, though but meer laymen, take place of the prieſts, and have all the authority in their hands; "quia "omnis poteſtas reſidet in primatibus." We do not find any inſtance of the like government, but among the brothers of the charity, another order of hoſpitallers, where the religious who are prieſts and miniſters at the altar, are ſo far from having any ſhare in the government, that they are entirely dependant on ſuperiours who are meer laymen.

WHAT they call the third claſs, comprehends the ſerving brothers of arms, a body of religious, who without being either prieſts or knights are nevertheleſs obliged, whether they are in the field or in the infirmary, to ſerve under the orders of the knights, and like them make four caravans of ſix months each on board the ſhips of the order. This body of half knights, if we may give them that name, was formerly very numerous and conſiderable, and did great ſervices to the order. There were likewiſe of old, a certain number of commanderies deſigned for them, which the chaplains and the ſerving brothers of arms ſtill enjoy in common at this day, they falling either to the one or the other according

cording to their ſeniority. But for ſome years paſt the number of ſerving brothers of arms is very much leſſened, and a decree has been made to ſuſpend the admitting of any more till further orders.

I PASS over the prieſts of obedience, who without being obliged ever to go to Malta receive the religious habit, make their vows in form, and are afterwards fixed in the particular ſervice of ſome church of the order under the authority of a grand priour or a commander. There are ſtill at Malta ſome ſerving brothers de ſtage, a kind of vaſſals employed in the meaneſt offices of the convent and hoſpitals, details of ſo little conſequence, that I do not think it proper to trouble the reader with them. But this account would be imperfect if I did not ſpeak of the religious dames of this order, of which there are ſeveral nunneries in France, Italy, and Spain. Theſe nuns, before they can be received, are obliged to give the ſame proofs of their noble deſcent as the knights of juſtice: There are even ſome famous nunneries, as that of Sixene in Arragon and Dalgoveira in Catalonia, in which the proofs of * gentility which would be allowed of for the reception of a knight, would not yet be ſufficient for a nun of the choir; and in thoſe two houſes they inſiſt on ſuch a purity and antiquity of gentility in a lady who offers her ſelf, that it exceeds the degrees which the ſtatutes require for the reception of the knights of juſtice.

ARTICLE II.

Of the reception of the brother knights.

IF we take the word chevalerie or chivalry, in the general notion that firſt preſents it ſelf, 'tis a profeſſion of ſerving on horſeback in war: which among moſt nations has been always a mark of gentility to diſtinguiſh perſons of a noble extraction from thoſe of a plebeian birth. The quality of chevalier or knight was in the middle age confined to ſuch noble perſons, as either before or after an engagement, had deſerved to receive the order of chivalry or knighthood from their general as a teſtimony and recompence of their valour: And it was generally conferred in the field by the generals giving them a kiſs and girding a ſword about them. But this honourable diſtinction was never granted but to martial men, deſcended from ancient knights and of a military extraction, "ad militarem honorem," ſays the emperour Frederic II. "nullus accedat, qui non ſit de genere militum." Here are two kinds of knighthood, the one entirely of deſcent, genus militare; the other meerly perſonal, militaris honos. Theodore Hæping ſpeaks of this latter knighthood, which is to be acquired only by a man's own valour, when he ſays, that no body is born a knight: "nemo eques naſcitur, ſed per habentem poteſtatem ſolitâ ſub formulâ." So Peter de la Vigne in his life of the emperour Frederic above mentioned, ſays expreſsly, "Licet generis nobilitas in poſteros derivetur, non tamen equeſtris dignitas." To prevent confounding theſe two kinds of knightood, the one which a man derives meerly from his anceſtors, and the other which he acquires only by his own warlike exploits, ſome hiſtorians of the middle age have employed the term (milites) to ſignify knights who were anceſtors of the perſon they ſpeak of, and uſe that of (eques) only

* NB. The word gentility which is made uſe of in ſeveral places in the tranſlation is in the original nobleſſe or nobility.

only to diſtinguiſh the perſon who actually has received the order of knighthood.

THE knights of St. John of Jeruſalem, in their military inſtitution, kept ſtrictly to this uſage. All the remains we have in France, and in the regiſters of the priories of the three languages of this nation, of the names of the old knights of that order, ſhew plainly that they were all deſcended from warlike anceſtors and gentlemen both by name and the arms they bore. But as in proceſs of time different cuſtoms aroſe, and that every nation fancied they had a right to determine, and even extend the nature of gentility, as well as fix the proofs of it, the chief magiſtracies and ſeveral civil officers have obtained in France and Italy the ſame advantages as a gentility wholly military, ſo that in theſe two nations they actually receive perſons for knights who would be refuſed in Germany. This obliges me to enter into a detail of the different proofs which are required in moſt of the languages to ſhew the nobility of all ſuch preſentees as offer themſelves to be admitted into the order in quality of knights of juſtice: and as the kingdom of France alone comprehends three languages, and conſequently furniſhes more knights than any other country, I ſhall give a ſhort account of the different rules which they have obſerved at different times in the reception of the knights.

Provence, Auvergne, France.

IF we may give credit to perſons who are well skilled in heraldry, the uſe of coats of arms is derived from the cruſades. So many croſſes of different figures, as we ſee in the eſcutcheons of the ancient gentry are a ſufficient proof of this fact: and the colours, the enamels, the vaire and the contrevaire that we meet there, owe their original to the furrs which thoſe warriours uſed for an ornament to their coats of arms. The generality of them went to the holy land on purpoſe to receive the order of knighthood; and they thought themſelves more than recompenced for the perils and fatigues of ſo long a voyage, if in any battle fought againſt the infidels, they had but received the kiſs from a a prince or general and been dubbed a knight. The military order, whoſe hiſtory I have been writing, was founded upon the ſame principle, and formed upon the ſame model. They admitted none for knights but ſuch as before their entrance into the order, had either themſelves been graced with that title, or who were at leaſt deſcended of ancient knights: ſo that we may look upon this part of the order of St. John as a cruſade compoſed entirely of gentry. Anciently Jeruſalem and the holy land were the only places where they received all ſuch knights as dedicated themſelves to this holy order of knighthood. We find that gentlemen ſent their ſons thither very young to be brought up in the head convent of the order, in hopes that they would be there formed alike for piety, and the art of war; but they never received theſe young gentlemen unleſs they brought with them an authentick teſtimony of their noble extraction, atteſted by the priours of the country where they were born: and before their ſetting out, theſe priours were likewiſe to give them letters of recommendation, and a promiſe that they ſhould receive the habits of the order and be admitted to make their vows as ſoon as ever they came to the ſtatutable age for being made knights, which among the ſeculars was ſettled at the twentieth year. "Nullus" ſays a ſtatute of the order made in 1144, "ex hoſpitali

" miles fieri requirat, niſi, antequam habitum religionis aſſumeret, ex-
" titerit ei promiſſum: & tunc quando in illa erit conſtitutus ætate, in
" qua ſæcularis officii miles poſſit fieri: nihilominus tamen filii nobili-
" um in domo hoſpitali nutriti, cùm ad ætatem militarem pervenerint,
" de voluntate magiſtri & præceptoris, & de conſilio fratrum pote-
" runt militia inſigniri."

We have already obſerved, that the young knights were at firſt received in no other place but the head convent of the order; but the recruits they wanted to ſupply the place of ſuch as were continually loſing their lives in fighting againſt the infidels, obliged the chapters and ſupreme councils of the order to conſent, that they might, after the proofs of their gentility had been examined, give the habit to novices in the grand priories on this ſide the ſea; and as the ill practice of contracting unequal marriages with women of mean birth and condition, had not yet crept into noble families, all the atteſtations of the gentility of the preſentee went no farther than the mentioning his father and mother's name, who were juſtly ſuppoſed to be deſcended of gentlemen by name as well as arms. A proof of this may be ſeen in the liſt that will be given at the end of this diſcourſe, when it will appear that in 1355 the date where the oldeſt regiſters of the grand priory of France begin, they never received any body but gentlemen, whoſe names and families were known, and even diſtinguiſhed in their ſeveral provinces.

But this very gentry, which till that time had preſerved it ſelf unſullied, being reduced to narrow circumſtances by expences that are unavoidable in war, was ſoon forced for their ſupport, to proſtitute as it were their noble blood by contracting marriages below them; and lords and gentlemen by name as well as arms began to debaſe themſelves in marrying rich plebeians. The fear, leſt theſe unequal matches ſhould bring the order into contempt by the reception of knights deſcended of them, engaged the whole body to make a regulation, requiring that an authentick inſtrument ſhould be drawn up in writing with legal proofs to ſhew the legitimacy and deſcent of the perſon preſented; and the like proofs were to be produced with reſpect to his father, mother, grandfather, grandmother, great grandfather and great grandmother, for upwards of an hundred years, with a blazon of theſe eight quarters annexed to the inſtrument; and the perſon preſented was likewiſe to prove that his great grandfathers had been generally reputed gentlemen of name as well as arms. This laſt article of the ſtatute is ſtill in force at this day, or is at leaſt kept up in the form of the inſtrument. But the proof of this laſt qualification required with reſpect to the great grandfathers does not ſeem to me very eaſy to be given in France by knights who have no other ſtem from whence they can derive their gentility but a petty ſecretary of the king's, * a gentleman of the town-hall, a mayor or alderman of ſome of thoſe towns which entitle their magiſtrates to the rank of gentlemen: And I cannot poſſibly comprehend how a man who has no other ſource of his gentility but one of theſe offices, which after all convey it no lower than a grandſon, can be employed in a genealogy in the proofs of a great grandfather, as if he was a gentleman by name as well as arms; how he can paſs for a gentleman of ancient race who ſtopped, by dint of money only, the plebeian blood that was creeping in his veins, and who was never ſeen to draw

* Un noble de la cloche.

draw his ſword in the ſervice of his country. Nor is it leſs difficult to account for, how the quality required in a great grandfather of being a gentleman by name as well as arms, can ſometimes be applied to a tradeſman who is ennobled by an office in the law, without giving an unnatural and forced interpretation to that title: and it is very extraordinary to pretend that a magiſtrate's robe ought to be put upon the ſame level with a warriour's coat of arms, and to annex the privileges of true nobility to that robe.

HOWEVER, notwithſtanding this difficulty, which after all ariſes only from an unwillingneſs to alter any thing in the old ſtile of the ſtatutes, we muſt needs own that they are very exact and ſtrict with reſpect to the proofs which they require of gentility for the eight quarters of the preſentee. Theſe proofs muſt be teſtimonial, literal, local and ſecret, which it will be proper for us to explain in a more particular manner.

THE firſt proof is called teſtimonial, becauſe it ariſes from the teſtimony of four perſons of noble extraction, who ought to be gentlemen of name as well as arms. The commiſſioners, who are generally old commanders, make them take a ſolemn oath to ſpeak the truth, and likewiſe interrogate them ſeparately. If there be any thing that can make this kind of proof ſuſpected it is, that in France, the perſon preſented, or his relations generally provide theſe witneſſes.

THE ſecond proof is called literal, becauſe it is taken from writings, deeds, contracts, acknowledgments of tenures, and ſurveys which the perſon preſented produces: upon which it may be proper to obſerve, that though marriage writings and wills are neceſſary to a full proof of the deſcent and ſtatutableneſs of the perſon preſented, yet theſe kind of writings are not ſufficient to prove his gentility, by reaſon of the opportunity notaries have of furniſhing the parties contracting with any titles and qualities which they pleaſe to beſtow on themſelves, without ever examining whether they are really due to them or not. But in defect of theſe writings, which amount to no more than a bare declaration, without any legal proof, they have recourſe to the partition of lands of a noble tenure, to deeds of guardianſhip, to grants of the wardſhip of lands held in capite, to acts of fealty and homage, to acknowledgements of vaſſalage and ſurveys, to commiſſions, warrants, and grants of poſts and dignities that either imply gentility, or entitle a man to it, to ſummons for attending the king in the field, and laſtly, to monuments, epitaphs, coats of arms, glaſs-windows, and ancient eſcutcheons in churches.

THE third proof is called local, becauſe the commiſſioners are obliged to go to the very place of the perſons nativity, and when they are deſirous of being exact, they ought to go likewiſe into the country from whence this family came originally, and to the very place whence theſe his anceſtors came who he pretends were gentlemen by name as well as arms, or, if this place is very remote and lies in another priory, to ſend to the priour of that diſtrict to make the enquiries and take the examinations neceſſary in this caſe.

THE fourth kind of proof is derived from a ſecret enquiry which the commiſſioners make unknown to the perſon preſented: they do not inſiſt that the witneſſes ſhould be gentlemen like the four firſt; in this choice regard is only had to their probity. When theſe four kinds

of

of proofs appear to be ſubſtantial, and conſiſtent with one another, the commiſſioners draw up an inſtrument in form containing an account of them, which is carried to the chapter of the prioury: from thence it paſſes into the hands of two new commiſſioners, who examine whether all the rules preſcribed by the ſtatutes have been exactly obſerved in theſe informations, and when it appears that nothing has been omitted, this inſtrument with its proofs, and the blazon of the eight quarters is ſent to Malta, from whence there comes a warrant to give the habit of the order to the preſentée. We have already obſerved, that with regard to the three languages of the kingdom of France, viz. Provence, Auvergne, and France, the ſtatutes and the preſent practice require that the preſentee prove his great grandfathers by the father and mother's ſide were gentlemen by name as well as arms: which forms, as was before obſerved, the eight quarters of gentility.

IN the language of Italy they are obliged to produce no more than four quarters: but every one of theſe, viz. that of the father and mother, and that of the grandmother by the father and mother's ſide, muſt have a known gentility of 200 years, and it muſt be proved that every one of theſe four families have had the quality of gentlemen for 200 years paſt. In like manner they require only the blazon and the arms of theſe four families, without going, as they do in France, ſo far upwards as the great grandmother. We muſt likewiſe obſerve with regard to the language of Italy, that in the commonwealths of Genoa and Lucca, and the grand duke's territories, traffick and the trade of banking are not any way derogatory to a perſon as in the other priories of the ſame language, and in all the other languages of the order. We are told that they are not a jot more ſcrupulous upon this article at Rome and all over the pope's dominions, than they are at Genoa and Florence: upon which the following reflection may very well be made, viz. that this is making knights of a very baſe allay.

WITH regard to the languages of Arragon and Caſtile, the candidate is firſt to preſent the names of his four quarters, i. e. of his father and mother, and his grandmothers both by the father and mother's ſide, and to expreſs in his petition the places from whence theſe four families originally came: whereupon the chapter of the priory to which he applies himſelf, diſpatch ſome commiſſioners ſecretly to go upon the ſpot and inform themſelves whether theſe families are reputed noble, and whether they do not deſcend originally from jewiſh or mahometan anceſtors. If the report of theſe ſecret commiſſioners is favourable to the preſentee, they appoint others to take authentick informations from the lords and perſons of the greateſt quality in each quarter: and theſe commiſſioners uſually take all the care poſſible to ſurprize ſuch as they have a mind to interrogate, that they may not be prepared before-hand. The depoſitions of theſe lords and gentlemen are judged to be ſufficient, and they do not inſiſt on writings or ſettlements as in France. So that all the proof of gentility in the provinces of Spain conſiſts in informations and interrogatories with reſpect to the four quarters. They however do not fail to viſit the churches where there are any monuments, epitaphs, or other marks of honour of the anceſtors of the preſentée, and to examine whether their coats of arms are the ſame with his. For beſides the authentick proof which they inſiſt on of the religion and gentility of the preſentee from the fourth generation,

ration, he is obliged to preſent on a ſheet of paper an eſcutcheon bearing quarterly the arms of the four families which he produces for the proof of his gentility.

WITH regard to Portugal which makes part of the language of Caſtile, they have no occaſion to take the ſecret and preliminary informations concerning the quality of the families of the four quarters; becauſe by virtue of an old cuſtom eſtabliſhed by the kings of that nation, the names of all the noble families of the kingdom are carefully preſerved in publick regiſters, and if the four quarters from which the candidate pretends to be deſcended are not inſerted in them, they never proceed to the publick information.

THERE is not in the whole order of Malta any language or nation where the proofs are more rigorous, or made with greater exactneſs than in Germany. In this the natural ſons and baſtards of ſovereign princes are not admitted to be knights of juſtice, as is practiſed in the other languages. The legitimate children alſo of chief magiſtrates, though their families have been always reputed noble, are in like manner excluded, becauſe their gentility is deemed to be a civil gentility, and for that reaſon unqualified to enter into a body where they admit only a military gentility by name as well as arms: and the cuſtom of the language of Germany is to inſiſt on proofs of 16 quarters before any knight can be received, and the very ſame proofs which they require in the noble collegiate bodies of that nation. The gentlemen that depoſe as witneſſes, aſſert upon oath that theſe 16 quarters are very noble; that the genealogy which the candidate has given in is a faithful one, and proved by authentick writings, and that all the quarters produced are of families already received in the Aſſemblies of the circles, and qualified to be admitted into all the noble collegiate bodies. The blood from which a man muſt be deſcended ought to run in a very pure ſtream, and all the alliances of it muſt be very noble, otherwiſe there is no making proof of theſe 16 quarters. And at the ſame time they are ſo very rigid in this language, that they would not let a ſingle quarter paſs that had been refuſed in any collegiate body: which has given occaſion to a ſaying, viz. that if a ſon of the grand ſeignior's was to be converted and deſire to be received as a knight in the language of Germany, he could not be admitted in it, as well for want of legitimacy, as for the difficulty he would have to prove 16 quarters on the woman's ſide.

WHEN a knight hath made all his proofs, he may be received at three different ages. He is received as of age at 16, though he is not obliged to go to Malta till he is 20, and he pays about 260 crowns of gold, worth about an hundred pence each for paſſage-fees. Secondly, they may enter themſelves as pages to the grand maſter, and are received as ſuch at twelve years of age, and quit it at 15: the paſſage-fees for a young page are almoſt the ſame as thoſe which are paid when a perſon is received of age. In fine, within theſe hundred years they have made knights of minority, children in their very cradles; a very modern practice, which the paſſion of parents for the advancement of their children has rendered very common: the occaſion of it ſhall be related in few words.

WHEN the order was in poſſeſſion of the iſle of Rhodes, there was in the city of that name, a place called the Collachium, or the Cloiſter, a quarter ſet apart for the lodgings of the religious only, and divided

from the dwellings of the ſecular inhabitants. In the general chapter held at Malta in 1631, it was reſolved that they ſhould build a cloiſter of the ſame nature; a project which could not be put in execution without a fund of 100000 crowns. As the treaſury was very low, they reſolved, for the ſupplying of what was wanting, to grant an hundred diſpenſations for receiving 100 young children into the order, upon condition that they gave 1000 crowns a-piece for their paſſage-fees, beſides ſome other ſmall fees. Theſe hundred diſpenſations were preſently filled; but the collachium was not built: the money ariſing from this ſcheme was employed upon other occaſions, and this contrivance has been found to be ſo convenient, that in default of a general chapter, they have recourſe to the authority of the popes, the firſt ſuperiours of the order, who by particular briefs which they iſſue out authorize this reception of minors, on condition of paying 333 piſtoles and a third, at the currant rate of ſpaniſh piſtoles for their paſſage-fees. This entrance-money is called Paſſage-Fees, and owes its original to a ſum of money which a young gentleman who was deſirous of going to take the habit at Jeruſalem or at Rhodes, formerly paid to the maſter that carried him thither.

THIS is pretty near the form obſerved in the reception of the knights of juſtice, and in the proofs which are required of their gentility. As for the chaplains or conventual brothers, and the ſerving brothers of arms, who are not tied up to ſuch kind of proofs, they are however obliged to ſhew that they are born of honeſt parents, who never were ſervants, or practiſed any vile or mechanick art; that their fathers, mothers, and grandfathers, by both father and mother's ſide, as well as they themſelves were all born in lawful wedlock. Theſe ſerving brothers, whether of the church or of arms, though born of parents who had no title to gentility, do nevertheleſs, in quality of religious, make up part of the body of the order in conjunction with the knights of juſtice, and are called to the grand maſter's election in which they have their votes. The chaplains have this further advantage, viz. that the biſhop of Malta and the priour of the church of St. John are taken out of their body, and have the firſt place in council after the grand maſter, or in his abſence, after his lieutenant. But they are the only perſons of theſe two laſt claſſes who have any ſhare in the government, all the authority being lodged in the hands of the knights of Juſtice. However to make them ſome amends, they have aſſigned them ſome commanderies to which they ſucceed by turns, according to their rank and ſeniority from the time of their reception: they are likewiſe entertained, and have their table like the knights in the inns of their reſpective languages.

THERE are at Malta ſeven palaces which they call Inns, where all the religious, both knights and ſerving brothers, and the novices of the ſeven languages as well as ſuch as are actually profeſſed have their tables. The commanders who are ſuppoſed to be rich enough to ſubſiſt on the revenues of their commanderies are very ſeldom there: every head or pillier of an inn has a conſiderable apartment in it. The treaſury of the order furniſhes him a ſum either in money, corn or oil for the diet of the religious of his inn. His own particular table is ſerved with a plenty that ſpreads it ſelf over the tables about it: but with all this the religious would often make but ſorry cheer, if the pillier of the inn did not

out

out of his own purſe ſupply what was wanting in the allowance from the treaſury. But as thoſe who have the keeping of the inn have a right to the firſt dignity that becomes vacant in their language, they all ſtrive either by thriftineſs or by borrowing of their friends, to procure wherewithal to keep houſe with credit. Whenever the inn becomes vacant either by the pillier's death, or by his promotion to an higher dignity, the oldeſt knight of the language ſucceeds him. They have no regard whether he is a commander or a private knight; all they conſider is only whether he be the ſenior knight of his language; that he owe nothing to the treaſury; and in caſe he enjoys any of the orders eſtates, that he has made improvements on them and given in his terrier or account of their rents; that he has kept a ten year's reſidence in the convent; in fine, that he, by virtue of his ſeniority, has demanded the vacant dignity, which though it be burdenſome, is nevertheleſs always courted, becauſe it is ever a path that leads to another which has revenues ſufficient to make them an ample ſatisfaction for all the expence they have been at.

'Tis for the ſame reaſon that ſome young knights, as ſoon as they have made their caravans, deſire leave to fit out gallies, in hopes of getting a commandery the ſooner. For though the order is always at part of the expence of ſuch armaments, it nevertheleſs coſts theſe young knights very conſiderable ſums out of their own pockets, in the hopes they entertain of being indemnified by a commandery of courteſy, which they generally receive from the bounty of the grand maſters.

For the defraying of ſo many different expences as the order is obliged to be at, either for the maintenance of the knights, the ſupport of the hoſpital, or the keeping up of forces by ſea and land, they have funds ariſing from the prizes which they take from the infidels, from the paſſage-fees, mortuaries, and revenues of vacant dignities. A mortuary is the perſonal eſtate of a deceaſed knight, and if he be a commander, it takes in the revenue of the reſt of the year from the time of his death to the firſt of May following. The profits of vacancies go likewiſe to the order, and continue a year longer. In fine, the moſt ſubſtantial revenue the order has conſiſts in the reſponſions which they levy upon the priories, bailywicks, and commanderies: employments and dignities, each of which will now be treated of in particular.

ARTICLE III.

Of the dignities, priories, bailywicks, and commanderies appropriated to the knights of juſtice.

IN the hiſtory preceeding this diſſertation we have ſeen that the order is divided into eight languages, viz. Provence, Auvergne, France, Italy, Arragon, England, Germany and Caſtile, to each of which a particular dignity is annexed. Provence enjoys that of great commander. The marſhal is always taken from that of Auvergne. The language of France has that of great hoſpitaller. The admiral is taken from that of Italy. The drapier, who is now ſtiled the great conſervator, is of the language of Arragon. The turcopolier, or general of the horſe, was formerly of the language of England, but ſince the change of religion in that kingdom, the grand maſter's ſeneſchal is inveſted with this title.

title. The poſt of grand bailiff belongs to the language of Germany, and that of great chancellour to the language of Caſtile.

In the language of provence there are two priories, viz. St. Giles and Toulouſe, with the bailywick of Manoſque. There are 54 commanderies in the priory of St. Giles, and 35 in the grand priory of Toulouſe.

The language of Auvergne has but one grand priory, which bears the ſame name, and the bailywick of Lions, which was anciently called the bailywick of Lurveul: there are 40 commanderies of knights, and eight of ſerving brothers within this priory.

The language of France has three grand priories. The grand priory of France contains 45 commanderies, that of Aquitain 65, and the grand priory of Champagne 24.

There is likewiſe in the ſame language the bailywick of the Morea, the title of which is annexed to St. John de Lateran at Paris, and the poſt of great treaſurer united to the commandery of St. John de Corbeil.

In Italy the grand priour of Rome has 19 commanderies under him, the priour of Lombardy 45, the priour of Venice 27, the priours of Barletto and Capua have 25 together, the priour of Meſſina 12, the priour of Piſa 26, and the bailiffs of St. Euphemia, St. Stephen's of Monopoli, the Trinity of Venuſia, and of St. John de Naples, are comprehended in the language of Italy.

Arragon, Catalonia, and Navarre compoſe the language of Arragon.

The grand priour of Arragon, commonly called in hiſtory the caſtellan of Empoſta, has 29 commanderies within his diſtrict, the priour of Catalonia 28, and the priour of Navarre 17: the bailywick of Majorca is of this language, and the bailiff of Caps in Africa depends likewiſe upon it. But this bailywick has been loſt to the order ever ſince the loſs of Tripoli and its adjoining territory.

The language of England and Scotland comprehended formerly the priory of England or of St. John of London, and that of Ireland: there were in this priory 32 commanderies, beſides the bailywick of l'Aigle, or of the Eagle.

The grand priour of Germany is prince of the Holy Empire, and reſides at Heiterſhexm. He has in High as well as Low Germany 67 commanderies in his dependance, beſides the priours of Bohemia and Hungary, and the bailywick of Sonneberg, which is now in the hands of the lutherans.

Caſtile, the kingdoms of Leon and Portugal, compoſe what is called the language of Caſtile. Under the priours of Caſtile and Leon, are 27 commanderies, and that of Portugal, called the priory of Crato, has 31, beſides the bailiwyck of la Bouëde. The title (in partibus) of the bailiff of Negrepont is common to the languages of Caſtile and Arragon: ſo that there are actually near 500 commanderies in the order, beſides the priories and bailywicks. The commanderies and all the eſtates of the order, in what country ſoever they live, are the property of the body of the order. Formerly they were let out to receivers and ſecular farmers who paid the rent of their leaſes to the common treaſury: but as the city of Jeruſalem and afterwards the iſle of Rhodes lay at a great diſtance, theſe ſecular farmers took advantage of it, and proved very unfaithful, for which reaſon the management of theſe eſ-

tates

tates were afterwards entruſted to the grand priours in their ſeveral diſtricts. This was at firſt no more than a truſt and a bare adminiſtration; but they ſoon began to conſider it as their property, and under one pretence or other, and ſometimes without any at all, they conſumed all the revenues of the order. This male adminiſtration obliged the general chapters, and in their default the council to have recourſe to a new expedient: they appointed a knight of known probity and diſintereſtedneſs to ſuperintend over each particular mannour or portion of eſtate which the order had in the ſame canton or diſtrict. But they held this adminiſtration from the council, only (durante bene placito). The order likewiſe ſometimes required him to take care of the education of ſome young knights probationers, and there was always a brother chaplain to ſay maſs in this little community. They were forbidden going beyond the limits of their houſe, without leave firſt obtained from the knight who was the ſuperiour of it: and ſuch as were found to tranſgreſs, were arreſted and put in priſon. This ſuperiour in ancient writings was called Preceptour, and afterwards Commander; a name which imported no more than that the education of theſe young knights, and the management of the poſſeſſions of the order were recommended to his care. He was impowered to take out of theſe revenues a portion ſufficient for the ſubſiſting of his community, and aſſiſting the poor of his diſtrict; and he was obliged to ſend to the common treaſury a certain ſum yearly which was always proportioned to the revenue of the commandery. This quit-rent was called a Reſponſion, the uſe of which is continued to this day: general chapters have a right of augmenting theſe reſponſions in times of war, and according to the wants and occaſions of the order. I cannot ſay whether theſe little communities above-mentioned were ſuppreſſed in order for the drawing off more conſiderable reſponſions from the commanderies, or whether a ſpirit of diviſion ariſing among them they dwindled away of themſelves. That which appears more certain is, that they left the adminiſtration of a commandery to a ſingle knight, whom they ſometimes required to pay certain penſions, which ſerved in lieu of the ſuſtenance he was obliged to furniſh to thoſe knights who dwelt with him. At laſt, to obviate all caballing and purſuit of employments, which might have very fatal conſequences in a military body, they reſolved to confide the adminiſtration of theſe commanderies to the knights according to their ſeniority; but in order to keep them ſtill in that juſt dependance which they owed their ſuperiours, they entruſted them with the commanderies, on the foot only of a bare adminiſtration for a certain time limited by the council, (ad decem annos, & amplius, ad beneplacitum noſtrhm;) as the commiſſions iſſued out of the chancery of Malta for this purpoſe expreſsly declare; by which 'tis evident that theſe adminiſtrations might be taken away.

EXPRESSIONS in ſuch poſitive and explicit terms prove undeniably that commanderies are no abſolute poſſeſſions or benefices, but meer conceſſions for which the adminiſtratour was accountable to the publick treaſury of the order, and liable to be turned out in caſe either of male adminiſtration, or if irregularity in his life and converſation. The ſtatutes (de prohibitionibus & pœnis) ſay expreſsly, that if a knight be juſtly ſuſpected of entertaining a looſe commerce with a woman, and continues it after having been admoniſhed of it, he ſhall be immediately

ately ejected from his commandery, and all other poſſeſſions of the order, and without the leaſt formality of trial or proſecution. The ſame penalty is denounced in this ſtatute againſt duellers, uſurers, all thoſe who forſweare themſelves, and againſt all ſuch receivers of the order as were guilty of any prevarication in their accompts. "Statim, non ex- "pectatâ aliâ ſententiâ, commendis, membris, & penſionibus privati cen- ſeantur, & ſint."

But withal from the ſame ſpirit of regularity and juſtice, if a commander has given no ſcandal to any one in his commandery; if he, like a good father of a family, has taken care of the eſtate entruſted to his adminiſtration; if he has been exact in paying the reſponſions that are to be remitted into the common treaſury; if he has taken all due care of, and rebuilt the churches and buildings that depended on his commandery; if he has made an exact terrar, i. e. given a juſt court-roll of all the lands that hold under his fiefs, in the terms preſcribed by the ſtatutes: in fine, if, agreeable to the ſpirit of his order and his own obligations, he has taken great care of the poor; the order, like a good mother, takes care to reward his exactitude; and after five years continuance in ſuch an adminiſtration, if any more conſiderable commandery falls vacant, allows him to (emeutir or) have his option of it in his turn, according to his ſeniority.

But he is firſt of all, after having been five years in poſſeſſion of his firſt commandery, to get his language to appoint commiſſioners to take an account of the good order in which they have found the buildings and the lands, and to draw it up in an inſtrument in form: this is called making his Improvements; and if this verbal proceſs be received and approved at Malta, the commander may be advanced to a richer commandery. 'Tis to this wiſe precaution that the order is indebted for the preſervation of its eſtates and buildings: every commander, in hopes of acquiring a greater eſtate, taking the utmoſt care of that which is entruſted to his adminiſtration.

The knights, beſides the commanderies, may arrive at the great dignities of the order, according to their ſeniority and merit. I have already ſpoke of the grand priours, who are the ſuperiours of all the religious that reſide within their priories. They are directed to have a watchful eye over their conduct, and to ſee that the poſſeſſions of the order be juſtly managed; they preſide in provincial chapters, and in their abſence are to name a lieutenant, who in that capacity takes place of all the knights of the petty croſs.

There are three kinds of bailiffs in the order, viz. the conventual, the capitulary, and the bailiffs by courteſy and "ad honores." The conventual bailiffs are ſo called becauſe they are bound to reſide in the convent. They are choſen by the languages, and are likewiſe their chiefs, and pilliers of the inns. They are the firſt knights after the grand maſter: and though this dignity generally "s'emeutiſſe" or paſſes by option according to ſeniority, they yet are not ſo abſolutely tied up to this rule, but the languages and the council may take a liberty of chuſing any perſon whom they think moſt deſerving.

Great commander.

As the language of Provence is the firſt of the order, it enjoys the firſt dignity in it, which is that of great commander. This conventual bailiff is by his poſt preſident of the publick treaſury and the court of exchequer. He has likewiſe the ſupreme direction of the magazines, the

the arſenal and the artillery; he names their officers with the good liking of the grand maſter and council, and he takes them out of what language he pleaſes. His authority extends even to the church of St. John, ſeveral officers of which he names: he has the ſame right in the infirmary, and chuſes the petty commander, whoſe office is to aſſiſt in viſiting the medicines of the hoſpital.

Great marſhal.

THE dignity of marſhal is the ſecond of the order, and is annexed to the language of Auvergne, of which he is the chief and the pillier. In military affairs he commands all the religious, except the great croſſes, their lieutenants and the chaplains. In time of war he gives the great ſtandard of the order to any knight whom he thinks moſt worthy of it: he has a right of naming the firſt equerry; and when he is at ſea, he commands the general of the gallies, and even the high admiral.

Great hoſpitaller.

THE care of the poor and ſick being the firſt deſign of the inſtitution of the order, and the baſis as it were of their profeſſion, the treaſury maintains an hoſpital at Malta, the charge of which amounts to 50000 crowns per annum. This hoſpital is under the jurisdiction of the great hoſpitaller, who is the third conventual bailiff, and the chief and pillier of the language of France. He nominates the overſeer of the infirmary, who is always to be a knight of juſtice, the priour of the infirmary, and two ſcribes, all officers of but two years continuance, and preſents them to the council for their approbation: but for all other employments about the hoſpital he diſpoſes of them by his ſole authority.

High admiral.

THE admiral is chief of the language of Italy: in the marſhal's abſence and at ſea he commands the ſoldiers as well as the ſeamen: he names the inſpector and the ſcribe of the arſenal; and whenever he demands the generalſhip of the gallies, the grand maſter is obliged to propoſe it to the council, who either admit or refuſe him as they ſee proper.

The turcopolier.

BEFORE England, Scotland, and Ireland had ſeparated from the church of Rome and embraced the proteſtant doctrines, the turcopolier was the chief of that language. He, in that quality, had the command of the cavalry and the marine guards. Turcopole was a word uſed anciently in the Levant, and ſignified a light horſe or kind of dragoon. As this dignity was aboliſhed upon the ſeizure of the eſtates of the order in thoſe iſles, part of the functions of the turcopolier have been given to the grand maſter's feneſchal.

The grand bailiff.

THE grand bailiff is chief of the language of Germany. His juriſdiction extends it ſelf over the fortifications of the old city, the ancient capital of the iſland. He hath the ſame authority over the caſtle of Goza: the grand bailiffs having, during the time that the order had the ſovereignty of Rhodes, enjoyed the like poſt with regard to the caſtle of St. Peter in Caria, as may be ſeen in the hiſtory.

The high chancellour.

THE dignity of chancellour is annexed to the pillier of Caſtile, Leon and Portugal. The chancellour preſents the vice-chancellour to the council: He is obliged to be preſent when any bulls are ſealed with the ordinary ſeal, and ſign the originals himſelf. 'Tis expreſsly required by the 35th chapter de bajulis, that he be able to write and read.

Bp. of Malta and priour of the church.

BESIDES theſe conventual bailiffs, who are the chiefs and pilliers of the order, they have admitted the biſhop of Malta and the priour of the church of St. John, in the ſame quality: theſe dignities are com-

mon

mon to all the languages, and the prelates who enjoy them get over the default with reſpect to birth, "a defectu natalium" though they are choſe out of the body of chaplains, who by their rank are excluded from all the dignities of the order.

4. THE emperour Charles V, in his deed of conveyance of the iſles of Malta and Goza to the order, reſerved to himſelf and his ſucceſſours in the kingdom of Sicily, the advowſon of the biſhoprick: and it was agreed, that in caſe of a vacancy of the ſee, the order ſhould be obliged to preſent to him and his ſucceſſours kings of Sicily, three religious in prieſts orders, one of which was to be born in Sicily, and that theſe princes ſhould have the liberty of chuſing any one of the three whom they ſhould beſt approve.

THE priour of the church of St. John is deemed the prelate and ordinary of all the religious: he likewiſe officiates pontifically in his own church and in all thoſe of Malta which are ſerved by the chaplains of the order, and preceeds the biſhop there. When this dignity becomes vacant, the council allow the chaplains to meet and confer about the choice of his ſucceſſour. They even go ſo far as to vote for one: this being done, they carry the ſcrutiny to the council, who without any regard to ſuch as had the greateſt number of voices in the meeting of the chaplains, determine by their own votes who ſhall ſucceed to this dignity, which gives the priour, in the ſame manner as the biſhop, the firſt place in the chapters and councils, in quality of conventual bailliffs.

OF theſe ſeven conventual bailiffs, four at leaſt ought always to be reſidents in the convent; nor can any one of them be abſent without leave from a full council. To obtain which, they muſt have at leaſt two thirds of votes; and in their abſence, the languages who can't be without theſe heads, name immediately lieutenants to ſupply their places. When one of theſe pilliers is general of the gallies, and goes to ſea, his language, notwithſtanding his being abſent for the ſervice of the order, names in like manner his lieutenant, whoſe authority ceaſes as ſoon as ever the general returns into the harbour.

ALTHOUGH the capitulary bailiffs are not like, the conventual ones, obliged to an actual reſidence in the convent, yet there is no holding a general chapter without theſe great croſſes or their lieutenants. They are likewiſe obliged to aſſiſt at all provincial chapters, or at leaſt to ſend a knight thither to repreſent them. This ſecond kind of bailiffs are not capable of being made conventual bailiffs, becauſe the one are to reſide in the convent, and the others in the priory, where their bailywick lies. Of all theſe capitulary bailiffs there was not any one, the bailiff of Brandenburgh excepted, who, like the grand priours, had any commanders under his juriſdiction. This bailywick had formerly 13 that depended on it: but ſince its falling into the hands of the proteſtants, ſix of theſe commanderies have been ſuppreſſed by the lutherans. There are however ſtill ſeven left whoſe titles and revenues are preſerved, but they are in the hands of the proteſtants. Theſe lutheran commanders however wear the croſs, and aſſume the name of knights; they likewiſe chuſe their own bailiff, who names to the commanderies. Several of theſe pretended commanders have beſought the grand maſters to ſuffer them to be received at Malta, and make their caravans on board the gallies of the order: but the difference in worſhip was an invincible

obſtacle

obſtacle to their admiſſion into a catholick ſociety. Some, when they could not obtain leave to fight under the banner of the order, have, from a principle of conſcience, gone to make their caravans in Hungary againſt the turks, at the time when the country was the ſeat of war. 'Tis likewiſe ſaid, that out of the ſame motive they have ſometimes ſent conſiderable ſums to Malta by way of reſponſions: but no regard was ever had to theſe ſeeming acts of ſubmiſſion and attachment to the body of the order; and the title of bailiff off Brandenburg is emeuti, or goes by option and ſeniority in the language of Germany, in the ſame manner as a great many other capitulary bailywicks in the other languages of the order, notwithſtanding the eſtates and revenues are actually poſſeſſed by the infidels or proteſtants. All theſe dignities were formerly common to all the languages in general without any diſtinction, and laſted but from one general chapter to the next; the chapter diſpoſing of them to perſons of the greateſt merit. But ſince the end of the fourteenth century, they have been conferred in the languages only to which they were annexed. The knights, who are inveſted with them, wear upon their breaſt a great octangular croſs of white linnen cloth, and take place of the knights of the little croſs, though the latter ſhould chance to be their ſeniors.

THE general chapters ſometimes granted this honourable diſtinction to ſuch private knights as had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their valour againſt the infidels, and done any conſiderable ſervices to the order: they were ſtiled bailiffs by courteſy. When there was no general chapter ſitting, the grand maſter and the council named theſe bailiffs "ad honores" and exerciſed this power for a long while: but as they were continually teazed with recommendations from chriſtian monarchs in favour of knights who indeed were born their ſubjects, but were not thought the moſt deſerving in the order, the grand maſter and council, to get rid of theſe importunities, thought it beſt to give up their right. They fancied that they, by this wiſe precaution, ſhould put a ſtop to the ambition of the knights, but that warm and reſtleſs paſſion put them upon other expedients; they employed the ſame kind of recommendation to the popes, who juſtly conſidering themſelves as the firſt ſuperiours of all the religious orders, ſupplied the default and abſence of a general chapter by their own authority. 'Tis true indeed that the private knights or commanders who thus get themſelves made bailiffs by courteſy by the pope's briefs, do not acquire any particular privilege with regard to other promotions; for when any vacant commanderies or dignities are to be diſpoſed of, they have no right of preceeding private knights who are their ſeniours: ſo that all they get by the recommendation of the princes who interpoſe in their behalf, is no more than the privilege of wearing the great croſs, the right of ſitting in the chapter and the council when they are at Malta, and the taking place of knights who are their ſeniours, in ſome aſſemblies, and days of ceremony: moſt of them empty honours, and that have nothing ſubſtantial in them.

ARTICLE IV.

Of the general chapter, and different councils of the order.

THE order of Malta as it is now ſtiled is a noble republick, partly reſembling that of Venice in its Government, which has more of an ariſtocracy than of any other form. The grand maſter, like another doge, preſideth as the head, but the ſupreme authority is veſted in the general chapter, a tribunal eſtabliſhed ever ſince the foundation of the order for the determining of their warlike preparations, and the redreſſing publick and private grievances: they treat therein of all affairs, whether eccleſiaſtical, civil, or military; they repeal and reform old ſtatutes when the obſervance of them is found inconvenient, and they make new ones, which ſubſiſt without appeal till the next chapter.

IN ancient times theſe famous aſſemblies were held regularly every five years: ſometimes, if the exigence of affairs demanded it, they called them every three years; but in proceſs of time they came to meet only every ten years, and now there has not one been held for near an hundred years, to the great prejudice of their regular and military diſcipline. But as it may happen, which indeed were highly to be wiſhed, that the zeal of the knights and the wiſdom and prudence of the grand maſters may revive the uſage of them, we think it not improper to ſpecify in this place what perſons theſe great aſſemblies were compoſed of, and the form that was obſerved in them, and that particularly becauſe the very ſame dignities, in default of a general chapter, give them a right of ſitting in the councils.

WHEN all the chaplains were arrived from the ſeveral provinces of Chriſtendom in the head convent of the order, whether at Jeruſalem, Rhodes, or Malta, the grand maſter, on the day fixed for opening the chapter, after hearing a maſs of the Holy Ghoſt, entered the hall appointed for the aſſembly; when he took his place under a canopy, upon a throne raiſed three ſteps from the ground, and the members of the chapter, who were dignitaries, to the number of 54, placed themſelves on the two ſides in the following order, viz.

1. The biſhop.
2. The priour of the church.
3. The great commander.
4. The marſhal.
5. The hoſpitaller.
6. The admiral.
7. The great conſervator.
8. The grand bailiff.
9. The great chancellour.
10. The grand priour of St. Giles.
11. The grand priour of Auvergne.
12. The grand priour of France.
13. The grand priour of Aquitaine.
14. The grand priour of Champagne.
15. The grand priour of Toulouſe.
16. The grand priour of Rome.
17. The grand priour of Lombardy.
18. The grand priour of Venice.
19. The grand priour of Piſa.
20. The grand priour of Barletto.
21. The grand priour of Meſſina.
22. The grand priour of Capua.
23. The caſtellon of Empoſta, or the grand priour of Arragon.
24. The grand priour of Crato or Portugal.
25. The grand priour of England.
26. The grand priour of Navarre.
27. The grand priour of Germany.
28. The grand priour of Ireland.

29. The

29. The grand priour of Bohemia. 30. The grand priour of Hungary.
31. The bailiff of St. Euphemia. 32. The grand priour of Catalonia.
33. The bailiff of Negrepont. 34. The bailiff of the Morea.
35. The bailiff of Venuſia. 36. The bailiff of St. Stephens.
37. The bailiff of Majorca. 38. The bailiff of St. John of Naples.
39. The bailiff of Lyons. 40. The bailiff of Manoſque.
41. The bailiff of Brandenburg. 42. The bailiff of Caſpa.
43. The bailiff of Lora. 44. The bailiff of Aquila.
45. The bailiff of Lango and Leza. 46. The bailiff of St. Sepulchre.
47. The bailiff of Cremona. 48. The great treaſurer.
49. The bailliff of Neuvillas. 50. The bailiff of Acre.
51. The bailiff of la Roccella. 52. The bailiff of Armenia.
53. The bailiff of Carloſtad. 54. The bailiff of St. Sebaſtian.

THE ſecond day of the aſſembly of the chapter, the members chuſe by plurality of voices three commanders of three different languages or nations, to examine the proxies of ſuch as repreſent the languages and priories, or are deputed by the priours and bailiffs that are abſent. When their powers have been examined and found good, they are admitted to give their votes; but if they are not drawn in due form, they are excluded the aſſembly. When the number of the members is ſettled, every one of them in his turn, according to his own rank and that of his language, preſents a purſe with five pieces of money, as a mark of his perfect renounciation of all property. The marſhal of the order, from the ſame principle, lays down the great ſtandard, as do likewiſe the great officers, the marks of their reſpective dignities, which they do not reſume till after a new grant from the chapter is firſt obtained. This cuſtom has been practiſed from time immemorial in the order, and cannot be too highly eſteemed, provided it be not degenerated into meer ceremony.

THEY appoint at the ſame time three commiſſioners of three different nations to receive petitions, which are uſually preſented during the three firſt days, and afterwards are either diſpatched or rejected by the general chapter: but as the members that compoſe it are very numerous, and by that means it would take up too much time to examine every particular affair, they therefore refer the conſideration and deciſion of them to a committee of ſixteen of their members who are all commanders.

THE ſeven languages chuſe each of them two by a plurality of voices, and the chapter chuſe two more to repreſent the language of England. Theſe ſixteen commiſſioners being thus elected, take an oath before the grand maſter, who with the reſt of the members of the chapter, make a reciprocal promiſe upon oath to accept and ratify all that ſhall be reſolved on and determined by the ſixteen.

THE committee withdraws to conſider of the matters repreſented in theſe petitions to the chapter. But for fear leſt theſe ſixteen commanders ſhould not be acquainted with the true intereſts of the order, and perhaps leſt they ſhould come to reſolutions contrary to thoſe of the grand maſter, his procuratour, the vice-chancellour, and the ſecretary of the treaſury are admitted into this particular aſſembly, but without any right of voting. The ſixteen alone regulate, ordain, and judge abſolutely, and without appeal all matters which the chapter

refers to their determination: and as these great assemblies are not to continue sitting above a fortnight, if there happen to be any affairs left which they had not time to terminate, they refer them to a new committee, which is called the council of reservations.

BESIDES this provisional and transient council, there are always, in default of a general chapter, four standing councils at Malta, viz. the ordinary, the compleat, the secret, and the criminal councils.

THE ordinary council is composed of the grand master, the conventual bailiff, all the great crosses that are at Malta, the procurators of the languages, and the most antient knight for that of England. In this council they decide all disputes that arise about receptions, pensions, commanderies, dignities, and other matters relating to bulls granted by the order.

THE compleat council differs from the ordinary council, only by the addition of two ancient knights for each language, who before they can have a seat in it, must have resided at least five years in the convent. Appeals lie to this compleat council from the sentences of the ordinary, as well as of the criminal council. 'Tis not long since they introduced a custom of appealing to Rome, whither in default of a general chapter all affairs are insensibly carried. From the court of Rome come all dispensations, knights of minority, knights by courtesy, bailiffs and great crosses by courtesy: and there is just reason to apprehend that their lavish bestowing courtesies on particular persons, will at length ruin the whole body of the order.

IN the secret council, affairs of state, and all sudden and extraordinary cases that require an immediate consideration are treated. When any weighty complaint is made against a knight or any other religious, 'tis laid before, and debated in, the criminal council. The grand master or his lieutenant presides in all these councils, and he only has a right of proposing any matter for them to debate on. When they come to vote in any case, he has two ballots, and when the voices are equal, 'tis his that weighs down the scale.

THERE is still another council, which is commonly called the chamber of the treasury, of which the great commander, chief of the language of provence by virtue of his office, is president. To defray the immense expences, which the order is obliged to be at, they raise funds out of the responsions due from the priories, bailywicks and commanderies, and from the passage fees, mortuaries, and vacancies. A mortuary is the revenue of a commandery for the remaining part of the year, from the day of the commander's decease to the first of May next ensuing, and they call the vacancy the revenue of the whole year, which begins at the said first of May, and ends on the same day of the year following. The prizes which they take from the infidels, are also reckoned among the casual revenues of the order. All these several funds are under the direction of the chamber of the treasury, which cannot meet without the great commander or his lieutenant; and if the great commander or his lieutenant are not satisfied with the debates in this court, they need only withdraw out of the chamber, and the session is immediately dissolved.

THE great commander has two procurators of the treasury for his collegues, who were always chose out of the great crosses. The grand master and council change them every two years, but not both at once, that

that there may be always one left who is acquainted with the affairs and intereſts of the order. The grand maſter, in conſideration of the intereſt he has in the juſt and exact adminiſtration of the revenues of the order, has a procuratour in this chamber, who has a right of voting in it; and whenever he names him, he notifies it to the council.

THIS procuratour, on account of the dignity of the perſon he repreſents, has his place in this council before the conventual conſervatour and the auditor of accompts. The chamber has a power of giving aſſignments to the value of 500 crowns, but when a warrant is to be iſſued for a more conſiderable ſum, it muſt be laid before the council, who order it to be paſſed in the chancery.

THE high treaſurer, or his lieutenant, hath a right of aſſiſting at the accompts which are given to the common treaſury. Antiently the treaſurer was reckoned among the conventual bailiffs, and had the cheſt of the order in his keeping. But this function having been ſince aſſigned to the conventual conſervatour, and the bailiwick annexed to the language of Germany, the poſt of high treaſurer is at preſent no more than a capitulary bailywick appropriated to the language of France.

EACH language names every two years a knight to be auditor of the accompts; but they muſt be confirmed by the ordinary council, where they take take the oath for their office. They take their places according to the rank of the languages they repreſent: Their buſineſs is to go to the chamber as often as they are ſummoned to be preſent, when accompts are given in by the receivers, and all ſuch perſons as are concerned in the adminiſtration of the poſſeſſions of the order.

In treating of the conventual bailiffs we had occaſion to ſpeak of the great conſervator. Antiently his office continued from one general chapter to another; but ſince the time that thoſe aſſemblies appeared to be ſuppreſſed, the compleat council changes him every three years: He is taken out of all the languages by turns: His functions ceaſe at the aſſembly of a general chapter, and are ſuſpended during the vacancy of the maſterſhip.

THE poſt of ſecretary of the treaſury is an office in which a vaſt deal of buſineſs is tranſacted; 'tis he who makes up and balances the accompts in the preſence of the two auditors. He gives out and pays all bills of exchange, and as all the affairs of the treaſury paſs through his hands, they ſcarce ever change him but for very urgent reaſons.

BEFORE the conventual and capitulary dignities were divided amongſt the languages, the general chapters, diſpoſed of them in favour of perſons of the greateſt merit in the order, without regarding what nation they were of. But ever ſince the year 1466, they have been appropriated to particular languages: And the pilliers or conventual bailiffs above-mentioned, when they are not filled up, have a right of demanding the firſt dignities that become vacant: Thus in the language of provence, the great commander may demand, either the grand priory of St. Giles, or the grand priory of Toulouſe, or the Bailywick of Manoſque. In the language of Auvergne, the great marſhal has a right to the grand priory of that name, or to the bailywick of Lyons: but when he is once poſſeſſed of one of theſe dignities, he has no option with regard to any other. Notwithſtanding that in the language of France, the commanderies in its dependance are annexed to particular priories, nevertheleſs the high dignities appropriated to that language

are common to all the knights of the three priories of the ſame language. So that independant from the priories, 'tis ſeniority alone that decides between the knights of the language of France, with reſpect to the grand priories of France, Aquitain and Champaign; of the bailywick of the Morea, the reſidence of which is fixed at Paris at St. John of Lateran; and of the poſt of treaſurer, which is united to the priory of Corbeil.

In the language of Italy, the dignities and commanderies are in common. In the language of Arragon, which is compoſed of the knights of that kingdom of Catalonia and of Navarre, if the great conſervator is an arragonian or valentian, he has a right to the Caſtellany of Empoſta, otherwiſe called the grand priory of Arragon.

The bailywick of Majorca is common between the knights of Majorca and Catalonia: And the bailywick of Capſa is common to thoſe of Arragon and Valentia: They remove from this bailywick to the Caſtellany of Empoſta.

The bailywick of Negrepont which at preſent is "in partibus" and in the hands of the turks, is annexed alternately to the languages of Arragon and Caſtile: Any one may reſign it to take the inn, and they may likewiſe quit the inn by making their option of the ſame bailywick.

The dignity of grand bailiff is common between the knights of Germany, and thoſe of the kingdom of Bohemia. It gives a right to the grand priory of Germany, a poſt of greater antiquity in the order than that of grand bailiff.

The chancellour may be made grand priour of Caſtile, who when he is inveſted with that dignity, becomes a grandee of Spain. The grand priory of Crato is in Portugal, but the great chancellour cannot make it his option for fear of engaging in a diſpute with the King of Portugal, who pretends that the advowſon of that dignity belongs to his crown.

The grand priory of Hungary might anciently have been challenged by the great commander, pillier of the language of Provence, and the ſame right was afterwards conveyed to the admiral, who is pillier of the language of Italy. But at preſent that dignity, by the abdication which the italians made in 1603, is fallen to the language of Germany, and is common to the knights of that nation and thoſe of Bohemia. Notwithſtanding that the laſt Emperours of Germany have recovered the beſt part of Hungary from the infidels, nevertheleſs the order has not been able to recover the poſſeſſion of their priories and commanderies in that kingdom, although cardinal Colonitz, an old knight of Malta took the utmoſt pains in that affair. The commanderies of Dacia depending on the grand priory of Hungary are entirely loſt.

Although the provinces of Tranſilvania, Walachia, and Moldavia, compoſed formerly the ancient Dacia; nevertheleſs in the order of St. John, this name of Dacia, in the language of the middle age, was given to the kingdoms of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway. We have ſeen in the preceeding hiſtory, that the grand maſter Dieu-donné de Gozon wrote, during his adminiſtration, into theſe provinces to oblige them to remit their reſponſions, and that in 1464 they ſent viſitors thither to take care that the regular and military diſcipline ſhould be obſerved in thoſe places.

ARTICLE V.

Of the offices and employments in the order.

THE grand maſter has a right to chuſe himſelf a lieutenant, who, when he has named him, notifies it to the council, but without having any need of their conſent and approbation. He likewiſe names the ſeneſchal of his Houſhold, and when the perſon who is inveſted with it, has a brief from the pope, he enjoys his office for life.

The vicechancellour preſented by the great chancellour, } named by the
The ſecretary of the treaſury named by the grand maſter, } full council
The maſter Equerry named by the great marſhal. } for life.

The grand maſter names the following officers.

Le cavalerizze, or maſter of the horſe.
The receiver of the grand maſter's revenues.
The maſter of the houſhold.
The grand maſter's procurator in the treaſury.
The great chamberlain.
The deputy maſter of the houſhold.
Le ſous cavalerizze, or firſt gentleman of the horſe.
The falconer.
The captain of the guards.
Three auditors.
The almoner and four chaplains.
Four chamberlains.
Four ſecretaries for the latin, french, italian, and ſpaniſh languages.
The ſecretary or intendant of the revenues of the principality.
The credencier or clerk of the kitchin.
The garde-manger, or keeper of the pantry.
The keeper of the wardrobe.

Councellours of the compleat council.

Fourteen councellours taken out of the ſeven languages. } named by the languages
Seven auditors of the accompts of the treaſury. } and approved by the council.

Two procurators of the treaſury, great croſſes, named by the grand maſter and approved by the council.
The conventual conſervator who has been already mentioned when we treated of the conventual bailiffs.
Comptroller of the conſervator, in the nomination of the grand maſter and council.
Caſtellan of the caſtellany: this office is entered upon the firſt day of May and continues for two years.
Two procurators of the priſoners, of the poor, of widows and orphans; the one a knight, and the other a prieſt who is chaplain or brother of obedience.

The

The protector of the monastery of St. Ursula,	a great cross.
2 prud'hommes or comptrollers of the church,	a great cross and a knight.
3 commissioners of the poor beggars,	great crosses.
2 ditto of the alms,	1 great cross, 1 knight.
2 ditto of the sick poor women,	knights.
2 protectors of the catechumens and the new converts,	1 great cross, 1 knight.
3 commissioners of the redemption, in the choice of the grand master,	1 great cross, 2 knights.
The overseer of the infirmary,	a knight of the language of France, in the presentation of the great hospitaller
The priour and sub-priour of the infirmary, The scribe, The Armoiner or press-keeper.	presented by the great hospitaler and approved by the grand master and council.
2 prud'hommes or comptrollers of the infirmary,	two knights named by the grand master and approved by the council.
4 commissaries of war and fortifications,	4 great crosses of the four nations, viz. France, Spain, Italy, and Germany.
4 ditto of the congregation of the gallies.	4 knights of the 4 nations.
2 ditto for regulating the caravans,	2 great crosses.
4 ditto of the naval armaments,	3 great crosses and 1 knight.
A president and four commissioners of the congregation of the ships of the four nations,	1 great cross, and 4 knights.
2 commissioners of the chest of the flags,	1 great cross, 1 knight.
3 ditto of the novices of different nations.	1 great cross, 2 knights.
2 ditto of the prizes,	2 knights.
2 ditto of the prison ofthe slaves,	2 knights.
The governour of the prison of the slaves,	a serving brother in the nomination of the grand master.
2 Commissioners of the mint,	2 great crosses.
4 ditto of the gentry,	4 knights of the four nations.
3 ditto of agreements,	3 knights.
The governour of the magazines,	1 knight, in the presentation of the great commander.
2 prud'hommes or comptrollers of the stores,	2 knights.
2 commissioners of the houses,	2 knights.
2 ditto of health,	2 knights, but when there is any suspicion of infection, they join 4 great crosses with them.
The commander of the artillery,	1 knight, in the nomination of the great commander.
2 comptrollers of the artillery,	2 knights.
2 commissaries of the soldiers,	2 knights, named by the grand master.

The

The fiſcal, or attorney; } He is generally a brother of obedience.

The deputy-maſter-equerry, } a ſerving brother, named by the grand maſter, who notifies his nomination to the council.

The porter of la Valette, } a ſerving brother in the grand maſter's nomination.

The governour of the arſenal, } a knight in the nomination of the great commander.

The comptroller of the arſenal, } a knight in the preſentation of the admiral.

The veſtry-keeper,
The candle-keeper of the church of St. John,
The belfrey-keeper, } brother chaplains in the nomination of the great commander.

The general of the gallies: } He chuſes the captain of the admiral-galley, and preſents him to the council.

As many captains and maſters as there are gallies.
The reveditor or inſpector of the gallies.
The commodore of the ſhips.
As many captains as there are ſhips, and ſeveral ſubaltern officers.
The proveditor or overſeer of the ſhips.

The GOVERNOURS.

Of Goza,
St. Angelo,
St. Elmo,
Ricaſoli,
The Town,
The iſle de la Sangle. } In the nomination of the grand maſter.

The captain of la Valette,
The ſeven captains of the hamlets or villages of the country,
The captain of the grove, a ſerving brother. } In the grand maſter's nomination.

The three judges of appeals,
of criminal caſes,
of civil cauſes, } Lawyers and doctors of laws named by the council.

OUT OF THE CONVENT.

Three embaſſadours in ordinary of the order.

M. the bailiff baron of Schaden embaſſadour to the pope } At Rome.

M. the bailiff of Dieſtrincten embaſſadour to the emperour } At Vienna.

The bailiff de Meſmes embaſſadour to the king of France } At Paris.

The bailiff d'Avila embaſſadour to the king of Spain } At Madrid.

The embaſſadours of France and Spain are always great croſſes.
The embaſſadour of Rome is often a little croſs, their employment laſts for three years, but it is frequently continued to them longer.

In all the priories of the order there are receivers whom the treasury presents to the council: their office is granted them for three years, but they sometimes continue them, and they may be great crosses.

There are likewise in all the priories several procurators in the presentation of the treasury, whose employments also last for three years.

The money is coined with the impress and arms of the reigning grand master.

The grand master don Raimond Perellos de Rocafull was the first that ever had guards: the company consists of 150 men, and they mount the guard at the palace and the two gates of the city of la Valette.

The grand master is to be deemed the first patron general of all those offices above mentioned, for which we have not assigned any particular patron: but he is obliged to propose his nomination to the council who have a power either to allow or reject it.

Such are the dignities and offices of this order, the first of which is that of the grand master, the highest honour to which a knight of justice can arrive: and for the better understanding thereof, we shall now explain the form observed in his election, his titles, his rights, his prerogatives, and from whence his forces and revenues arise.

ARTICLE VI.

Of the election of the grand master.

As soon as the grand master is dead, the council breaks his seal; and that the order may not be left without an head, they chuse a lieutenant of the mastership, who, in concert with the council, presides in the administration, but never makes any grant, or offers to touch the revenue of the grand mastership.

The second day they lay the corps of the deceased in state in the great hall of the palace on a catafalco, or scaffold, with a compleat suit of armour on his right hand, lying upon a table covered with a carpet of black cloth. They bury him in the evening with the proper solemnities; the function of the conventual conservator is suspended during the vacancy of the mastership. The same day they appoint three knights of different nations, to receive what is due to the treasury from the religious that pretend to give their votes in the election. They then draw up a list of all who have a right to vote in it, and fix it up publickly at the door of the church of St. John: they likewise fix up the names of all such as lose their right of voting for that time, by their being in debt to the treasury.

In the election of the doge of Venice, all the nobles above 30 years of age meet in the palace of St. Mark, and put as many balls into an urn as there are gentlemen present, thirty of which are guilt: the gentlemen to whose lot they fall, put, in presence of all the state, nine of the gilded ones amongst 24 white ones, and the nine gentlemen who happen to draw them, elect forty others, all of different families, but who are allowed to name themselves in the number. These 40 are again by lot reduced to 12; those 12 elect 25; the first naming three, and the

the two others two each. Theſe 25 drawing lots again like the former, are reduced to nine, who name 45, which is five each: the 45 caſt lots again and are reduced to 11, who at laſt elect 41, who are the final electors of the doge, when they are confirmed by the great council; for if they are not, they muſt begin anew till they come again to another 41.

A man, to entitle him to have a vote in the election of grand maſter, muſt have been received of juſtice into the order; muſt be at leaſt 18 years of age; muſt have reſided three years in the convent; have made three caravans, and not owe at moſt above ten crowns to the publick treaſury. Notwithſtanding that the brother chaplains, provided they are prieſts, and the ſerving brothers of arms are allowed to give their votes in the ſeveral languages into which they have been admitted, they yet have no manner of ſhare in the government afterwards. Such of the malteze as have been received into any of the languages by virtue of a particular diſpenſation of the popes, are not allowed to give their votes in the election, much leſs to be competitors for it: the reaſon of which general excluſion is in all probability to prevent any temptation which a malteze grand maſter might poſſibly be under of perpetuating the ſovereignty of Malta among his own countrymen.

THE third day after the grand maſter's deceaſe is always fixed for the proceeding to the election of his ſucceſſour, and they never defer a choice of ſuch importance to a longer time, not only to ſtop all canvaſſings and cabals, but alſo to prevent certain pretenſions of the court of Rome, where it is a maxim, that ſo long as the vacancy is not filled up, the pope has a right of prevention to nominate the grand maſter; ſo that the third day all the convent aſſemble together after having heard a maſs of the Holy Ghoſt in the church of St. John. The ſeven languages which compoſe the order retire every one into their reſpective chapels, except that which the lieutenant of the maſterſhip is of, which takes its place in the nave of the church. Theſe ſeven languages are each of them to chuſe out of their reſpective knights, three electors, to whom they give up all the right of election: Theſe make in all one and twenty electors.

The religious being ſhut up in their chapel, write in their turns, and according to their ſeniority, the name of the knight of their language whom they chuſe to be the firſt of the three electors they are to name. And in order to aſcertain their election, they are obliged to put their own name at the bottom of their ticket, and then ſeal it with the ſeal of the language.

WHEN all the voters of a language have given their votes in this manner, the procurators of the language take all the billets, and counting them over in the preſence of all the language, they examine whether their number agrees exactly with that of the votes; for if it were to differ they would burn them immediately, and vote afreſh till the number of tickets tallied exactly with the number of religious who have a right to give their votes.

BUT if every thing appears in due order, the procurators with the moſt ancient of the language, open the tickets on the ſide on which the name of the knight is written, whom they chuſe for their firſt elector. After which they count the votes given in favour of the other knights who were competitors in the ſame election, and if none of them have a clear quarter part of the ballots of his language, they muſt begin to

vote

vote again afreſh, till ſuch time as one knight has a clear quarter part of the votes; and then he takes the oath required by the ſtatutes before the lieutenant of the maſterſhip, and goes into the Conclave: After this all the voters begin to ballot again for chuſing the two other electors, who like the firſt carry it by plurality of voices; but the three electors are generally named at the very firſt balloting.

By a clear quarter part of the votes in a language, is meant a number which cannot be found four times among thoſe who compoſe the language: So the clear quarter part of nine is three, of thirteen four, of ſeventeen five, &c. If it happens that there is an equality of votes as well as a clear quarter part, the ſenior carries it, and the three perſons elected go up to the Conclave where they themſelves act as electors.

Every language chuſes afterwards another knight to repreſent England by plurality of voices, and out of theſe ſeven knights three are choſe by plurality of votes to enter the Conclave and repreſent the language of England. Theſe three new electors muſt be choſe out of three different nations. It muſt be obſerved, that if the lieutenant of the maſterſhip ſhould be named for one of the three electors whom his language is to chuſe, the council of ſtate would immediately put another in his place, in order that the government might not be left a moment without a chief and a ſuperiour.

When the three electors of each language are aſſembled in the Conclave to the number of twenty one, and are joined by the three electors for the language of England, making in all four and twenty knights of juſtice or great croſſes, though indeed the biſhop of Malta and the priour of the church may be of the number, their dignities being a diſpenſation for their default of birth. Theſe four and twenty taking an oath before the lieutenant of the maſterſhip, afterwards chuſe the preſident of the election, whoſe nomination aboliſhes the office of lieutenant of the maſterſhip. After this they proceed to the choice of the triumvirate, i. e. of a knight, a chaplain who is a prieſt and a ſerving brother, to whom the firſt 24 electors deliver up the power of electing, when they retire out of the Conclave.

This triumvirate having taken their oaths retire into the chamber of the Conclave, and proceed among themſelves to the choice of a fourth elector: when this fourth is joined with them, theſe four new electors chuſe a fifth, and ſo on till they have choſe to the number of thirteen, which with the three firſt, who were named by the 24, make up the number of 16 electors, two for every language, including that of England. In the nomination of the firſt eight, including the triumvirate in the number, they have no regard to the preheminence of the languages; but in the nomination of the other half, they always obſerve the rank which the languages have in reſpect of one another; ſo the ſixth of this ſecond half, which is the 14th in the order of the 16, is that taken out of any language they pleaſe to repreſent England.

If the triumvirate do not in an hour's time agree in the election of the fourth elector above-mentioned, they are each of them obliged to name one, and the 24 firſt electors ballot for them in the veſtry, where they make their ſcrutiny on this occaſion; and he of the three named by the triumvirate, who has the moſt votes among the 24, carries it; but if they all chance to have an equal number of voices, the ſenior of the three would be preferred. The 13, according as they are called

called, take each the uſual oath, before the preſident of the election, before they join the triumvirate; and when they are all together, they ballot among themſelves for one or more perſons; he who has a majority of votes, is made grand maſter. In caſe of an equal diviſion among the 16 electors, the vote of the knight of the election carries it, and turns the ſcale. As odd as this form of election may ſeem, the knights had reaſon enough to eſtabliſh it in that manner; for theſe different changes of elector break all the meaſures private men might take, and when all depends upon the choice of perſons who owe their power to the favour of fortune, all artifices and intrigues prove ineffectual: beſides, this is a means in this noble republick to pleaſe almoſt every particular perſon in it, by the ſhare which they flatter themſelves they have had in the election of the grand maſter.

THE balloting being over, the triumvirate leave the thirteen who had been concerned with them in the election, and going up to the rails of the gallery which is over the great gate, the knight of the election, having the chaplain on his right, and the ſerving brother on his left, demands three times of the religious aſſembled in the church, If they are diſpoſed to ratify the election they have juſt made of a grand maſter; and when all the aſſembly has anſwered that they approve their choice, the knight of the election proclaims him aloud, and the new grand maſter, if he is preſent, goes and ſeats himſelf under the canopy. He firſt takes the oath which is adminiſtered to him by the priour of the church, and after Te Deum has been ſung by way of thankſgiving, he receives the homage of all the religious, and is carried from thence in triumph to the palace. The day of the election, the treaſury, in order to ſave the houſe of the maſterſhip from being plundered, diſtribute three crowns to each religious, both novices as well as thoſe who are profeſſed. And a day or two after the election, the full or compleat council puts the new grand maſter in poſſeſſion of the ſovereignty of the iſles of Malta and Goza: ſo that by his new dignity, he reunites in his perſon a military and regular ſuperiority over all the religious of his order, and at the ſame time a ſovereignty and all manner of royal rights over the laity who are his ſubjects. But how lawful ſoever this ſovereign authority may be, it has nevertheleſs, ever ſince the ſettling of the inquiſition in Malta, been incroached upon by the pretenſions of the inquiſitours. Formerly the ſupreme council of the order had the ſole cognizance of every thing relating to faith and religion. But during the maſterſhip of the grand maſter de la Caſſiere, the biſhops Cubellet and Royas having ſucceſſively got orders from Rome, that the cognizance thereof ſhould be referred to them, the order being incenſed at theſe proceedings, by way of revenge applied to pope Gregory XIII, and prevailed with him to ſend an inquiſitour to Malta to take away that juriſdiction from the biſhop. 'Tis true indeed that the council of the order, for the preſervation of their authority, inſiſted with his holineſs, that the officer of the court of Rome ſhould not proceed in any caſe but in concert with the grand maſter, the biſhop, the priour of the church, and the vice-chancellour of the order: ſo that the authority of this tribunal was divided between the inquiſitour and the principal officers of the order.

But this wiſe and prudent temperament did not ſubſiſt long, for the inquiſitours, from a kind of emulation ſo common among them, took in other aſſeſſors in order to make themſelves abſolute maſters in their tribunal, though ſtill under pretence of maintaining the authority of the holy ſee; and not content with this ſtep, they took another which is ſcarce to be parallelled: they created ſo prodigious a number of what they call the Familiars of the holy office, that they have formed with this ſet of people a new government as it were, and a body of ſubjects, who, by virtue of certain patents of the inquiſition, pretend to exempt themſelves from the ſovereign authority of the order. Theſe ſubjects of the order, who may very well be treated as rebels, make up two thirds of the inhabitants of the iſland; ſo that all who have either money or credit with the inquiſitour, pretend that they, by virtue of his protection and patents, are not obliged to take arms upon the grand maſter's orders to repulſe the infidels when they make deſcents upon the iſland. The ſecret views of the inquiſitours are in all probability theſe; they ſuppoſe that after they have robbed the grand maſter of his natural ſubjects, they may afterwards reduce him by inſenſible degrees to the miſerable condition of being their inferiour. And in a memorial preſented by the language of France to king Lewis the XIVth, of glorious memory, we ſee that the inquiſitours of that time, forgetting the reſpect due to the character of a ſovereign, had the boldneſs to pretend to oblige the grand maſter to ſtop his coach when they ſhould meet him in the ſtreet with theirs. After this, nothing was wanting to compleat the ambitious projects of the inquiſitour, but to ſeize on the revenues annexed to the dignity of grand maſter, both thoſe which aroſe from the principality of the iſlands, as well as thoſe that belonged to him by virtue of the grand maſterſhip.

The revenues of the principality conſiſt in the rights of the admiralty, at the rate of ten per cent. upon all prizes, and comprehend likewiſe the cuſtoms, aſſeſſments, impoſts, lands of the Demeſne, farms, houſes, gardens, duties on alienation and purchaſing of lands, fines and confiſcations.

The revenues of the maſterſhip conſiſt firſt of ſix thouſand crowns, which the treaſury pays him every year for his table, two hundred crowns for keeping his palace and country-houſe in repair; a very ſcanty ſum indeed with regard to his dignity, but which ſhews the frugality and temperance of the age when this regulation was made. Secondly, the grand maſter has a year's revenue of all the commanderies of courteſy, which he diſpoſes of every five years in each priory: and he has likewiſe in every priory the perpetual enjoyment of one commandery, which is called the Magiſtral Chamber, becauſe it is annexed to the maſterſhip. He may, in caſe he thinks proper, have them managed in his own name, or otherwiſe he may give them to any knights who have deſerved well of the order by their ſervices: and when the grand maſter beſtows one of theſe magiſtral commanderies upon a knight, he may, beſides two annates, or the revenues of two years which he receives out of it, reſerve likewiſe a penſion to himſelf: but the knight who is gratified with this commandery, in conſideration of theſe clogs upon it, is diſpenſed from paying any mortuary or vacancy to to the order.

THE grand maſters have frequently ſhips out a cruiſing, and have themſelves all the profits that ariſe from the prizes they take: they likewiſe, in conjunction with the council, give leave to ſuch knights as are able, to fit out veſſels againſt the turks and cruiſe with the maſter's flag: but as for traffick and merchandize, that kind of venal profit is forbid by the ſtatutes; and beſides, all commerce is odious to moſt of the languages, who would think that a gain of that nature would debaſe the nobility of their extraction.

End of the diſſertation upon the government.

THE KNIGHTS OF MALTA.

CONFIRMATION

OF THE

EIGHT STATUTES

Made in the General Chapter of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, which had been Confirmed by Pope [illegible] and Ratified by Pope [illegible]

THE OLD AND NEW

STATUTES

Of the ORDER of

St. JOHN of JERUSALEM,

Tranſlated from the Edition of BORGOFORTE,

A. D. M, DC, LXXVI.

By Order of the Chapter of the Great Priory of France.

STATUTES

OF THE ORDER OF

ST. JOHN OF JERUSALEM.

Translated from the Edition of BOUCQUEROTTE

A. D. M. DC. LXXVI.

By Order of the Chapter of the Great Priory of France.

CONFIRMATION
OF THE
EIGHT STATUTES

Made in the General Chapter of the Order of St. John of Jeruſalem, held in 1588, *and of all the reſt which had been already confirmed by Pope Pius V. of bleſſed memory.*

PAUL a biſhop, ſervant of the ſervants of God, for a perpetual remembrance of the thing. As we are exceeding careful of the conduct of all ſuch as are engaged in the ſervice of God, by their military or regular profeſſion, we readily grant them our apoſtolical confirmation of the ſtatutes which they have made themſelves, when they tend to the ſame end, and they ask it of us. Pope Sixtus V. our predeceſſor of bleſſed memory, having formerly approved and confirmed the ſtatutes, conſtitutions and cuſtoms obſerved in the hoſpital of St. John of Jeruſalem, collected into one volume, in the name of brother Hugh de Loubena Verdale, great maſter of the ſaid hoſpital, who was then alive; and ſince that time, in the general chapter of the ſaid hoſpital, canonically aſſembled under our dear ſon Alophe de Vignacourt, another great maſter of the ſame hoſpital, after publiſhing the orders of the chapter made and promulged in former general chapters, after a careful peruſal and examination thereof, ſeveral of theſe ſtatutes having been confirmed, corrected or annulled, and ſome even of thoſe which had been approved by pope Sixtus, corrected or explained, and reduced into one volume; we gave orders for correcting ſome articles thereof, and afterwards approved and confirmed theſe ſtatutes and orders ſo corrected and explained. But whereas it has ſince been repreſented to us by Francis Lomellin, embaſſador from the ſaid hoſpital to our court, and to the holy apoſtolic ſee, in the name of Alophe the great maſter aforeſaid, that ſince the confirmation granted by pope Sixtus, they had, in a general chapter held under the ſaid brother Hugh the great maſter, made eight ſtatutes more, which, though very uſeful for the good regimen and government of the hoſpital, as he certifies, and actually obſerved with great exactneſs, are not yet enforced with the apoſtolical confirmation, nor inſerted among the other ſtatutes and conſtitutions confirmed by pope Sixtus our ſaid predeceſſor; for which reaſon the ſaid great maſter Alophe is deſirous that the eight ſtatutes aforeſaid, and the others already confirmed by the ſaid pope Sixtus, ſhould receive likewiſe a new apoſtolical confirmation from us, and has therefore moſt humbly beſought us to be pleaſed, out of our apoſtolical bounty, to make a proper proviſion upon this head.

WE therefore being well informed of the ſingular merits of the ſaid hoſpital, and diſpoſed to gratify his requeſt, after having cauſed the ſaid eight ſtatutes to be examined by our deareſt ſons Pompeio, cardinal prieſt of Santa Balbina, Arrigoni, and John Garzia, cardinal prieſt of the title of Quatre Santi Coronati, Mellini, do by theſe preſents approve and confirm them, provided they be actually obſerved at this time, and not otherwiſe; and thoſe likewiſe which have been already confirmed by pope Sixtus our predeceſſor: we will and command that they be exactly obſerved to all intents and purpoſes, inſtead of the old conſtitutions which are repealed; ſupplying all defects and nullities either of fact or right which may have crept into them, any apoſtolic conſtitutions and orders whatever to the contrary in any wiſe notwithſtanding.

Here follows the tenor of the ſaid eight ſtatutes.

WE enact that all perſons who have either themſelves or their fathers, been engaged in traffick for merchandize, who have been bankers or dealers in exchange, caſhiers, or farmers, who have kept magazines or ſhops of ſilk or woollen ſtuffs, corn, or any other thing whatſoever, though they ſhould be gentlemen of name and arms, of what ſtate, city, or province ſoever they be, ſhall be made for ever incapable of being received into the number of brother knights.

WHEREAS a regulation has been made purſuant to a laudable cuſtom, that no body ſhould be admitted into the order that is in debt; and that all perſons who have either themſelves, or whoſe fathers have got poſſeſſion of any lands, demeſnes, juriſdictions, or other rights belonging to the order, ſhall not be received, without firſt making full reſtitution thereof; we enjoin the commiſſioners deputed to receive the proofs, to be careful in getting information, and interrogating the witneſſes on theſe heads.

To terminate the differences which often ariſe between the creditors of the eſtates of the brothers of the order after their deceaſe, we enact, that out of the effects which they leave behind them, there ſhall firſt be taken all that ſhall be found due to the common Treaſury, of what nature ſoever the debt ſhall be; they ſhall next pay what ſhall appear to be due to the ſervants of the deceaſed, and the reſidue ſhall be divided among the creditors, according to the cuſtom of the place, and not as hath been hitherto practiſed.

WE enact, that whenever the receiver, or procurator of the common treaſury, or any body deputed by them, ſhall go to receive the ſucceſſion and mortuary dues, he ſhall always have ſome body elſe to accompany him, and after ſealing up the coffers and doors, he ſhall give publick notice of the day and hour, when they ſhall ſet about taking the inventory, that the creditors concerned may be by at the time; that at the day and hour appointed, he ſhall chooſe two honeſt men to repreſent the real or pretended creditors, with a publick notary, in whoſe preſence he ſhall open the doors and coffers, ſhall take an account of all the effects there found, of what nature ſoever they be, and write them down in a good and faithful inventory, in the preſence of two or three witneſſes; ſhall ſpecify the quality, number, weight, and modern meaſure thereof, according to the valuation made of them by the ſtanders by, ſaving always the force of the fortieth ſtatute of the preſent title, which ſhall be executed in all other reſpects: We will and command that the ſame ſhall be obſerved in the convent by the venerable procurators, and the ſecretary of the common treaſury.

We enact that the effects which are left by the priors, the bailiff of Empoſta, the bailiffs, the commanders, and our other brothers that ſhall die in the convent, except thoſe of the great maſter, ſhall not be diſtributed, as has been hitherto practiſed, but ſhall be ſold publickly by auction to the beſt advantage, and adjudged to the higheſt bidder, for the profit of the common treaſury. We repeal all the ſtatutes where any mention is made of the great jewel granted to the great commander out of the effects of the deceaſed, which are to be valued by ſuch as ought to be by, by the conventual conſervator, the maſter of the horſe, and by the ſecretary of the treaſury, which laſt ſhall be obliged to give the chaplains the uſual fee for the right of a thirtieth part.

Though the general chapter be the laſt and ſupreme juriſdiction of our order, yet ſince our ſtatutes direct that all perſons that have deſignedly and ſurreptitiouſly obtained any grace, or have miſrepreſented the fact, ſhall be deprived thereof: We enact that all reſcripts or graces obtained from our general chapter, either by ſurprize or guile, i. e. by a falſe repreſentation, or by diſguiſing the truth of the fact, which, according to the rule, would make them null or inſufficient, ſhall be looked upon as of no force; and we require the great maſter and council to take cogniſance thereof, and give ſentence with regard to the ſurreptitious or tricking manner of obtaining them.

We enact by way of addition to the eleventh article, that the great maſter may grant the brothers of our order leave and authority to ſell and alienate any kind whatever of moveable or immoveable goods, belonging to them by inheritance or legacy, from their fathers, mothers, aſcendant or collateral relations, and diſpoſe of them in their life-time, or in caſe of death, to appear, plead, and carry on law-ſuits abroad for the recovery of the ſaid effects.

Whereas the ninth ſtatute about contracts and alienations, allows the priors, and the caſtellan of Empoſta, to grant in provincial chapters leaſes at an annual quit rent, of ſuch lands and poſſeſſions as yielded but little to the commandries and orders, in order to augment and improve them for a certain time, which was not to exceed twenty nine years, and often came up to that; after which, theſe lands were to return to the commandries and the order in a much better condition. And whereas a term of ſo conſiderable a length, has ſometimes occaſioned great abuſes and law-ſuits, we enact, that for the future ſuch lands and poſſeſſions ſhall not be let for more than nine years, which being expired, they ſhall return to the commandries and order again, with the improvements made thereon, notwithſtanding the old ſtatute which allowed the ſetting of them for twenty nine years, which is hereby repealed.

Given at Rome and St. Mark, under the ring of the Fiſher, the 29th of June, 1609. and the fifth of our pontificate.

SCIPIO COBELLUCCY.

Brother Hugh de Loubenx Verdale, by the grace of God, humble maſter of the holy houſe of the hoſpital of St. John of Jeruſalem, guardian of the poor of Jeſus Chriſt, and we the bailiffs, priors, commanders, and brothers, holding in our lord the compleat council of reſervation of the chapter general, to all our brethren of the ſaid houſe in general, and to every one of them in particular, as well preſent as future, greeting and

brotherly love. Whereas the inconſtant and changeable circumſtances of human affairs, makes it impoſſible to provide by any law whatever, for certain things which are proper to be regulated at all times; in a ſenſe of which our anceſtors, out of their great prudence, have thought it their duty, on various occaſions, either entirely to repeal ſeveral regulations made by their predeceſſors, or elſe to make ſuch alterations therein as they found neceſſary; we who are inveſted with the ſame authority, we are likewiſe obliged to do ſo by the like neceſſity: we ſee that ſeveral laws made by them, and at the time of their making very ſerviceable to the publick good, are ſince, by the changes that have happened in the genius and tempers of men, become either utterly pernicious, or elſe incapable of being of any ſervice. This has obliged us to chooſe in our general chapter, a certain number of perſons of great experience in the affairs of our order, which have been long under their adminiſtration: we have deſired and recommended to them to make a collection of the old and new ſtatutes that have been hitherto obſerved among us, with all the exactneſs that is poſſible, to examine them carefully, and to repeal, correct, or explain, ſuch as they ſhall think fit to be repealed, corrected, or explained. They have acquitted themſelves in this employment with equal diligence and exactneſs, ſo that their performance ſeems to us highly advantageous to the order: they have added thereto a great many things that were wanting, and have aſſured us, that there are no ſtatutes capable of being of any uſe, but what are contained in this work.

THE

THE OLD AND NEW
STATUTES
Of the ORDER of
St. JOHN of JERUSALEM,

Tranſlated from the Edition of BORGOFORTE,

A. D. M, DC, LXXVI.

By Order of the Chapter of the Great Priory of France.

Of the Rule.

TITLE I.

Rule of the hoſpitallers and knights of the order of St. John Baptiſt of Jeruſalem.

Br. RAIMOND DUPUY, Maſter.

1. IN the name of the Lord, Amen. I Raimond, ſervant of the poor of Jeſus Chriſt, and warden of the hoſpital of Jeruſalem, with the council of the chapter of the order, make theſe regulations, to be obſerved in the houſe of the hoſpital of St. John Baptiſt of Jeruſalem. I enjoin then all the brothers that engage in the ſervice of the poor, and in the defence of the catholick faith, to maintain and obſerve, with the grace of God, the three things that they have promiſed, viz. chaſtity, obedience, i. e. that they will perform exactly every thing that ſhall be enjoined them by their maſter, and to paſs their lives without poſſeſſing any thing in property; for God will require from them an account of theſe three things at the day of judgment.

Exerciſe of the knighthood for Jeſus-Chriſt.

CUSTOM.

2. Our order has, ever ſince its firſt foundation, been endowed, augmented, and enriched by the liberality, aſſiſtance and favour of the holy apoſtolical ſee of catholick kings and princes, and of devout chriſtians, with lands, poſſeſſions, juriſdictions, graces, privileges, and exemptions: that the knights who ſhould make their profeſſion in it, might adorn their knighthood with a true charity, the mother and ſolid foundation of all virtues; with hoſpitality, and a ſincere attachment to the faith, and, being employ'd in theſe various functions, might only ſeek to diſtinguiſh themſelves by a courſe of virtue. Soldiers of Jeſus Chriſt are deſigned only to fight for his glory, to maintain his worſhip, and the catholick faith, to love, reverence and preſerve juſtice; to favour, ſupport

and defend ſuch as are oppreſſed, without neglecting the duties of holy hoſpitality.

THUS the knights hoſpitallers, acquitting themſelves truly of both theſe ſorts of duties, are to wear on their cloaths a croſs with eight points, to put them in mind of bearing always in their heart the croſs of Jeſus Chriſt, adorned with the eight virtues that attend it; and that, after a bountiful diſtribution of alms, they take the ſword in hand to attack and demoliſh the Mahometans, and ſuch as deviate from the faith.

WHEN once they have devoted themſelves to theſe holy exerciſes, they are admoniſhed, invited and animated by the example of the Maccabees, thoſe holy ſoldiers and martyrs, who often, with very ſmall forces, defeated formidable armies, by God's aſſiſtance. They ought likewiſe to apply themſelves continually to an exact obſervation of what they promiſed to God when they made the three vows of chaſtity, obedience and poverty, appointed by the rule; and to the practice of all other moral and divine virtues, ſo that being enflamed by charity, they may have no dread on their ſpirits at taking the ſword in hand, and expoſing themſelves, with prudence, temperance and fortitude, to all ſorts of dangers, for the honour of Chriſt our Saviour, and his holy croſs, and for the defence of juſtice, widows and orphans. There is no greater charity can be ſhewed, than by ſacrificing one's life for our friends, i. e. for the catholicks. This is their duty, their vocation, the manner of life that they have embraced, their juſtification and their ſanctification, that when they end the pilgrimage of this mortal life, they may enjoy that eternal reward for which God created them.

SUCH as ſhall be convicted of having prevaricated in their duty, of having declined, fled or deſerted the occaſions offered them thereof, and of fighting for the intereſts of Chriſtianity, ſhall, for a terror to evil doers, and for the praiſe of ſuch as do well, be ſeverely puniſhed, according to the ſtatutes and cuſtoms of the order.

Of the puniſhments to be inflicted on ſuch as tranſgreſs the Rule and the Statutes.

Br. RAIMOND BERENGER.

3. To prevent the brothers of our order from tranſgreſſing the rule and the ſtatutes, we enact and declare, that what is contained in the rule lays an obligation upon both ſoul and body; whereas the tranſgreſſion of the ſtatutes and cuſtoms binds only to bodily pains, unleſs in caſes where the law of God or the holy canons enjoin or forbid the ſame thing, on pain of ſin.

Br. ANTHONY FLUVIAN.

4. WE enact, that in the aſſemblies which are held on the faſt days of ember weeks, the rule ſhall be publickly read in the preſence of all the brothers.

Br. PETER D'AUBUSSON.

5. WE decree, that after the rule is read, the following ſtatutes ſhall be read likewiſe.

OF THE RULE.

2. EXERCISE of the knighthood for Chriſt.
3. OF the puniſhments to be inflicted on ſuch as tranſgreſs the rule and the ſtatutes.

OF THE RECEPTION OF BROTHERS INTO THE ORDER.

3. OF the habit of the brothers of the hoſpital of Jeruſalem.

OF THE CHURCH.

1. OF the reſpect due to divine and ſacred things.
2. OF the prayers which the brothers are obliged to ſay every day.
3. THE days on which they are obliged to faſt.
4. THE days on which they are obliged to wear the mantle.

OF HOSPITALITY.

1. THAT the brothers uſe hoſpitality.

OF THE COMMON TREASURY.

22. Of ſuch as are indebted to our common treaſury.

OF THE CHAPTER.

1. THAT the brothers come to the general chapter.

OF THE MASTER.

1. THAT the brothers obey the great maſter.

OF THE DUTY OF THE BROTHERS.

5. Of the modeſt garb of the brothers, and the article following.
8. THAT the brothers exerciſe themſelves in arms.
9. THAT the brothers make their diſappropriation every year.

OF THE COMMANDERIES.

38. Of reſignations.
39. Of the penalties incurred by ſuch as reſign.
65. THAT that the brothers do not ſue for and get any commandries or benefices out of the order.

OF CONTRACTS AND ALIENATIONS.

3. THAT the brothers deal in no ſort of commerce or merchandize.
4. PROHIBITION of uſury.
5. THAT the eſtates of the order be not alienated.
6. THAT no brother either pledge or mortgage the poſſeſſions of our order.
10. THAT the brothers do not alienate the effects which they have acquired.

OF PROHIBITIONS AND PENALTIES.

1. THAT the brothers are not allowed to make wills, to appoint heirs, or give away any legacies.
14. THAT the brothers do not go from the convent without leave.
16. THAT the brothers do not apply for recommendations to get commandries.
32. THE caſes in which the brothers are degraded from the order, and the four following articles.
52. Of ſuch as keep concubines publickly, with the article following.
61. Of obedience.
64. Of the penalties incurred by ſuch as come not to divine ſervice.

Of the Reception of the Brothers.

TITLE II.

How the Brothers of the Order of St. John of Jeruſalem are to be received at their profeſſion.

CUSTOM.

SUCH as are reſolved to dedicate their perſons to the ſervice of the ſick, and the defence of the catholick faith, in the regular habit of our order, are received to their profeſſion in the manner and form following. They ought to know, that they are going to put on the new man, and make an humble confeſſion of their ſins to the prieſt, according to the cuſtom of the church; and after receiving abſolution, to preſent themſelves on their knees before the altar, in a long ſecular habit untied (that they may appear entirely free at a time that they are going to bind themſelves with an holy engagement) with a taper lighted (which repreſents charity), hear maſs, and receive the holy communion.

THEY ſhall next preſent themſelves with reſpect to the brother that officiates, and deſire of him to be admitted into the ſociety of the brothers, and the holy order of the hoſpital of Jeruſalem. He ſhall make them a ſhort diſcourſe to confirm

them in their pious deſign, to make them ſenſible how much it tends to their advantage and welfare to conſecrate themſelves to the ſervice of the poor of Jeſus Chriſt, to be employed in works of mercy, and devote themſelves to the ſervice and defence of the faith; a favour which many have deſired, without being able to obtain it. He ſhall afterwards repreſent to them their obligations of obedience, and the ſeverity of the rules, which do not allow them to conduct themſelves any longer after their own will, which oblige them to renounce it, to follow for the future only that of their ſuperiors; ſo that if they ſhould have never ſo great a deſire to do a thing, the duty of their obedience would oblige them to do the contrary.

He ſhall next aſk the perſon who is for making his profeſſion, whether he is diſpoſed to ſubmit to all theſe obligations; whether he has not made his vows in any other order; whether he is married; whether his marriage is conſummated; whether he is indebted any conſiderable ſums; and whether he is not a ſlave? for if, even after making his vows, it be found that he had done any one of theſe things, or was in any ſuch condition, he would be ignominiouſly ſtripped of his habit, as a deceiver, and delivered back to the perſon he belonged to.

If he declares that he is under none of theſe engagements, the brother who receives him, ſhall preſent him the miſſal open, upon which he ſhall lay both his hands, and after the ſaid queſtions and anſwers, he ſhall make his profeſſion in theſe words.

" I N. do promiſe and vow to God, to the ever virgin Mary, the mother " of God, and to St. John Baptiſt, to pay, from henceforward, by the aſ- " ſiſtance of God's grace, true obedience to the ſuperior which it ſhall pleaſe " him to ſet over me, and which ſhall be choſen by our order, to live without " any property, and to preſerve chaſtity." When he has taken his hands from off the book, the brother that receives him, ſhall ſay to him, " We own you for " a ſervant of the gentlemen that are poor and ſick, and for a perſon devoted to " the defence of the catholick faith." He ſhall anſwer, " I own my ſelf to be ſo." He ſhall kiſs the miſſal, and taking it in his hands, ſhall carry and lay it upon the altar, which he ſhall humbly kiſs, and bring back the miſſal to the brother that receives him, in token of his true obedience.

This being done, the brother that receives him ſhall take the black mantle, and ſhewing him the white croſs upon it, ſhall ſay to him, " Do you believe, bro- " ther, that this is the ſign of the holy croſs, to which Jeſus Chriſt was faſtened " and died upon it for the redemption of our ſins?" The new brother ſhall anſwer, " Yes, I believe it." He ſhall add, " 'Tis alſo the ſign of our order, and " we command you to wear it continually upon your cloaths." After which, the brother profeſſed ſhall kiſs the ſign of the croſs. This done, he that receives him ſhall put the mantle on his ſhoulders, ſo that the croſs lie over his breaſt on the left ſide, ſhall kiſs him, and ſay to him, " Take this ſign in the name of the holy " Trinity, the ever virgin Mary, and St. John Baptiſt, for the improvement of the " faith, the defence of the chriſtian name, and the ſervice of the poor. For this " reaſon we put the croſs on that ſide of you, that you may love it with all your " heart; and that your right hand may fight for its defence and preſervation. " For if ever it happen, that in fighting for Jeſus Chriſt, againſt the enemies of " the faith, you ſhould turn your back, deſert the ſtandard of the croſs, and fly " away in ſo juſt a war, you will be ſtripped of that holy ſign, agreeably to " the ſtatutes and cuſtoms of the order, as falſe to the vow you have now made, " and be cut off from our body as a rotten and corrupt member.

He ſhall then tie the mantle about his neck with ſtrings, and ſhall ſay to him, " Receive the Lord's yoke, for it is eaſy and light, and you ſhall find reſt to " your ſoul. We promiſe you nothing but bread and water, without any dain- " ties, and a modeſt habit of little worth. We give you, your parents and rela- " tions a ſhare in all the good works of our order, and our brothers that are at " preſent, or ſhall be hereafter, all over the world." The perſon profeſſed ſhall anſwer, Amen; i. e. ſo be it. Then the brother that has received him, and all that are there preſent, ſhall embrace him, and kiſs him, in token of friendſhip, peace, and brotherly love. The prieſts, and particularly he that ſaid maſs, ſhall then ſay the prayers following.

Thou haſt ſhowered down thy mercy upon us, O God, in the midſt of thy temple. Pſalm, The Lord is great; he is worthy to be praiſed, in the city of

God, even upon his holy hill. Behold, how good and joyful a thing it is for brethren to dwell together in unity. Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the holy Ghoſt. As it was, &c.

THOU haſt ſhowered down, &c. *The Pſalm.* Behold how good and joyful, &c. Glory be to the father, &c. Thou haſt ſhowered down, &c. Lord have mercy upon us, Chriſt have mercy upon us, Lord have mercy upon us. Our Father, &c. Lead us not into temptation, &c. ℣. Save thy ſervant, O God, ℟. Who putteth his truſt in thee. ℣. Send him help from thy holy place. ℟. And from Sion to defend him. ℣. Let the enemy have no advantage over him. ℟. Nor the wicked one approach to hurt him. ℣ Be unto him, O Lord, a ſtrong tower. ℟. From the face of his enemy, and from them that perſecute him. ℣. O Lord, hear my prayer. ℟. And let my cry come unto thee. ℣. The Lord be with you. ℟. And with thy Spirit.

O God, who converteſt the wicked, and deſireſt not the death of a ſinner, we moſt humbly beſeech thy divine Majeſty, to ſend the aſſiſtance of thy heavenly grace upon this thy ſervant, who putteth his truſt only in thy mercy, and preſerve him with thy continual help, that he may always ſerve thee truly, and never be led aſtray by any temptation, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord. Amen.

LET US PRAY.

O Almighty and everlaſting God, who alone workeſt great marvels, ſend down upon N. thy ſervant, the healthful ſpirit of thy grace; and that he may truly pleaſe thee, pour upon him the continual dew of thy bleſſing; through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord. Amen.

LET US PRAY.

THE Lord receive thee in the number of the faithful, and, whilſt we his unworthy ſervants receive thee in our prayers, grant thee his grace to do well, with the will to perſevere therein, and bring thee to the happineſs of eternal life, that as brotherly love has united us on earth, the goodneſs of God which invigorates that love, may unite us in heaven with his faithful ſervants, through the merits of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who liveth and reigneth with the Father and the holy Ghoſt, one God, world without end. Amen.

Of the different ranks and degrees of the brothers of the order.

CUSTOM.

2. THERE are three different ſorts of brothers; for ſome are knights, others prieſts, and the laſt are ſerving brothers. The prieſts are divided into two claſſes, and are either conventual prieſts, or prieſts of obedience. There are likewiſe two ſorts of ſerving brothers; the firſt are ſervants of arms, i.e. are received into the convent; the ſecond are ſervants of Office, for common drudgery. When any perſon duly qualified according to the ſtatutes and cuſtoms, offers himſelf to be admitted to make his profeſſion in the order, if he has a mind to be a knight, he muſt have received the order of knighthood from a catholick prince qualified to give it, before he can receive the habit and make his profeſſion; but if he has not, he muſt receive it from the perſon that takes his profeſſion, or from ſome other knight of the order; and after this is done, he may be admitted to make his vows in the manner above ſpecified. As for the chaplains, and the ſerving brothers of arms or office, there is no need of their being knighted, there is neither any ſtatute or cuſtom for it; but they are admitted directly to make their profeſſion.

Of the habit of the brothers of the hoſpital of Jeruſalem.

Br. RAIMON DU PUY.

3. 'TIS becoming our profeſſion, that all the brothers of the hoſpital be obliged to wear a black robe or mantle with a white croſs.

Br. NICOLAS DE LORGUE.

WE enact likewiſe, that in the exerciſe of arms (i.e. when they are making a campaign) they wear over their cloaths a red ſubreveſte or military caſſock, with the white croſs ſtrait.

Of

Of the qualifications required in ſuch as are admitted to make profeſſion in our Order.

Br. HUGH REVEL.

5. We enact that no body ſhall from henceforward be admitted to profeſſion, if he be not born in lawful wedlock, or if his father be a baſtard, excepting however the ſons of counts and perſons of higher rank and quality.

Br. JOHN DE LA VALETTE.

6. And that ſuch ſons of counts and perſons of higher quality, be deſcended from a father, whoſe father and grandfather by the father's ſide, (the 13th article of this title adds great grandfather) were counts or lords of greater rank and degree.

Br. CLAUDE DE LA SENGLE.

7. And be born likewiſe of a mother that was a gentlewoman by birth. 'Tis likewiſe prohibited to give the habit of our order to any body deſcended from Jews, Marranes, Sarazens or other Mahometans, though his anceſtors have been counts or princes.

Br. HUGH DE LOUBENX VERDALE.

8. We forbid the languages and priories ever to diſpenſe with this defect, and whatever grace they ſhew to perſons that labour under it, we declare to be null and of no effect.

Br. HUGH REVEL.

9. Whoever has profeſſed himſelf in any other order, ſhall never be received into ours upon any account whatever; and in caſe he be admitted, he ſhall, when it comes to be known, be ſtripped of the habit.

Br. CLAUDE DE LA SENGLE.

10. And be expelled the convent, without the leaſt hopes of being ever readmitted, or of receiving any ſuſtenance, or penſions, or commandries, or portions of a commandry, or any thing elſe whatever from the order, even of ſpecial grace.

CUSTOM.

11 If any perſon be indebted a conſiderable ſum, or has contracted marriage and conſummated it, he may not be admitted into the order.

Br. ANTHONY FLUVIAN.

12. Neither can any body that hath committed murder, or led a wicked and debauched life in the world.

Br. PHILIP DE VILLERS DE LISLE-ADAM.

13. The habit of the order ſhall not be given to any body under eighteen years of age. The maſter however is allowed the privilege of chooſing eight youths out of what nation he pleaſes, and in what rank he pleaſes, for the ſervice of his family and houſhold, who ſhall be liable to no objection on account of their age and ſeniority: provided however they be twelve years old.

Br. JOHN L'EVEQUE DE LA CASSIERE.

14. If any be choſe and admitted otherwiſe, they ſhall not be entitled to any prerogative of ſeniority or reſidence, nor ſhall they receive their table or any ſalary from the common treaſury, even though they were choſen by a particular grace of the great maſter and the languages.

The ſame MASTER.

15. To conform our ſelves to the decree of the holy council of Trent, we enact that no body ſhall be admitted to make his profeſſion in our order before he be full ſixteen.

Br. PHILIP DE L'ISLE ADAM.

16. LET no body be admitted but who has good health, a ſtrong conſtitution, and a body fit for fatigue, and is likewiſe in his right wits, and regular in his life and converſation.

Of the proofs neceſſary to be made before a knight is admitted.

Br. HUGH REVEL.

17. Such as deſire to be admitted knights, muſt prove by authentick evidence that they are born of parents noble both by name and arms.

Of ſome qualifications requiſite to be proved by the brother chaplains and ſervants of arms.

Br. JOHN DE LA VALETTE.

18. THOUGH our regulations do not inſiſt on a noble deſcent, with regard to ſuch as are to be admitted in quality of brother chaplains, or ſervants of arms, yet they ought not to be taken out of the rabble, and without any choice, which would be a ready way to make them contemptible: And therefore we enact, that for the future no body ſhall be admitted a brother chaplain, or ſervant of arms, either within or without the convent, not even by the ſpecial grace of the languages or priories, till he has firſt duly proved, that beſides the neceſſary qualifications required by our ſtatutes, he is born of genteel and creditable parents; that he never followed any mean and ſervile art or buſineſs; that he never was engaged under any body in any vile or baſe employment; that neither he nor his parents ever followed any handicraft buſineſs, or practiſed any mean mechanical trade: provided however that this regulation do not extend to ſuch as have ſignalized themſelves in military actions, or by any eminent ſervices that they have done to the order.

Br. CLAUDE DE LA SENGLE.

19. SUCH as are for entering into our order, muſt prove that they are born in the language or priory in which they deſire to be incorporated.

The ſame MASTER.

20. IN ſhort, they ſhall be obliged to make the proofs, required by our ſtatutes, before the commiſſioners deputed by the prior, or the provincial chapter, or elſe before the aſſembly it ſelf, and preſent them to the chapter or aſſembly, to be there read, approved, or rejected.

Br. PHILIP DE VILLERS DE LISLE-ADAM.

21. THEY ſhall after this be ſent to the convent with the authentick proofs in due form, of all the facts therein contained; for we ſtrictly forbid the admitting of a brother knight any where but in the convent.

Br. HUGH DE LOUBENX VERDALE.

22. WE forbid the prolonging of the uſual time allowed for making or preſenting the proofs aforeſaid; nor ſhall the languages, priors, great maſter, or his council, grant for the future any relaxation in this point; and whatever ſhall be done contrary to this preſent ſtatute, we declare it to be utterly null.

Br. CLAUDE DE LA SENGLE.

23. WE enact likewiſe, that the habit of our order ſhall not be given to any perſon who has not what is called a mantle (bec) with a beak or point, and a long robe; and withal, if he be a knight, or ſerving brother of arms, he muſt have arms, and a military caſſock or ſubreveſte.

Of the penalties incurred by ſuch as are admitted contrary to the purport of the ſtatutes.

Br. CLAUDE DE LA SENGLE.

24. WHOEVER ſhall be admitted contrary to the form of the ſtatutes, if he be a knight, he ſhall be reduced to the condition of a ſerving brother; if he is a brother chaplain, he ſhall be made a brother of obedience; if he be a ſerving brother of arms, he ſhall be reduced to the condition of a brother ſervant of office, and be diſqualified to enjoy any commandry, or any other eſtate of the order.

That no inquiſition be made into the quality of ſuch as have been admitted knights.

Br. PHILIP DE VILLERS DE LISLE-ADAM.

25. WE enact and ordain that ſuch as have been received into the convent, in quality of knights, ſhall not be called in queſtion by any body on account of their condition, unleſs the perſon that makes the objection ſubmits to the lex talionis; and in caſe he does not prove what he advances, be reduced himſelf to the ſtate of a ſerving brother: but after five years poſſeſſion, no body ſhall be allowed to make any objection at all to another's quality.

Of the reception of the ſiſters of our order.

Br. HUGH REVEL.

26. We allow the priors and the caſtellan of Empoſta to admit ladies of good life, and born of noble parents in lawful wedlock, to the profeſſion of our order.

Br. CLAUDE DE LA SENGLE.

27. Provided they ſhut themſelves up, and live in monaſteries.

Of the year of probation.

Br. HUGH DE LOUBENX VERDALE.

28. WE enact, that for the future no body ſhall receive the habit in the convent, unleſs he has lived there a whole year, that his morals, his manner of life, and his capacity may be known. During this year, he ſhall enjoy his privilege of ſeniority and reſidence, and ſhall have his table and his pay; otherwiſe his ſtanding ſhall not be reckoned from that year.

Of the reception of brother Chaplains and Servants for the ſervice of the Commandries.

Br. ELION DE VILLE-NEUVE.

29. 'TIS not allowable for any of our brothers, of what rank or condition ſoever, to receive any body as a brother of our order, except it be as brother chaplains, when they want them for their churches and chapels; or as ſerving brothers of office, for their own ſervice or the buſineſs of the commandries which they enjoy.

Br. PHILIP DE VILLERS DE LISLE-ADAM.

30. AND till they are approved by the provincial chapter, or the aſſembly to which they are to be preſented, they ſhall be obliged to give them food, cloaths and lodging at their own expence, or provide them with ſome eccleſiaſtical benefice.

That a Matriculation-book be kept of the brother Chaplains and Servants admitted out of the Convent.

The ſame MASTER.

31. WE enjoin the priors and the caſtellan of Empoſta, to take care to have a matriculation-book kept of the brothers that are received out of the convent,

in which they ſhall all be wrote down and enrolled: otherwiſe they ſhall not be deemed as brothers of our order, nor enjoy the privileges thereof, or be capable of enjoying any of its eccleſiaſtical revenues and benefices.

Br. CLAUDE DE LA SENGLE.

32. If any prior, bailiff or commander, receives any body contrary to the form above preſcribed, he ſhall be deprived of the adminiſtration of his priory, bailiffage or commandry, for five years, during which time all the profits thereof ſhall be carried to the common treaſury; and if he be a brother of the convent, he ſhall loſe his ſeniority for five years, and the benefit of it ſhall go to his Fiarnauds, to ſuch as are his juniors.

That a ſerving Brother cannot be made a Knight.

Br. ROGER DE PINS.

33. Whereas it does not become a religious to change the condition he has once embraced, and turn his ſtation in life upſide down, we therefore enact, that no ſerving brother, of what condition ſoever he be, ſhall ever be received as a brother knight: and tho' he ſhould be knighted already by ſome ſecular prince, or any other perſon, yet he ſhall only have the rank, the ſervice, the office and pay of a ſerving brother.

Of the manner of receiving Confraters or Donats.

CUSTOM.

34. Such as deſire to be received into the fraternity of our order, muſt preſent themſelves with reſpect before the brother that receives them, kneel down, and laying their hands upon the miſſal which the brother holds in his, they muſt make a ſolemn promiſe in the following words. "I N. promiſe to Almighty "God, to the bleſſed virgin Mary, mother of God, St. John Baptiſt, and "the maſter of the order of St. John of Jeruſalem, that I will exert all the acts "of good will and affection that are poſſible for me, towards the maſters, the "brothers, and the order in general; that I will defend them and their eſtates "to the utmoſt of my power; and that if I ſhould not be able to do ſo, I will "however reveal and diſcover to them every thing that comes to my knowledge, "and may prove to their prejudice; that I will never profeſs my ſelf of any "other order but this of St. John, in which if I ſhould not make my profeſ-"ſion, I however deſire that after my death my corps may be buried in the "church-yard of the order: I promiſe likewiſe to make a preſent to the order "every year, on the feaſt of St. John Baptiſt, of ſomething by way of acknow-"ledgment of my confraternity.

After ſaying theſe words, the brother that receives him ſhall ſay, "Since "you have made the aforeſaid promiſes, we receive your ſoul, and thoſe of your "anceſtors, to a ſhare in all the divine offices, good works, prayers and maſſes "which ſhall be ſaid for the future in our order, beſeeching our Lord Jeſus "Chriſt to make you partakers thereof." This done, the brother that receives him, and all the other brothers that are preſent, ſhall give him the kiſs of peace, and his name ſhall be entered in the regiſter of the confraternity, and a memorandum ſhall be likewiſe made in it of what he has promiſed to give annually. This we enjoin to be obſerved at the reception of ſuch confraters; provided ſtill, that nothing herein ſhall aboliſh the cuſtoms of ſome priories where the uſage is different, and where they may in ſuch caſes ſtick to their uſual manner of receiving them.

Br. JOHN D'OMEDES.

35. We inhibit the priors, and the caſtellan of Empoſta, the bailiffs, and all other brothers of our order, from receiving any perſon as a donat or confrater, without the great maſter's order or commiſſion, on pain of being deprived of the habit: and as for ſuch as ſhall be ſo received without his orders, they ſhall not be deemed confraters, nor enjoy the immunities and privileges of donats.

Br. CLAUDE DE LA SENGLE.

36. THE confraters or donats ſhall wear on the left ſide of their cloaths a croſs with only three branches, the uppermoſt being wanting; and in failure of doing ſo they ſhall not enjoy their privileges.

Of the qualifications required in ſuch as are to be received as Donats.

Br. JOHN DE LA VALETTE.

37. WHEREAS ſeveral abuſes are introduced in the reception of donats or confraters, we have thought fit to provide a remedy againſt them; and therefore we enact, by this ſtatute, that no ſecular, of what rank or condition ſoever he be, ſhall be ever hereafter received as a donat or confrater, without the maſter's licence or commiſſion, (as has been already eſtabliſhed) and without making appear before him that he is born of reputable parents, that he is not deſcended from Jews, Saracens, or other Mahometans; that he has been regular in his life and converſation; that he has been convicted of no crime; and that he never followed any mean or mechanick trade. He muſt likewiſe make the order a preſent of part of his effects. But if any body be received without obſerving theſe formalities, or if after his admiſſion he ſhould neglect to wear the badge of the donats ſewed upon his cloaths, he ſhall not be deemed as ſuch, nor enjoy any of the privileges annexed to that quality.

EXCEPTING however the congregation of the donats and confraters of the commandry of Modica, in which they obſerve a very antient cuſtom, different from this regulation. The donats however of this congregation ſhall be obliged to make the aboveſaid proofs before the commander; any ſtatutes or cuſtoms to the contrary in any wiſe notwithſtanding.

The manner of depriving the Brothers of the Habit.

CUSTOM.

38. WHEN any brother of our order has committed a crime for which he juſtly deſerves to be deprived of the habit, the maſter, or his lieutenant, inveſted with authority for this purpoſe, ſhall acquaint the council with his crime and offence, and conſult them, with regard to what is proper to be done on this occaſion. The council, after a mature deliberation of the matter, ſhall order the proofs to be produced, and the information and depoſition of the witneſſes ſhall be received in the form preſcribed by the ſtatutes and cuſtoms.

IF the caſe appears to be of weight enough to deſerve being deprived of the habit, the maſter, or his lieutenant, ſhall make his complaint of it to the general aſſembly, which ſhall be ſummoned for this purpoſe, by the ſound of a bell in the uſual manner. He ſhall then, before them, declare the crime of the perſon accuſed, ſuch as it is in fact; or, if he is minded to veil the enormity of it, and avoid the ſcandal of an ill example, he need only ſay that the perſon accuſed has wronged the order of above a mark of ſilver, in the criminal's preſence and hearing, who is to be brought thither under a ſtrong guard by the maſter equerry.

THE complaint being made, the maſter, or his lieutenant that preſides in his ſtead, leaves it to an egard of bailiffs to examine into it, to ſee the informations and proofs on which it is founded, and the interrogatories of the accuſed; after which they are to proceed to ſentence, according to the law of God, and right reaſon, the ſtatutes and laudable cuſtoms of the order.

THE maſter, or his lieutenant, names the preſident of the egard, and deputes one of his religious, a man of integrity, to appear before them as his attorney, and carry on the neceſſary proſecution. After which the preſident and the egard of bailiffs retire into another place, where the maſter's attorney on one ſide, and the criminal on the other, appear before them. The attorney demands that the criminal be ſtript of the habit, according to the heinouſneſs of his crime; the criminal is allowed to anſwer, and make his defence. If he confeſſes his crime, and asks pardon for it, the egard go three ſeveral times to the maſter and the aſſembly, to deſire grace may be ſhewn to the criminal. If the maſter finds

that the ſtatutes allow him to grant it, they proceed no further: but if he perſiſts in requiring juſtice to be done, the egard return to the place from whence they came.

If the perſon accuſed denies the fact, they produce witneſſes, informations, and proofs: and if he be convicted, either by his own confeſſion, or by the depoſitions of the witneſſes, the egard pronounce the ſentence, and condemn him to be deprived of the habit. Then they call in the maſter's attorney, and acquaint him with their ſentence. He exhorts the criminal to follow the egard, which goes to appear before the maſter and the aſſembly: there he ſues again for pardon, and the egard intercede for him. But if the maſter or his lieutenant perſiſt in their refuſal, and order the ſentence to be read, the foreman and egard of bailiffs, after three ſeveral orders, pronounce the ſentence in the criminal's preſence, declare him convicted of the crime, and condemn him to be ſtripped of the habit.

When the ſentence has been read aloud, the criminal falls on his knees before the maſter, or his lieutenant, and continues to ſue for grace; the maſter equerry ſtanding by him all the time, ready to execute the orders of the grand maſter, or his lieutenant, one of which turning towards the criminal, denounces the ſentence of deprivation againſt him in theſe words, "Since you have by your crimes "and irregularities rendered your ſelf unworthy of wearing any longer the ſign "of the true croſs, and the habit of our order, which we admitted you to, out "of our good opinion of the regularity of your conduct; we do therefore, ac-"cording to our ſtatutes and cuſtoms, for the praiſe of ſuch as do well, and "for a terror to evil doers, deprive you of the habit of our order, and cut you "off from the noble ſociety of our brothers: caſting you away as a corrupt and "a putrified member.

After theſe words, the maſter equerry, by the maſter or his lieutenant's order, ſtrips the criminal of the habit, in this manner: at the firſt command, he only puts his hand on the mantle of the perſon condemned; at the ſecond, he unties the ſtrings of his ſleeves à bec, or which are pointed at the end, letting them fall down before; at the third, he unties the ſtring that faſtens the mantle, and takes it off his ſhoulders, ſaying theſe words, "By the authority of my ſupe-"rior, I take from you the ties of the yoke of the Lord, which is truly eaſy, "and the habit of our order, which you have made your ſelf not worthy to wear. And then, by the grand maſter's order, he carries him back to priſon.

When the perſon accuſed is abſent, the firſt ſtep taken, is to cite him, according to the form of our ſtatutes and cuſtoms: if he does not appear, out of contumacy, or it is not practicable to take him, in caſe the crime he is accuſed of was committed publickly, and directly contrary to the tenor of the ſtatutes, or is a notorious one, for which he ought to be deprived of the habit; in ſuch caſe, provided there be ſufficient and legal proofs of his guilt, they proceed againſt him in his abſence, as much as if he was preſent, his contumacy does not ſave him, but he is condemned by the egard; and the grand maſter, or his lieutenant, declares him deprived of the habit; in which the formalities before mentioned are obſerved. They bring a mantle into the midſt of the aſſembly, and, after the third command, the maſter equerry takes it and carries it away, to the reproach and ignominy of the criminal.

The manner of reſtoring the habit to ſuch as have been deprived of it.

CUSTOM.

39. 'Tis the cuſtom of our order, to ſhew clemency and mercy to ſuch as repent of their crimes, and return to a more regular conduct. And therefore, when one of our brethren has been deprived of the habit for his faults, and has afterwards repented of them, and ſeems ſo diſpoſed to amend them, that he deſerves to be pardoned according to the tenor of our ſtatutes, and it is thought proper to reſtore him the habit, 'tis uſually done in the following manner.

The grand maſter, or his lieutenant, convenes the aſſembly or congregation by the ſound of the bell: and taking his place in it, with the bailiffs, priors, and other dignitaries and brothers of the order, in the uſual manner; the maſter, or his lieutenant, order the maſter equerry to bring the perſon that had been deprived

of the habit, in a ſecular dreſs, or even in his ſhirt, with a rope about his neck, if his crime be ſuch as deſerves it: he is brought in holding a taper lighted between his two hands joined together, as a token that he will ſoon recover the true charity and love of the order.

In this condition he throws himſelf at the maſter's feet, and humbly asks his pardon, beſeeching him to reſtore him the habit, and re-admit him into the ſociety of the brothers; upon which the maſter makes him this anſwer, "Tho' "it is evident that your former faults have juſtly brought upon you a depriva- "tion of our habit, yet, as we are in hopes you will be more regular for the "future, we pardon you, we reſtore you the habit of our order, and receive "you again into the ſociety of our brothers. Do your beſt to live for the fu- "ture in ſo regular a manner that we may never have another occaſion of mak- "ing you feel again the rigor and ſeverity of juſtice: the grace that we ſhew "you is great; it is but very ſeldom granted; we wiſh it may turn to the wel- "fare both of your ſoul and body.

Then the maſter equerry, by the maſter's order, takes a mantle, which he puts upon his ſhoulders, and faſtens it with the ſtrings, ſaying, "Take, for the "ſecond time, the yoke of the Lord, which is eaſy and light: may it contri- "bute to the ſaving of your ſoul." The new knight praiſes God, thanks him for his goodneſs, and devotes himſelf to the ſervice of the order.

Br. CLAUDE DE LA SENGLE.

40. Whoever is reſtored to the habit in a different form, is not to be deemed legally reſtored: and after all, the knight, tho' he be reſtored to the habit, does not recover his right of ſeniority and reſidence.

Such as have dealt in commerce ſhall not be admitted knights.

Br. HUGH DE LOUBENX VERDALE.

41. We enact, that all ſuch as have trafficked in merchandize, or whoſe parents and grandfathers by the father and mother's ſide have done ſo, or have been bankers, money-changers, dealers in exchange, caſhiers and goldſmiths, or have ſold in a magazine or ſhop, by weight or meaſure, ſilken or woollen ſtuffs, corn or any other merchandize whatever, ſhall not be admitted knights, tho' gentlemen of name and arms, in whatever ſtate, town or province they are born.*

That no perſon be admitted, whoſe parents actually detain the eſtates of the order.

The ſame MASTER.

42. It has been determined by a very equitable and reaſonable cuſtom, that no perſon ſhould be received into the order, who is conſiderably in debt. For a like reaſon we declare and enact, that no body ſhall be received whoſe father has detained, or who detains himſelf, any lands, poſſeſſions, juriſdictions, or any other eſtate or right belonging to the order, unleſs he has firſt made reſtitution thereof. We likewiſe order the commiſſaries deputed to receive the proofs of noble deſcent, to inform themſelves exactly, and examine the witneſſes upon this article.

Of the Church.

TITLE III.

Of the worſhip of divine things.

CUSTOM.

1. THE main and moſt eſſential duty of a religious, is to adore God, to honour him with all his heart and all his ſoul, and apply himſelf continually to what regards his worſhip. We therefore enjoin and command our brothers to

* Except the towns of Florence, Genoa and Lucca, with regard to which 'tis enough if the candidate has not trafficked himſelf, tho' his father dealt that way.

ſhew a ſingular reverence to ſacred and divine things, that they may obtain the divine aſſiſtance, and fight with greater fortitude and ſucceſs againſt the enemies of Jeſus Chriſt.

Of the prayers which the brothers are obliged to ſay every day.

CUSTOM.

2. THE founders of our order, out of their great prudence, thought fit to order, that our brother knights and ſervants (who are bound to apply themſelves to prayer to lift up their mind to God) ſhould not be incumbered with too many prayers which might hinder their employing themſelves in hoſpitality, and the defence of the faith. Our anceſtors therefore inſtituted this method of prayer, viz. That all the brothers, profeſſed of the order, knights and ſervants, ſhould ſay the Lord's prayer taught by Jeſus Chriſt himſelf in the goſpel, and commonly called the pater noſter, one hundred and fifty times over every day, at once or at different times as they can. This number of pater noſters is deſigned as a ſort of commutation for the eccleſiaſtical hours, viz. thirteen for the mattens of the day; thirteen for the mattens of our Lady; thirteen for the prime; fourteen for the tierce; fourteen for the ſixth, and as many for the ninth hour; eighteen for veſpers; fourteen for compline; fifteen for the fifteen morning pſalms; fourteen for the vigils of the dead, and eight for the veſpers of the ſame office.

THERE is likewiſe another laudable cuſtom eſtabliſhed, and confirmed by the pope, that ſuch as were minded and had leiſure for it, ſhould ſay the office of the holy virgin or that of the dead, that they might not be obliged to repeat ſuch a number of pater noſters. The brother prieſts however, the deacons, ſubdeacons and clergy of our order, are obliged to ſay the Roman breviary, if engaged to do ſo by the eccleſiaſtical order they are entered into: we enjoin likewiſe all our brethren to be exact in diſcharging this part of their duty, which has been derived down to us from our anceſtors.

The days on which our brothers are obliged to faſt.

CUSTOM.

3. FIRST, All the Lent from Aſh-Wedneſday to Eaſter-day. If the feaſt of St. Mark the evangeliſt or of the great litanies falls in Eaſter week, the faſt ſhall be put off till after the octave. The rogation days, Monday, Tueſday and Wedneſday before the aſcenſion of our Lord. Whitſun eve, and the ember days in Whitſun week, and the ember days at the other ſeaſons. The eves of the following feaſts, of St. John Baptiſt, St. Peter and St. Paul. all the apoſtles, St. Lawrence the martyr, the Aſſumption, Conception, Nativity, Annunciation, and Purification of the Bleſſed Virgin, All-Saints, and the Nativity of our Lord.

CUSTOM.

4. THE brothers of our order, as well knights as ſervants, are obliged to receive the holy ſacrament of the euchariſt three times a year, at Eaſter, on Whitſunday and Chriſtmas day.

Br. JOHN L'EVESQUE DE LA CASSIERE.

5. AND on the feaſt of St. John Baptiſt our patron: we declare that the clergy are likewiſe obliged to do the ſame, tho' not promoted to the order of prieſthood; and likewiſe the confraters or donats.

Of the diſappropriation and confeſſion which the brothers are to make before they go on ſhipboard.

Br. PHILEBERT DE NAILLAC.

6. WE enjoin all the brothers of our order, who go on board the galleys or other veſſels, to confeſs themſelves devoutly and make their diſappropriation, which ſhall be ſealed up and put into the hands of the prior of the church, or of his vicar or the ſubprior, on pain of being put to perform a quarantaine on their

their return; and of loſing a year's pay, if they are brothers of the convent: a commander ſhall loſe one year's profits of his commandry, which ſhall be paid into the common treaſury.

Who the brothers of our order are obliged to confeſs to.

Br. HUGH REVEL.

7. We forbid our brothers to go to confeſſion to any prieſt but to the prior, or ſome chaplain of our order, if there be any to be got: in caſe they have a mind to confeſs to any other prieſt, they muſt ask the prior, or in his abſence, the ſubprior leave to do ſo.

Of the modeſty which the brothers are to obſerve during the celebration of divine ſervice.

Br. ANTHONY FLUVIAN.

8. We ſtrictly enjoin our brothers not to go into the chancel or choir in time of divine ſervice, or lean upon the altar, for fear of incommoding the prieſt that officiates. Such as violate this ſtatute ſhall be puniſhed with a faſt of forty days.

That the brothers are obliged in walking or ſitting to keep to the order of their ſeniority.

Br. CLAUDE DE LA SENGLE.

9. We add to the foregoing ſtatute, that all the brothers, as well in the church as at proceſſions, ſhall keep the order of their ſeniority: that none of them ſhall place themſelves upon the ſeats or benches of the great priors, the bailiffs, or the lieutenants of the conventual bailiffs, under the aforeſaid penalty.

Of the proceſſions which they are obliged to make.

CUSTOM.

10. They make the following proceſſions in the church of the hoſpital; upon the feaſts of the Purification and Aſſumption of the bleſſed Virgin, the Aſcenſion of our Lord, Corpus Chriſti and St. John Baptiſt. Every Sunday and Wedneſday there are proceſſions to the infirmary to pray for peace, and beſeech God to avert earthquakes. There are none upon any other feaſt, except it fall on a Sunday.

Of the ſolemnity to be uſed on the day of the nativity of the holy virgin, for the victory gained that day over the Turks.

Br. JOHN DE LA VALETTE.

11. We are particularly obliged to celebrate with great reverence and devotion the feaſt of the Nativity of the holy Virgin mother of God, as well for the ſingular benefits which we and our order have always received from her, as for the victory which God was pleaſed to give us on this day over the Barbarians. The Turkiſh monarch, the bitter enemy of the chriſtian name, and particularly of our order, ſent a mighty and well provided navy againſt us in 1565. to attack our iſland: the Infidels gave terrible aſſaults both by ſea and land, and continued them for four months together without intermiſſion; and having carried by ſtorm fort St. Elmo, which lies at the entrance of the port, ruined the other fortreſſes, caſtles and baſtions, levelled the walls with the ground, burnt the country houſes, demoliſhed the churches, and laid all the iſland in deſolation; we were reduced to the utmoſt diſtreſs, and yet, by the aſſiſtance of almighty God, the bravery and the reſolution of our brothers, we held out againſt all the efforts of the enemy, with ſo much courage and conſtancy, that the ſuccours ſent by Philip II. king of Spain his truly Catholick majeſty, under the command of don Garcia de Toledo viceroy of Sicily arriving, the Turks, weakened by the loſſes they had ſuffered from us, and terrified

at the approach of theſe freſh troops, were forced to fly away ſhamefully, after ſeeing the beſt of their army cut in pieces, without being able to execute their deſigns.

We therefore acknowledging that we owe this victory to almighty God, to the holy virgin Mary his mother, and to St. John Baptiſt our protector, have thought fit, for the continuing a perpetual memory of this ſingular benefit in our order, to make a law to be inviolably obſerved for ever, by which we command and enact, that they ſhall, in all the churches of our order, make proceſſions, and uſe other eccleſiaſtical ſolemnities and ceremonies with great reverence and devotion every year, upon the feaſt of the nativity of the holy virgin; that there ſhall be a ſermon in her praiſe, by whoſe interceſſion we obtained ſo glorious a victory, the ſeries and progreſs whereof ſhall be likewiſe repreſented to the people in the ſermon; and on the eve of the feaſt they ſhall uſe the office of the maſs called de requiem, with the uſual prayers for the reſt of the ſouls of our brothers, and all others that loſt their lives for the faith and for our order in this bloody war.

That they make prayers for peace.

Br. PHILIBERT DE NAILLAC.

We order likewiſe that in our convent they provide reputable marriages for ſix of the young women that are uſed to be maintained in the hoſpital at the expence of our order; and if there are none, that other poor virtuous and modeſt virgins, ſuch as the grand maſter ſhall chooſe, ſhall be diſpoſed of in that manner, with a portion of fifty crowns to each in cloaths and money. The prieſt who ſhall officiate at the high maſs, after chanting the pater noſter, ſhall kneel down before the altar, and ſay aloud the prayers which begin with Lætatus, &c. for the peace and tranquillity of the catholick church, the chriſtian world, and the order of St. John, by whoſe favours, aſſiſtance and revenues we are protected and defended from the tyranny of the Turks.

That they pray for the maſter and the order.

Br. PETER D'AUBUSSON.

13. We order and appoint that in all our churches and chapels, in what part of the world ſoever they are ſeated, the prieſts that ſay maſs ſhall make in their memento expreſs mention of the maſter and brothers of our order, that God may give them his bleſſing to vanquiſh the enemies of the catholick faith, to the honour of almighty God, for whoſe glory and church they fight, and that it would pleaſe his divine Majeſty to preſerve our order.

Of the prayers to be ſaid for every brother that dies.

CUSTOM.

14. Thirty maſſes ſhall be ſaid for the ſoul of every brother that dies; at the firſt of which every body preſent ſhall offer a lighted taper and a peny, which laſt ſhall be diſtributed to the poor. Every prieſt ſhall ſay a maſs: the deacons and ſub-deacons ſhall read the pſalter. The knights and ſerving brothers ſhall ſay every one of them a hundred and fifty pater noſters, or the office of the dead, for the ſoul of the brother deceaſed, beſides the prayers which they are obliged to ſay every day.

Of the maſs which is to be ſaid for the dead.

Br. HUGH REVEL.

15. We order, that on the Monday after Quinquageſima every year, a maſs ſhall be ſaid in all the churches and chapels of our order, where there are prieſts deputed for the maſters and brothers that are dead; and that the vigils of the dead ſhall be ſung on the Sunday before at veſpers.

Br. WILLIAM DE VILLARET.

16. We order and enjoin all the brothers to aſſiſt at this ſervice, and to offer every one of them a wax taper and a peny. The maſter is obliged to give a ſilver lys to every brother there preſent.

Br. CLAUDE DE LA SENGLE.

17. The brother that ſhall neglect to be at the ſervice, ſhall be puniſhed with the ſeptaine.

CUSTOM.

18. There are to be ſermons in the church of the convent every Sunday in Advent, every feaſt in the year, and all the time of Lent.

Br. PETER DE CORNILLAN.

19. We conſtitute and appoint that the nine leſſons of the holy croſs be read every Friday in the church of our order, unleſs it be in Advent, from Septuageſima to Whitſunday, on days when the office is of nine leſſons, on the octaves of feaſts, and on ember days.

Br. ANTHONY FLUVIAN.

20. We forbid all the brothers of our order to preſume to correct, add, or diminiſh any thing whatever in the books of our churches, without authority from the prior of the church. He that is guilty of doing ſo ſhall be puniſhed with the quarantaine.

Br. JAMES DE MILLY.

21. A learned man ſhall be choſe to inſtruct the young clergy in the Latin tongue, and another to teach them to chant. The ſalaries of both ſhall be paid out of the treaſury.

Of the promotion of the clergy to holy orders.

Br. HUGH REVEL.

22. We forbid all our brothers, of what condition ſoever, to get any clergyman, that is profeſſed in our order, promoted to holy orders, without being firſt preſented to the prior of the church, and a licenſe from him; that no clergyman can be made ſub-deacon till he is twenty one years old, nor deacon before twenty two, nor prieſt before twenty five. That ſuch clergymen as have not been profeſſed in our order, ſhall not be admitted into the ſervice of the hoſpital, till they have firſt produced their letters of ordination.

Of the ornament and repairs of churches.

Br. PHILIBERT DE NAILLAC.

23. We enact that the bailiffs, priors, caſtellan of Empoſta, capitulary bailiffs, commanders and brothers that manage the commandries and eſtates of our order, ſhall take immediate care to put the churches and chapels in good and decent repair, to provide them with books for their uſe, with ornaments, chalices, and all other things proper for divine ſervice, in proportion to the revenues of the reſpective houſes and commandries, and to have them likewiſe ſupplied devoutly by brother chaplains of good life and converſation, and in defect of ſuch, by other prieſts, either ſecular or regular, till they can get chaplains that are profeſſed of the order.

The priors and caſtellan of Empoſta ſhall ſee to the execution of this regulation, and ſhall fix the commanders and brothers a time to perform what is required of them; if they decline doing it, they ſhall loſe the profits of their houſes and commandries, till they have made proviſion as directed; only a ſmall pittance being reſerved out of them for their bare food and raiment: if the priors and caſtellan of Empoſta fail to do their duty, they ſhall be obliged to

pay at their own expence, for making the proviſion here directed, becauſe this care is part of the buſineſs of their office.

Of the penſion and proviſion due to pariſh-prieſts and other beneficed perſons.

Br. JOHN DE LA VALETTE.

24. WHEREAS there are in our order ſeveral churches with cure of ſouls, and other churches and chapels, where divine ſervice is to be ſaid, that have ſo poor a revenue, that it is not ſufficient for the decent maintenance of a pariſh prieſt, perpetual vicar, or other incumbent, we enjoin the priors and caſtellan of Empoſta, with their provincial chapters, to examine carefully into the moſt proper means of providing a ſufficient and handſome maintenance for theſe eccleſiaſticks: allowing them to make ſuch proviſion by the union of ſome neighbouring benefice, by an handſome penſion, or portion, or by any other more convenient and rational way, that they may go thro' the functions of their miniſtry with the greater effect and reputation.

Of the comptrollers of the church.

Br. JAMES DE MILLY.

25. WE enact that two religious, men of integrity, and of good life and converſation, be choſe by the maſter and his council, and deputed by all the languages which they are not of themſelves: who ſhall, in conjunction with the prior of the church, or ſome chaplain whom he ſhall depute as a fit and capable perſon in his ſtead, examine diligently whether divine ſervice is performed exactly in the church of St. John, and the chapels and oratories that depend on it, agreeable to the regulations made about the ſpiritualities and temporalities of that church, and thoſe chapels, and ſhall repair, correct and rectify whatever they find there amiſs and defective.

THEY ſhall make and keep an exact inventory of all deeds and inſtruments relating to the foundation of chappels, the eſtates and revenues annexed, and the ornaments belonging to them, which when they go out of their office, they ſhall preſent to the maſter and his council, to be delivered to thoſe that ſhall be appointed to ſucceed them.

THEY ſhall make their reports at the aſſemblies in ember-weeks, of all that they have obſerved in their office, and of all that they think wanting, that the maſter and council may provide for it accordingly. Their office ſhall laſt but one year, unleſs the maſter and council continue them longer. They are exempted from mounting the guard, that they may have the more leiſure to follow the buſineſs of their office.

That all things proper for divine worſhip, that ſhall be found among the effects of brothers deceaſed, ſhall be deliver'd to the church of the convent.

Br. JOHN FERDINAND D'HEREDIA.

26. WE enact, that all things deſigned for divine worſhip, as chalices, gold and ſilver or gilt veſſels, ſtuffs of gold, ſilver or ſilk, or any ſuch like things, which ſhall be found among the effects of our deceaſed brothers, as well on this ſide, as beyond the ſea, ſhall be delivered to the church of our convent, unleſs they have been given by the priors, bailiffs or commanders in their life-time, to particular churches in their commandries, in which caſe we would have them remain in thoſe churches, and an inventory be taken of them.

Of the preſents that the new-elected priors are obliged to make to the church.

Br. CLAUDE DE LA SENGLE.

27. WE enact, that the priors and the caſtellan of Empoſta, when they have been elected, and have enjoyed their priories or caſtellany one whole year, ſhall be obliged to offer to the church of our convent, a preſent to the value of at leaſt fifty crowns of gold, which they muſt ſend within the ſix months next following, to the comptrollers of the church; and in failure thereof ſhall be

conſidered as debtors to it, and be obliged to pay that ſum, as if it was due to the common treaſury.

Br. JOHN L'EVESQUE DE LA CASSIERE.

28. As an appendage to the foregoing ſtatute, we enact that the capitulary bailiffs ſhall be obliged, under the ſame penalty as the priors, to offer to the church of the convent a preſent to the value of at leaſt twenty five crowns of gold, after they have enjoyed the revenue of their bailiffage for one year.

The ſame MASTER.

29. We enact that ſuch maſters as ſhall not, within five years from the day of their election, have made the church a preſent of an ornament fit to officiate in pontifically at divine ſervice, ſhall be diſqualified to exerciſe any grace or prerogative of the maſterſhip in conferring commandries of grace.

The days on which the brothers are to wear their mantle.

Br. CLAUDE DE LA SENGLE.

30. Our brothers are obliged to wear the robe or mantle, on Chriſtmas-eve at veſpers; and on Chriſtmas day at maſs and veſpers; on St. Stephen's day at maſs and veſpers; on St. John's day at maſs; on the day of the circumciſion at maſs; and on the Epiphany at maſs: on Candlemas day at maſs; on palm Sunday at maſs; on Thurſday, Friday, and Saturday in paſſion-week, at all the offices; on Eaſter day, and the day following, at maſs and veſpers; on Aſcenſion day at maſs; on Whitſun-eve at veſpers; on Whitſunday, and the day following, at maſs and veſpers; on Trinity Sunday at maſs and veſpers; on the eve of St. John Baptiſt at veſpers; and on Midſummer day at maſs and veſpers; on the feaſts of the invention and exaltation of the holy croſs at maſs; on the feaſt of the aſſumption of the holy virgin at maſs and veſpers; on the day of the beheading of St. John Baptiſt at maſs; on the nativity of the holy virgin at maſs; on All-ſaints day at maſs and veſpers; on All-ſouls day at maſs; and at all times when the brothers would receive the holy euchariſt.

The members of chapters are likewiſe obliged to wear it in general chapters; the conventual bailiffs, or their lieutenants, the priors and capitular bailiffs, in their egards, and aſſemblies; and the ſixteen electors, when they proceed to the choice of the maſter: whoever fails to do ſo is to be puniſhed with a quarantaine.

Of Hoſpitality.

TITLE IV.

That the brothers uſe hoſpitality.

CUSTOM.

1. Hospitality is one of the moſt eminent acts of piety and humanity: all chriſtian people agree in this opinion, becauſe it comprehends all other acts. It ought to be exerciſed and eſteemed by all good men, much more by ſuch as are for diſtinguiſhing themſelves by the name of the knights hoſpitallers. And for this reaſon, we ought not to apply our ſelves more particularly to any other function, than to that from which our order receives its denomination.

Of the comptrollers of the infirmary.

Br. JOHN DE LASTIC.

2. That our infirmary may be governed with the greater exactneſs and diligence, we decree, that two comptrollers be choſe every year by the maſter and his council, out of different languages; who ſhall viſit the ſick carefully every

day, and if they find any thing wanting that is neceſſary for their cure, they ſhall provide it immediately. The director of the infirmary ſhall be obliged to give them every month an account in writing of all that he has laid out: if this be not done, he by whoſe fault it happens ſhall be turned out of his office.

How the comptrollers, the ſecretary of the infirmary, and the commander of the little commandry, ought to conduct themſelves.

Br. FABRICIO DE CARRETTO.

3. To prevent accidents which may eaſily happen, we enact, that the comptrollers of the infirmary, as ſoon as they are choſen by the maſter and council, ſhall take an oath in the council that they will well and faithfully execute their office, for the relief of the gentlemen that are ſick, and will keep an exact journal of every thing that is laid out, either in the apothecary's office or in the infirmary, which is to be paid out of the common treaſury. The like oath ſhall be taken by the ſecretary of the infirmary, as ſoon as he has been preſented by the great hoſpitaller, according to antient uſage, to the maſter and his council, and been approved of by them. The commander of the little commandry ſhall do as much, and ſhall promiſe to give nothing to the ſick, without the order of the phyſicians, and the knowledge of the comptrollers, who ſhall put it down in their accompts: for no expence that is not made in this method, ſhall be paſſed or allowed.

Br. JOHN DE LASTIC.

4. The comptrollers of the infirmary ſhall every evening examine the expence that has been made in the day, and ſhall put their names to the accompt; otherwiſe it muſt not be allowed by the procurators of the common treaſury.

That an inventory be made of the goods of the infirmary.

The ſame MASTER.

5. We enjoin the comptrollers and the hoſpitaller to make ſtrict ſearch every year for the legacies, gifts, and goods of the infirmary, and ſhall take an inventory thereof in due form, which they ſhall ſign and ſeal with their own ſeals, in the preſence of the director of the infirmary, the prior, and two witneſſes: they ſhall inſert in this inventory all veſſels of gold, ſilver, tin and braſs; all beds, blankets, ſheets, tents, and every thing belonging to them, together with all furniture, and other things uſed for the ſervice of the chapel of the palace, of the chambers, kitchen, and other offices, and put down a valuation of every article. They ſhall alſo put a mark upon the goods, that they may know them again; and take care that every thing be put in a ſafe, clean and convenient place. We likewiſe order the director of the infirmary to take nothing out from thence, either privately or openly, directly or indirectly, or to change or convert them to any other uſe.

Of viſiting the apothecary's room.

The ſame MASTER.

6. To prevent the ill qualities of medicines doing any miſchief to the ſick, we order, that the apothecary's room ſhall be viſited by the hoſpitaller and the comptrollers, in the preſence of the phyſicians, as often as they ſhall judge proper; and the phyſicians ſhall, in their preſence, examine the drugs very carefully and exactly, and ſee whether the ſhop is well furniſhed with them, and whether any drugs be wanting that are proper or neceſſary for the ſick, that they may not want relief by the apothecary's fault.

Br. JAMES DE MILLY.

7. We enjoin the director of the infirmary, and the comptrollers, to have the ſtatutes that relate to the hoſpital, wrote on a fair ſkin of parchment, which ſhall be fixed to a board and hung up in the palace of the ſick, to be ſeen by all the world; that the ſtatutes which are made for them may be the more ſurely and exactly obſerved.

Of the hoſpitaller's ſeal.

The ſame MASTER.

8. For the ſecurity of the goods and furniture provided for the uſe of the ſick, we order the hoſpitaller or his lieutenant to have a ſteel ſeal, to mark the coverlets, furniture and other goods that will bear ſealing, to prevent their being changed, carried away or embezzelled: which ſeal ſhall be put in a leathern bag, ſealed with the ſeals of the hoſpitaller or his lieutenant, and of the comptrollers, and ſhall be kept by the director of the infirmary. The plate and other goods which are not in uſe every day, ſhall be put in a place apart, and the keys of it kept by the director and comptrollers.

That a chaplain ſhould be deputed with the prior of the infirmary.

Br. JOHN DE LASTIC.

9. We require the hoſpitaller to depute ſome chaplain of our order of good life and converſation, whom he ſhall firſt preſent to the prior of the church, to be approved of and confirmed by him. The chaplain ſhall ſay four maſſes a week in the infirmary, and the prior three, that the ſick may hear maſs every day. He that officiates ſhall pray to God for the health of their ſouls and bodies, and the uſual ſalary ſhall be paid them. They ſhall be obliged to hear confeſſions, to adminiſter the holy euchariſt, to bury them after their death, and, in a word, to do every thing that is neceſſary either for the ſaving of their ſouls, or the chriſtian interment of their bodies.

Of the exemption of the prior of the infirmary.

Br. JAMES DE MILLY.

10. The prior of the infirmary ought to be careful and diligent in attending on the ſick, eſpecially in what concerns their ſalvation. We therefore order him to do his utmoſt in this reſpect, to ſay maſs to them, to adminiſter the holy ſacraments to them, and acquit himſelf faithfully of every other part of his duty. And that he may do this with the greater convenience, we exempt him from caravans, and allow him to keep a ſervant, for whoſe maintenance he ſhall receive out of the common treaſury the ſame quantity of wheat that a brother knight receives.

Of the phyſicians of the infirmary.

Br. JOHN DE LASTIC.

11. Learned and experienced phyſicians ſhall be called in for the relief of the ſick, and ſhall take an oath in the preſence of eight brothers of the languages; that they will do their beſt for the recovery of the ſick, following the practice and writings of the moſt approved phyſicians; and that they will viſit them at leaſt twice a day without fail, to preſcribe what is proper for them, notwithſtanding any other buſineſs upon their hands. The director of the infirmary ſhall be by at their viſits, and the ſecretary, who ſhall write down with great exactneſs all that the phyſicians preſcribe. The phyſicians ſhall have a ſalary out of the common treaſury, and may neither demand nor receive any thing from the ſick for their fees.

Of the Chirurgeons.

The ſame MASTER.

12. We order, that for the ſame ſervice of the ſick they pitch upon two chirurgeons that are prudent, diſcreet, and skilful in their profeſſion. They muſt be firſt examined and approved of by the phyſicians of the infirmary: otherwiſe we forbid them to be admitted.

That

That the director of the infirmary visit the sick every night.

The same MASTER.

13. The director of the infirmary ought to be very careful of the sick, that no accident happen by his negligence. We enjoin him therefore to go attended by a faithful servant, to visit them with prudence and discretion at the hour of compline and day break, speak to them, exhort them, encourage them and assist them all he can. The comptrollers, when they go thither in the morning, shall enquire whether he has done his duty; if he has failed in any respect, they shall give him a severe reprimand, and order him to be more exact for the future; in failure of which, they must provide somebody else. The director of the infirmary shall take care to give the sick none but the best and most delicate sorts of food, as pullets and chickens, good bread and good wine, to supply them with good nourishment: the comptrollers are likewise ordered to take care that the sick be so treated.

Of the modest carriage of the sick in the infirmary.

The same MASTER.

14. To restrain the insolence and immodest behaviour of some, we order the sick, as well brothers as seculars, to carry themselves with great civility and modesty in the infirmary; that nothing be given to them but what the physicians order: if they are so bold and importunate as to demand any thing else, we forbid it to be given them. Such likewise as begin to be better shall make no noise, nor play at cards, dice or chess: they shall not read histories nor chronicles aloud, tho' they may read them to themselves, and without making any noise. Such as will not correct themselves of this ill habit shall receive nothing from the infirmary, shall be turned out of the company of the sick, and go to live elsewhere as they please: they do not deserve the advice of physicians or the benefit of medicines that slight the precepts and rules of physick. The director is to take care this rule be observed, otherwise he shall be turned out of his post. The brothers may continue there for ten days after they are out of the physicians hands, and eat at the director of the infirmary's table, the expence of which shall be made good to him out of the common treasury.

Br. ALPHONSUS of PORTUGAL.

15. When the brothers fall sick they may continue for three days in their own chambers, whither every thing that they want shall be sent them from the infirmary, the same as if they were there: but if they do not go thither after that time, they shall not be assisted with any necessaries at the expence of the order.

That the brothers confess themselves, and make their disappropriation when they go into the infirmary.

Br. JOHN DE LASTIC.

16. We enjoin all the brothers that go sick into the infirmary, to confess themselves and receive the holy eucharist within twenty four hours afterwards. They shall likewise make their disappropriation or declaration of all their effects, which shall be sealed with the prior of the infirmary's seal. If they refuse doing it in the said space of time, they shall be expelled the infirmary, and receive no assistance thence. We enjoin likewise the director of the infirmary to keep a sufficient number of regular and diligent servants to attend on the sick, and two women of good reputation to breed up children that are found exposed, whom they must take care to have baptized.

Br. CLAUDE DE LA SENGLE.

17. All the disappropriations of our brothers that die either in the convent or elsewhere, shall be registred in the court of exchequer.

Of the wills that are to be made by ſecular perſons ſick in t heinfirmary.

Br. JAMES DE MILLY.

18. We order all ſecular perſons, that are ſick and received into our infirmary, to confeſs themſelves and receive the communion; after which the prior and the comptrollers ſhall admoniſh them to make their wills. This will ſhall be made by the prior, or by the ſecretary of the infirmary in his preſence, or in the prior's abſence by a prieſt, in the preſence of two or three witneſſes; and can't be annulled or broken afterwards without incurring the penalties of the canon law. The prior and ſecretary ſhall have as much authority to make it, in the preſence of at leaſt two witneſſes, as two publick notaries would have. It ſhall be regiſtered in a book, for the ſecurity of the rights of ſuch as are intitled to the eſtate or effects of the deceaſed. If the ſecular perſons that are ſick, are not in a condition, or do not care to make their will, the director of the infirmary and the comptrollers ſhall order the prior or ſecretary to make an inventory of all that belongs to them, in the preſence of two witneſſes, to reſtore it to them if they recover their health, and to deliver it to their heirs if they chance to die: and the effects recited in the inventory are locked up in a ſafe place under the keys of the director and the comptrollers.

Br. CLAUDE DE LA SENGLE.

19. The comptrollers are ordered to ſee that the wills of ſeculars that die in our infirmary be executed punctually.

The manner of burying deceaſed brothers.

Br. NICOLAS DE LORGUE.

20. 'Tis a very decent practice in the funeral honours paid to our brothers, that their bodies ſhould be covered with the habit given them at their entrance into the order, and which they wore afterwards all their life; and therefore we order that all the brothers of the hoſpital, when it pleaſes God to call them, ſhall be buried in their mantles à bec, i. e. with points, and the white croſs.

That the corps of ſeculars deceaſed be buried handſomely.

Br. JOHN DE LASTIC.

21. We order that the corps of ſecular perſons that die in our infirmary ſhould be buried handſomely; that the chaplains ſhall walk before the corps and pray for the ſoul of the deceaſed: that the four perſons that carry the bier ſhall wear black robes, which ſhall be made and kept for this particular purpoſe: the director of the infirmary is to ſee that this be done.

That no body ſhall appear in mourning at the death of our brothers.

Br. CLAUDE DE LA SENGLE.

22. We order that the corps of our brothers ſhall be buried honourably: we expreſly forbid all perſons, as well our brothers as ſeculars, to appear in mourning at the funeral of a brother, or even of the grand maſter himſelf, in what place ſoever he ſhould die.

Of the opening of the coffers of the deceaſed.

Br. JAMES DE MILLY.

23. To prevent any embezzelling the effects of the deceaſed, we expreſly forbid all perſons to open the coffers of ſuch as die in the infirmary, but in the preſence of the hoſpitaller, the director of the infirmary, and the two comptrollers. If they find any goods therein that may be of ſervice in the infirmary, they ſhall not be applied to any other uſe.

Of the four hundred florins left to the infirmary by Villeragut.

Br. CLAUDE DE LA SENGLE.

24. As it is very reaſonable to comply with the laſt will and intention of teſtators, we allow none of our brothers, what authority ſoever he is inveſted with, to diſpoſe of the ſum of florins that was left as a legacy to our infirmary by brother James de Villeragut caſtellan of Empoſta, or of any improvement that has either been made already, or ſhall hereafter be made of it: unleſs it be the great conſervator of our convent, who may diſpoſe of it for the ſervice of the ſick according to the will and intent of the teſtator.

Of the privilege of the infirmary.

Br. FABRICIO DEL CARETTO.

25. We enact, that if any criminal comes to take ſanctuary in our infirmary, and any doubt be made whether he ſhall have the benefit of it or no, the hoſpitaller, or his lieutenant, ſhall, at the inſtance of the caſtellan or judge, give order for his ſafe keeping in the infirmary, till the caſe has been fully examined into: and if it appears that he ought to enjoy the privilege of ſanctuary, he ſhall be ſent out of the iſland on the firſt ſhip that ſails, as has been the antient practice.

The caſes in which the infirmary cannot ſerve for a ſanctuary.

Br. CLAUDE DE LA SENGLE.

26. The privilege of the infirmary ſhall be of no uſe to aſſaſſines, to ſuch as pillage the country by night, to incendiaries, to ſodomites, to conſpirators, nor to robbers. Such likewiſe as are guilty of murdering any body by ambuſcado, wilfully in cold blood, treacherouſly, or by poiſon; the ſervants too of our brothers, ſuch as have attempted the lives of our brothers, judges, or miniſters of juſtice, perſons that are in debt, ſuch as have committed crimes within the infirmary it ſelf, or deſignedly in hopes of finding ſanctuary there, falſe witneſſes, ſacrilegious perſons, robbers on the highway; all theſe are excluded from the privilege of it.

The ſame MASTER.

27. We order that they ſhall continue to diſtribute the alms that uſe to be given in our commandries.

Of the common Treaſury.

TITLE V.

Of the charges of the common treaſury, and the regulations to be made on that head.

CUSTOM.

1. SINCE the eſtates and effects belonging to our order were conferred upon it by the liberality of pious men, to ſupport the expence of hoſpitality and make war upon the enemies of the chriſtian name, our brothers have no right of property therein, it being entirely veſted in the order. But as there is no making the moſt of them whilſt they are left in common, by reaſon of the diſtance of the places, and difference of the nations where they lye, our predeceſſors entruſted the management of them to our brothers in different places, under the title of commandries, charging them with penſions that were to be paid annually, and might be augmented or diminiſhed according to the time and circumſtances of affairs.

So that the commanders are obliged to remit at leaſt the fifth part of the revenues to the common treaſury, frequently the fourth part, ſometimes an half, and even the whole profits, if it be ſo ordered by the general chapter, which has the ſole authority of regulating and impoſing theſe penſions or contributions, which we call reſponſions or impoſts; and determines and declares publickly what is to be paid by every particular commander. The chapter ſends its orders and decrees under its ſeal to the priors, the caſtellan of Empoſta, and the provincial chapters, enjoining them to take care that every adminiſtrator pay the penſion laid upon him.

That all are obliged to pay the dues of the common treaſury.

Br. PETER D'AUBUSSON.

2. We enact, that all the priors, the caſtellan of Empoſta, the bailiffs, commanders and brothers, exempt or not exempt, ſhall, on account of their priories, caſtellany of Empoſta, bailliages, commandries, houſes, and other eſtates belonging to the order, pay really and truly every year in the provincial chapter, and if there be none held, upon the feaſt of St. John Baptiſt, the dues of the common treaſury, laid or to be laid, with the arrears and every thing elſe due from them, to the receivers and procurators that ſhall be deputed for that purpoſe, notwithſtanding any clauſes, graces and exemptions (which can't be granted to the prejudice of the common treaſury) without any delay, excuſe, appeal, oppoſition or impediment, either on account of war, devaſtation, or any other reaſon whatſoever.

That the dues of the common treaſury be paid without any abatement, notwithſtanding all impediments.

The ſame MASTER.

3. If any of the ſaid priories, caſtellany of Empoſta, bailliages, commandries, or other demeſnes belonging to the order, be damaged by war, by the impoſts of princes, bad weather and harveſts, or any other unforeſeen accident; nay, if they ſhould be utterly ruined, the adminiſtrator is ſtill obliged to pay the full dues of the common treaſury, laid or to be laid, without any deduction or abatement, and without any oppoſition or delay, it not being fit that the treaſury ſhould ſuffer from ſuch accidents; ſo that all the loſs falls upon the priors, bailiffs, commanders, and other adminiſtrators, who are bound to make good the dues to the treaſury, though all the profits ariſing from the eſtates under their care, ſhould not be ſufficient for it: it being the buſineſs of adminiſtrators to foreſee and provide againſt future accidents.

Alteration of the manner of computing the years of the mortuary and the vacancy.

Br. JOHN DE LA VALETTE.

4. It has been a cuſtom hitherto obſerved, that in caſe of the death of the priors, bailiffs, commanders and others, adminiſtrators of the eſtates of the order, the common treaſury ſhould, beſides other things, have the right of the mortuary and the vacancy, i. e. the profits and revenues ariſing from the deceaſe of the adminiſtrator to the Midſummer following; and from that day to the ſame feaſt in the year following: but becauſe this manner of computing has occaſioned a great number of diſputes we have thought fit to change it, and eſtabliſh the following one.

The mortuary ſhall comprehend all the revenues of the priories, bailliages, commandries and other adminiſtrations, from the death of the perſon poſſeſſed of them till the feaſt of St. Philip and St. James which falls on the firſt of May: and the vacancy ſhall take in all that ariſe from that day till the ſame day in the year following, which ſhall be brought to the common treaſury as ſoon as that term is expired. Declaring however that no alteration is hereby intended to be made in the cuſtoms and ſtatutes which require the dues of the common treaſury to be paid at the provincial chapter, or if none be held, on the nativity

tivity of St. John Baptiſt, but they ſhall ſtill remain in their full force and vigour.

Of the dues to be paid to the common treaſury by ſuch as get commandries by reſignation.

Br. PETER D'AUBUSSON.

5. We enact likewiſe, that two whole years revenue of all the priories, bailliages, commandries, or other adminiſtrations that paſs into the hands of a new incumbent, by way of ceſſion or reſignation, ſhall be paid into the common treaſury by the new adminiſtrator, or by the receiver, who, if it be thought more advantageous, may collect the profits himſelf, or farm them out to others. We except, however, out of this rule, ſuch commandries as are left for making improvements on, or are exchanged regularly according to the form of our ſtatutes.

That the new adminiſtrators of a commandry that is reſign'd ſhall be bound to pay the debts due from the reſigner at the time of his reſignation.

The ſame MASTER.

6. The priors, the caſtellan of Empoſta, the bailiffs, commanders and new adminiſtrators, that become ſo by reſignation, ſhall be obliged to pay all the debts the reſigners owed at the time of their reſignation. Providing however, that ſuch as get into poſſeſſion contrary to the ſtatutes and cuſtoms of the order, ſhall not acquire any right to the priories, caſtellany of Empoſta, bailliages, commandries, and new adminiſtration.

Of the charges to be paid by the poſſeſſors of members or portions.

The ſame MASTER.

7. We enact, that all the brothers of our order, which ſhall poſſeſs any members or demeſnes, and portions of priories, the caſtellany of Empoſta, bailliages, commandries, or other adminiſtrations, ſhall be obliged to pay the dues of the common treaſury, laid or to be laid, in proportion to the value of ſuch members or demeſnes; which ſhall be executed in the manner following: when an half, a third, or fourth part of the revenues of theſe eſtates is charged upon them, thoſe that poſſeſs theſe members ſhall pay the fourth, the third, or the half of the profits, in proportion to their real value, without prejudice to the penſion which the prior or commander has reſerved to himſelf.

Br. JOHN DE LA VALETTE.

8. And if the brothers of our order, which poſſeſs any members of priories, bailliages, or commandries, do not pay their part of the reſponſions or impoſts, at the time appointed, they ſhall (notwithſtanding any payment thereof made for them by our priors, bailiffs or commanders, to our receivers, who may levy them upon which party they pleaſe) be reputed and deemed debtors of the common treaſury, and incapable of obtaining any poſt or eſtate in the order, till they have ſatisfied the ſaid priors, bailiffs or commanders; who ſhall have power likewiſe, after a ſimple demand, to ſeize upon all the revenues of the ſaid members, or re-imburſe themſelves out of the farmers of the ſaid members, if there be any. If the poſſeſſors of the members make any oppoſition thereto, and attempt to hinder it, the members ſhall immediately, without any further proceedings at law, be united and incorporated with the commandries they depend on: they ſhall likewiſe, if it be neceſſary, apply to the civil power, to force the poſſeſſors to payment. We authorize alſo the priors, the caſtellan of Empoſta, the bailiffs and commanders, to employ any of our brothers for the putting of this ſtatute in execution, making him a reaſonable and ſufficient ſatisfaction for his pains, which the refractory poſſeſſors of the members ſhall be obliged to make good to them.

Of the mortuary and vacancy which the poſſeſſors of members are to pay.

Br. PETER D'AUBUSSON.

9. We enact, that upon the death of any priors, the caſtellan of Empoſta, of any bailiffs and commanders, and, as often as the caſe happens, the members that depend on the caſtellany of Empoſta, the bailliages and commandries, and ſuch as poſſeſs them, ſhall be obliged to pay the dues of mortuary and vacancy, as well as the adminiſtration that they depend on. We order, for this end, that in all the letters or grants of adminiſtration of ſuch members, there be always an expreſs reſervation of the dues of the common treaſury, of the mortuary and the vacancy; and if they ſhould not be expreſly reſerved, they ſhall always be underſtood to be reſerved tacitly, and muſt be paid accordingly.

How the mortuary and vacancy are to be paid by ſuch as are in poſſeſſion of the members whilſt the commandry is vacant.

Br. JOHN D'OMEDES.

10. We enact, that if the brother who is in poſſeſſion of a member of a vacant commandry, enjoys at the ſame time another commandry, he ſhall be obliged to pay the whole revenue of the member of the vacant commandry, not according to the common valuation of the order, but according to its real value at the time of the mortuary and vacancy; or after the rate it might be farmed at. But if the poſſeſſor of the member has no other commandry, he may keep the third part of the revenue for his ſubſiſtence; but muſt pay in the other two thirds to the common treaſury, according to their real value.

Br. CLAUDE DE LA SENGLE.

11. The ſame regulation ſhall be obſerved with regard to penſions.

Br. JOHN DE LA VALETTE.

12. We declare, that ſuch as have no commandry, but have two or more members or penſions, ſhall be obliged to pay into the common treaſury all the revenues of the member or penſion, at the time of the vacancy of the commandry upon which they depend, unleſs the ſaid members or penſions depend on the ſame commandry, or elſe thoſe which they depend on are vacant at the ſame time: for in ſuch caſe the third part of the ſaid members or penſions ſhall be left to the brother that enjoys them, and the reſidue ſhall be paid into the common treaſury, the diviſion and valuation of the revenues of theſe members and penſions being made with an allowance for the months, and not according to the yearly profits at the true value, or the rate which ſuch members uſe to be let for at that time.

That villages, granges and houſes ſhall be ſubject to the mortuary and the vacancy.

Br. JOHN L'EVESQUE DE LA CASSIERE.

13. We enact and declare, that the mortuary and vacancy ſhall take place in all villages, granges and houſes that depend on commandries.

That the revenues of a commandry which there is no brother qualified to enjoy, ſhall be paid into the common treaſury.

Br. PHILIP DE VILLERS DE L'ISLE-ADAM.

14. If, as it happens ſometimes in a language or priory, there is no brother qualified to enjoy a commandry which is vacant, we order the revenues of it to be paid into our common treaſury, till there is ſomebody ſtatutably qualified to have it; and the ſaid revenues take place from the time of the mortuary and vacancy.

Of the dues for paſſage which the brothers are obliged to pay.

Br. HUGH DE LOUBENX VERDALE.

15. We enact, that all perſons that are minded to profeſs themſelves in our order, if they would be received in the rank of brother knights, ſhall pay for their paſſage, to the common treaſury, or ſuch perſons as are deputed by it, the ſum of two hundred crowns of gold, or the value of that ſum, before they ſhall be admitted to make their profeſſion. Such as deſire to be admitted in quality of ſerving brothers, ſhall pay one hundred and fifty; and in failure thereof they ſhall not enjoy any ſeniority, which is only to be reckon'd from the day that they have paid their paſſage fees. Whoever has admitted them to make their profeſſion without ſeeing this payment made, ſhall be obliged to pay it for them, notwithſtanding any commiſſion granted him for that purpoſe. Such as have paid their paſſage ſhall not be liable to have their ſeniority diſputed; but if they do not pay it till a ſuit is actually commenced about it, it ſhall ſtand them in no ſtead.

Br. JOHN L'EVESQUE DE LA CASSIERE.

16. We enact, that ſuch as ſhall make their profeſſion in our order, in vertue of a papal brief, ſhall pay their paſſage as well as others.

The ſame MASTER.

17. Such as ſhall be received into our order in quality of confraters or donats, with permiſſion to wear the croſs, according to the 36th article, of the reception of the brothers of the order, ſhall pay the ſum of one hundred and fifty crowns of gold for their paſſage to the common treaſury, and in failure thereof ſhall not be deemed to be admitted.

That bulls of ſeniority ſhall not be of any prejudice to the common treaſury, the maſter, or the priors.

Br. PETER D'AUBUSSON.

18. We decree, that letters of ſeniority or expectative bulls of commandries againſt they become vacant, upon whatever juſt reaſons they are granted, ſhall not be taken ſo as to prejudice either the rights of our common treaſury, as to the effects of brothers deceaſed, the mortuaries, vacancies, or any other of its dues, impoſed or to be impoſed, or the diſpoſitions which the grand maſters, the priors, or the magiſtral chamber may make thereof in vertue of their prerogatives; all which rights we would have preſerved in their full extent and force.

In what time the dues of the common treaſury are to be paid, and what are the penalties incurred by ſuch as do not pay them.

Br. CLAUDE DE LA SENGLE.

19. Whereas generally the brothers of our order, who have the adminiſtration of priories, bailliages, commandries and other eſtates, neglect or refuſe to pay the dues of our common treaſury, we decree and enact, that in failure of payment of the reſponſions, impoſts ordinary and extraordinary, mortuaries, vacancies, arrears, or any other due or debt whatever to our common treaſury, in the provincial chapter, or if there be not any held, on the nativity of St. John Baptiſt, the priories, caſtellany of Empoſta, bailliages, commandries, members, and other adminiſtrations, ſhall from that time be deemed to devolve and be united to our common treaſury, and be veſted in the hands of our receivers, or other perſons deputed for that purpoſe, who ſhall receive the profits thereof, or let them out to others, till all that is due to the common treaſury be paid, with all coſts and charges that it has been at.

But if our brothers who are in poſſeſſion of priories, the caſtellany of Empoſta, bailliages, commandries, members, or other eſtates, or any others in their behalf, attempt to reſiſt our receivers, or other deputies, and hinder them

from receiving the revenues of the ſaid priories, caſtellany of Empoſta, bailliages, commandries, and other eſtates, or from letting them out to other farmers, they ſhall from that time, without any farther ſummons, citation, proceedings, ſentence, or other declaration, be deprived of the ſaid priories, caſtellany of Empoſta, bailliages, commandries, members, and other eſtates, though they ſhould be minors of fourteen years, and deſtitute of guardians, though no account would be made of them if they had any, and the receivers bare affirmation or certificate ſhall be received as a full proof of ſuch reſiſtance and oppoſition.

We enjoin all priors and the caſtellan of Empoſta to ſee that this ſtatute be executed and punctually obſerved; and in failure thereof, they ſhall be deprived of the prerogative of retaining the fifth chamber, and of conferring a commandry of grace, which is a part of their privilege; ſo that the proviſions which they ſhall grant of it, ſhall be null and of no effect.

Againſt the debtors of the common treaſury.

Br. JOHN DE LA VALETTE.

20. As it is to no purpoſe to make laws unleſs they are obſerved, eſpecially ſuch as preſcribe the manner of recovering the dues of the common treaſury, we enact, that the foregoing ſtatute ſhall be exactly obſerved without any exception; and that ſuch as ſhall not have fully diſcharged the dues and debts of the ſaid common treaſury in the provincial chapter; and if none is held on the nativity of St. John Baptiſt, and paid them by that time into the hands of the receiver, ſhall be obliged to go in perſon within a month, reckoning from the laſt day of the chapter, or from the ſaid feaſt of St. John, or ſend a proxy duly authorized without being forced to do ſo to find the receiver, though he has neither required nor ſummoned them for ſuch purpoſe, and pay into his hands all that they owe and take his acquittance for it; or in failure thereof, conſign their priories, caſtellany of Empoſta, bailliages, commandries, and other eſtates in their poſſeſſion over to him, in lieu of or ſecurity for their debts: and if they neglect to do ſo, they ſhall, without any form of citation or ſignification (for the term in the provincial chapter aſſigned by the general chapter is a ſufficient citation to them in the treaſury's behalf) be deemed duly and legally cited to the convent. So that if they do not within the ſpace of nine months, reckoning from the holding the provincial chapter, or from the ſaid feaſt of St. John, or from the month abovementioned, appear in perſon in the convent, they ſhall from that time, without any other ſentence or declaration intervening, be deemed ipſo jure, deprived of the ſaid priories, caſtellany of Empoſta, bailliages, commandries, and other eſtates, which may be diſpoſed of and filled up immediately.

In the mean time the receivers ſhall have power to ſeize, keep in their own hands, and manage in the behalf of the common treaſury, not only the priories, bailliages, commandries, and other eſtates particularly liable to the ſaid debts, but all others that are in the poſſeſſion of the debtors, till full payment be made, and to proceed according to the tenor of the foregoing ſtatute, which we do not intend to derogate from in any reſpect, but rather to confirm and enforce it. We enjoin all receivers, on pain of paying themſelves double the debt, to loſe no time in giving the maſter and convent notice of the ſlackneſs and negligence of ſuch debtors.

On the ſame ſubject.

Br. JOHN L'EVESQUE DE LA CASSIERE.

21. Whereas ſeveral brothers of our order that are in debt to the common treaſury, notwithſtanding various ſtatutes, regulations and ordinances made by general chapters againſt them, do, in contempt of the penalties therein contained, and without any fear of God or zeal for the order, defer paying what they owe to our common treaſury, we enact, that they ſhall not be admitted for the future to ſit in any general chapter, egard, ordinary council for the election of a grand maſter, court of exchequer, congregation of the languages, or in any conferences or aſſemblies. *Of*

Of debtors condemned by the court of exchequer.

The ſame MASTER.

22. We enact, that ſuch as have had the management of any eſtates of the order, either within or without the convent, and have, by a ſentence of the court of exchequer, been condemned to pay certain ſums, ſhall not, in caſe of their appeal to us and our council, be ſo much as heard, till they have firſt laid down the ſum adjudged by the decree of the court.

That the farmers of the commandries ſhall make no payments to the debtors of the common treaſury.

Br. PETER D'AUBUSSON.

23. Being deſirous to make a ſtricter proviſion for the execution of the regulations made againſt bad paymaſters, we forbid our brothers, on pain of being deprived of their commandries, our vaſſals, on pain of a breach of their oath of fealty, and the farmers or tenants of commandries and other eſtates, not to pay any thing of the rents and profits thereof to commanders that are deprived on pain of the aforeſaid penalties, and of not having it allowed in their accounts, and of paying it over again. We enjoin likewiſe all priors, receivers and procurators, to publiſh in every provincial chapter, the ſtatutes made againſt bad paymaſters, which ſhall however be put as much in execution if they are not publiſhed.

Of the debtors of the common treaſury.

Br. BAPTIST URSINI.

24. We enact, that no brother of our order, of what quality ſoever he be, that is indebted to the common treaſury, ſhall be capable of having any dignity, commandry, office or benefice, till he has paid all his debts to the treaſury.

Br. JOHN DE LA VALETTE.

25. They ſhall likewiſe be diſqualified to enjoy any member or penſion, even ſuch as the grand maſters, languages, priors, bailiffs, commanders, or others of the order give of grace, or to gratify any body elſe with them.

That ſuch as are indebted to the common treaſury at the time of the mutition, ſhall not be capable of having any dignity or commandry.

Br. JOHN D'OMEDES.

26. We decree, that ſuch brothers, as at the time of the mutition of dignities and commandries in their languages, are in debt to the common treaſury, ſhall not be capable of having any of thoſe that are vacant, even though they ſhould have conſigned their commandries over to the treaſury for the payment of their debts, or ſhould have paid them after the mutition; they ſhall be deemed utterly incapable of enjoying them.

Who ſhall be entruſted with the care of the commandries that are taken away from bad paymaſters.

Br. CLAUDE DE LA SENGLE.

27. We decree, that the priories, caſtellany of Empoſta, and commandries that are taken away from bad paymaſters, ſhall be given by the grand maſter and council to ſuch of the brothers as will pay the debts of thoſe that are deprived of them: they ſhall however follow the method and ſtile of the order, in preferring always ſuch as have not yet had their chevisſement, or the firſt commandry that falls to them in their turn by right of ſeniority, provided they will accept them in lieu thereof, and pay the debts of the perſon deprived.

If no body will accept them on theſe conditions, they may diſpoſe of them indifferently, as of grace to the commanders or brothers of the convent, ſticking however to the order of ſeniority, and the condition of paying the treaſury. If no body at all offers to accept them, they ſhall continue in the poſſeſſion of the common treaſury till the debts are diſcharged.

That when any brothers are deprived of the habit, the mortuary and vacancy ſhall be paid out of their commandries.

Br. JOHN L'EVESQUE DE LA CASSIERE.

28. We enact, that when any priors, the caſtellan of Empoſta, bailiffs, or commanders are deprived of the habit for any crime whatever, the mortuary and vacancy of their priories, caſtellany of Empoſta, bailliages and commandries ſhall be paid into the common treaſury.

Of the commandries taken away from debtors that ſhall be deprived of the habit of the order.

The ſame MASTER.

29. We enact, that the common treaſury ſhall enjoy the priories, bailliages, commandries and other eſtates that ill adminiſtrators ſhall loſe by being deprived of the habit, till the whole debt due to it be entirely diſcharged; after which the mortuary and vacancy dues ſhall commence: the new perſons preſented to theſe priories, bailliages and commandries ſhall touch none of their revenues, till all that is due to the common treaſury be paid.

That the effects of brothers deceaſed ſhall belong to the common treaſury.

Br. CLAUDE DE LA SENGLE.

30. All the goods and effects of our brothers that die either in or out of the convent, of what nature ſoever they be (which we call their ſpoils) belong of right to our common treaſury, except thoſe of brother chaplains or ſervants of office, which belong to them in whoſe priories, bailliages or commandries they made their reſidence.

What part of the ſpoils belongs to the church.

Br. DIEU-DONNE DE GOZON.

31. We except however all veſſels of gold, ſilver or gilt, which are in the form of a croſs, or elſe of a chalice, and ſo ſeem dedicated for the communion ſervice; all leſſer veſſels uſed at the altar for holding wine and water; all ſhrines for relicks, and all ſorts of eccleſiaſtical ornaments, whether of gold, ſilver or ſilk, and all utenſils for divine ſervice; all breviaries, pſalters, &c. which belong to the church. We except likewiſe the ſpoils of the grand maſter's ſeneſchal, his caſtellan, and other brothers that are in his ſervice, which belong to the grand maſter.

What part of the ſpoils is to be left for the uſe of the commandries.

The ſame MASTER.

32. They ſhall leave for the uſe of the houſes of the commandries all ſorts of utenſils and goods that are neceſſary, as beds, ticking, blankets, and other furniture uſed in the chambers, buttery, and kitchen by the commander in his life-time; the waggons, carts, and other inſtruments for ploughing. If there be more oxen, cows and ſheep than were generally kept on the commandry, the overplus ſhall be divided between the common treaſury and the commandry.

Br. JOHN DE LA VALETTE.

33. We declare that the foregoing ſtatute ſhall be of force in all commandries, the revenues whereof ariſe from the produce of cattle of that ſort, but in others, all the cattle ſhall belong to the common treaſury. If there are

more horſes or oxen on the commandry than are neceſſary for tillage, they ſhall leave half of them by way of inventory to the ſucceeding commander, and the other half ſhall go to the common treaſury, but may be left to him for an annual rent, or ſold to him at a price agreed on. We declare that a commandry ſhall be deemed to depend on this produce, if it has been obſerved to do ſo of old; or if the new commander, by preſenting an authentick ſchedule of theſe cattle in due form to the prior and chapter, or provincial chapter, has put it on that footing, or declares that he does now put it.

Br. JOHN D'OMEDES.

34. THE horſes and mules of brothers deceaſed out of the convent, and other animals proper to be rode or fit for the ſaddle, ſhall belong to the common treaſury with all their furniture.

Of the arms found among the ſpoils of the brothers.

Br. CLAUDE DE LA SENGLE.

35. ALL ſorts of offenſive and defenſive arms found among the ſpoils of our brothers that die either in the convent or beyond ſea belong to the treaſury, and are to be kept together in one place under a good guard, to ſerve for the defence of the convent, except ſwords and daggers.

Of the receivers.

Br. ROGER DE PINS.

36. THAT the dues of our common treaſury may be more commodiouſly received and diſtributed for the diſpatch of buſineſs, we require the maſter and his council to appoint receivers in every priory, and in the caſtellany of Empoſta, to recover and receive theſe dues, and diſpoſe of them according to the orders of the maſter and council.

Of the oath of the receivers.

Br. CLAUDE DE LA SENGLE.

37. SUCH receivers ſhall take their oath before the grand maſter, if they are preſent in the convent, and before the priors, if they are abſent from it, and ſhall ſwear that they will well and faithfully execute their office, which ſhall laſt only three years; but the maſter and his council may continue them longer if they ſee fit.

Br. JOHN L'EVESQUE DE LA CASSIERE.

38. THEY muſt in a month, after their three years are expired, deliver to their ſucceſſors all ſums of money, jewels, gold and ſilver plate, ſpoils, inventories, mortuaries, and all other effects whatever belonging to the treaſury, with an account of all debtors, on pain of being deprived of the commandries, members, penſions and other revenues that they hold of the order, which ſhall be forfeited to the treaſury. Six months afterwards they muſt repair to the convent in perſon to give account of their adminiſtration, which ſix months ſhall be conſidered as ſo much reſidence in the convent.

BUT if upon examination of their acounts they are found behind hand, and do not pay their arrears in the following month, they ſhall be put in priſon, and be incapacitated to enjoy any dignities, poſts, or revenues of the order, from the time of the examination of their accounts. We order likewiſe their commandries, members, penſions and other effects to be confiſcated by the treaſury till the principal, intereſt, damage and charges are fully paid.

Of the office of the receivers and procurators of our common treaſury out of the convent.

Br. CLAUDE DE LA SENGLE.

39. EVERY receiver within the bounds of the priory where he is ſettled, ought to take care to recover and receive the reſponſions and impoſts of the priors, caſtellan of Empoſta, bailiffs, commanders and others that enjoy any eſtates of the order, the paſſage dues of the brothers; the arrears due from them, their ſpoils, the mortuaries and vacancies due to the treaſury upon their deceaſe, and all other dues, effects and debts that belong to it in any reſpect whatever.

IF receivers, by reaſon of death, ſickneſs, or other impediments are not in a condition to do what they are here directed, we order the procurators that are deputed in every priory to take care of the execution of theſe orders. The receivers and procurators ſhall be obliged to go to the provincial chapter to demand, recover and receive the ſaid reſponſions, impoſts, and other debts.

How the receivers ought to proceed in recovering the ſpoils and mortuary dues.

Br. PHILIBERT DE NAILLAC.

40. WE enact, that when a receiver or procurator of the treaſury, or other perſon deputed for that purpoſe goes to any place to gather the ſpoils and mortuary dues, he ſhall take with him a commander or ſome other brother, or two men of integrity, and the neareſt neighbours to the deceaſed: and in failure of ſuch, an honeſt ſecular, with a publick notary, in whoſe preſence he ſhall viſit and take an inventory of all the goods, utenſils, corn and fruits that he ſhall find there, which he ſhall get atteſted by two witneſſes. He ſhall leave the commandry in the ſtate he found it in, and likewiſe half of the overplus goods for the improvement of it, and ſhall give an authentick account of every thing to the provincial chapter. If he acts otherwiſe, and wrongs the order to the value of one mark of ſilver, he ſhall be deprived of the habit.

On the ſame ſubject.

Br. CLAUDE DE LA SENGLE.

41. THE receivers, procurators or commiſſaries aforeſaid ſhall make two diſtinct inventories, the one containing the ſtate of the commandry, the other an account of the effects of the deceaſed commander which belong to the treaſury: they ſhall likewiſe in the preſence of the aforeſaid witneſſes draw up an account in writing of all debts due to the deceaſed, and open his diſappropriation whilſt theſe witneſſes are by and looking on. They ſhall then ſend a copy both of the debts and of the diſappropriation to our convent, and the ſecretary of the exchequer ſhall tranſcribe both of them into a regiſter different from that of the priory, for we would have books kept for this purpoſe in every priory. If the brother deceaſed did not make his diſappropriation, or if he did, and it cannot be found, the receiver ſhall give notice thereof to the maſter and convent.

Declaration in relation to the ſpoils and mortuary dues.

Br. HUGH DE LOUBENX DE VERDALE.

42. To diſtinguiſh the dues of the mortuary from thoſe of the ſpoils, we declare that the fruits which ſhall be upon the ground on the day of the poſſeſſor's death, and not gathered in, ſhall belong to the mortuary: thoſe which are gathered in ſhall belong to the ſpoils.

The receivers ſhall give an account of all that they have received to the provincial chapter.

Br. PHILIBERT DE NAILLAC.

THE receivers ſhall give in to every provincial chapter a very particular account of every thing that they have received, and of every thing that is ſtill ſtanding out and not received; yet the priors and provincial chapter have no authority to allow and paſs their accounts, but only to hear and ſign them: for the cognizance and paſſing them belongs to the maſter and convent. The receivers are obliged likewiſe to lay before the provincial chapter an account of all ſums of money that they have received of the dues of the treaſury, in mortuaries, vacancies, or other things. When the chapter breaks up, the prior gives an account thereof to the maſter and convent; to whom the receivers ſend likewiſe duplicates of their accompts, that they may have a clear knowledge of the ſtate and affairs of the treaſury, where theſe accompts ſhall be regiſtered.

Of the ſchedule which the receivers are to ſend of ſuch as have paid, and of ſuch as are ſtill behind in arrears.

Br. CLAUDE DE LA SENGLE.

44. As ſoon as the provincial chapter breaks up, the receivers ſhall, with the accompts of the laſt year, ſend the maſter and convent a ſchedule of ſuch as have paid in the chapter, and of ſuch as have not paid, and the ſums that they owe; and to ſpecify likewiſe every particular ſum of money which they have received on any account or debt whatſoever. Such as do not obſerve what is preſcribed by this and the foregoing ſtatute, ſhall loſe a whole year's profits of their commandries: and if it be a brother of the convent, he ſhall loſe a year of his ſeniority, in favour of his Fiarnauds, or juniors.

The receivers can take nothing of the ſpoils to themſelves.

Br. BAPTIST URSINI.

45. WE forbid the receivers of the priories, and the caſtellany of Empoſta, to take for their own uſe any beds, houſhold goods, or other things belonging to the ſpoils of the priors, the caſtellan of Empoſta, the commanders or brothers which die in the ſaid priories and caſtellany. Such as are guilty of doing ſo, ſhall be immediately deprived of their office, and pay double the value of what they have ſo taken, to the treaſury; any cuſtom whatever to the contrary in any wiſe notwithſtanding.

The receivers ſhall take nothing of what belongs to the commandries.

Br. DIEU-DONNE DE GOZON.

46. THE receivers, in collecting the ſpoils, mortuary, or other dues, ſhall take nothing that belongs to the ſtate of the commandries, and is for the uſe of the houſes, but ſhall leave every thing whole and untouched. Such as make bold to do ſo, ſhall be obliged to make reſtitution, and repair the damage at their own expence; for we will not have our treaſury liable to any ſuch charge. We fine them likewiſe the value of the mortuary of the commandry, which ſhall be paid to our treaſury. The prior likewiſe, and caſtellan, ſhall, at the inſtance of the commander that is injured, force the receiver to make ſuch reſtitution; and in caſe of neglect on their part, the prior and caſtellan ſhall be forced by the maſter and council to make good the damage themſelves.

That the receivers are to put the money they receive in a ſafe place.

Br. PETER D'AUBUSSON.

47. WE order the receivers of each priory, and the caſtellany of Empoſta, to put the dues of the treaſury which they have received, or are to receive, in-

to

to ſafe hands, taking from them good ſecurity, or elſe to keep it in their own houſe, in a ſafe place; and to give an account thereof, and of the hands the money is put in, to the priors and caſtellan of Empoſta, their lieutenants, or the commanders of the ſaid priory or caſtellany, in the provincial chapter, and not otherwiſe: and that they may be fully ſatisfied of the truth of ſuch account, they ſhall produce before them the receipts of the money and deeds of ſecurity to prevent any part of the money's being embezzled or ſunk by any accident whatever. Such receivers as ſhall not exactly obſerve this ſtatute ſhall be deprived of the habit.

That notwithſtanding any ſuit whatever, the receivers ſhall be paid the dues of the treaſury.

Br. JOHN DE LASTIC.

48. We enjoin the receivers of our treaſury, to demand and receive the dues which belong to it, without troubling themſelves with the claims of ſuch as are at law in relation to them: they are to receive them of ſuch as are in poſſeſſion of the priories, commandries or houſes that are the ſubject of the diſpute, without any prejudice being done to either of the contending parties by ſuch receipt. If thoſe that are in poſſeſſion of the commandries make the leaſt difficulty on this head, they ſhall be put out of poſſeſſion, and deprived of all manner of right to them, and be proceeded againſt as diſobedient and rebellious perſons.

That the receivers take poſſeſſion of the commandries that are ſubject to the mortuary and vacancy, without licence from any body.

Br. CLAUDE DE LA SENGLE.

49. We enact, that as ſoon as ever any priors, caſtellan of Empoſta, bailiffs, commanders, and other adminiſtrators of our eſtates die, or elſe abdicate in their life-time, the receivers and procurators of our treaſury ſhall, of their own authority, without any previous licence from a judge or court of juſtice, take real and actual poſſeſſion of the priories, caſtellany of Empoſta, commandries, and other eſtates in the name of the convent, that they ſhall receive the profits of them, collect the ſpoils, mortuaries, vacancies, and other debts, and keep poſſeſſion of them till our treaſury is entirely paid.

If any brother of our order preſume to oppoſe them in the ſaid taking poſſeſſion, or in the enjoyment of the ſaid revenues, he ſhall be deprived of his priories, commandries and offices: if it be a brother of the convent, he ſhall loſe his right of ſeniority.

Againſt receivers that neglect to get in the debts due to the treaſury.

The ſame MASTER.

50. If receivers neglect to demand and get in the debts, and do not ſequeſter the commandries of the debtors into the hands of our treaſury, as is provided by our ſtatutes, they ſhall be themſelves reſponſible for the debtor, and pay the debt. We make the ſame ordinance with regard to all other debts of the treaſury, if they fail or defer, after the day of payment is paſſed, to take the proper meaſures to recover them; which they muſt make appear they have taken when they give in their accompts.

That the proſecutions carried on, or ſentences obtained at the ſuit of receivers againſt bad paymaſters, ſhall not affect our ſtatutes and regulations.

Br. JOHN D'OMEDES.

51. Whereas it happens frequently that our receivers, for the more eaſy recovery of the dues of our treaſury from bad paymaſters, proceed againſt them according to the form of our ſtatutes, or otherwiſe; and whereas ſome are apprehenſive this may do hurt to our conſtitutions, we declare, that as often as our receivers proceed according to the form of papal indultos and privileges, or

otherwiſe, before any judge whatever, or before the ſuperior of our order, though it be againſt minors of fourteen years, that are without tutors, or any other debtors of our treaſury, even ſo far as to obtain declaratory ſentences, importing deprivation from priories, the caſtellany of Empoſta, bailliages, commandries, benefices and eſtates depending thereon, in any manner whatſoever, this ſhall not be deemed any deviation from, or be of any prejudice to the conſtitutions made againſt ſuch debtors. But we enact, that thoſe ſtatutes ſhall ſtill remain in their force and vertue, and the proceedings, penalties, and other things annexed to them ſhall ſtill have their full effect.

The ſame MASTER.

52. We enact, that the books of our receivers, and other writings ſigned by their hands, ſhall be entirely credited, with regard to the debtors of our treaſury, without any other proof whatever being needful.

Of the procurators of the common treaſury in the convent.

Br. JOHN DE LASTIC.

53. There cannot be too much care and exactneſs uſed to ſecure the eſtates and dues of our treaſury. And therefore for the better adminiſtration thereof, beſides the great commander, who in vertue of his office is particularly deputed for this purpoſe, and cannot be removed from it. We decree, that the maſter and his council ſhall, after due conſideration, chooſe from among the priors or bailiffs of the order that are in the convent, or elſe out of the capitulary bailiffs or the lieutenants of the conventual bailiffs, two religious men of integrity, prudence and diſcretion to take care thereof, who ſhall take an oath for the due execution of their office, and ſhall have ſtrong coffers well provided with locks, not to be opened without three keys, of which each of them ſhall keep one. They ſhall take care likewiſe to lock up under three other keys the effects of the treaſury in ſafe magazines fit to keep them, from whence nothing at all ſhall be taken till the commander and ſecretary of the treaſury have firſt entered it in their books: and theſe procurators ſhall give their accompts in every year to the maſter and council.

Of the great commander's reſidence in the convent.

Br. CLAUDE DE LA SENGLE.

54. We decree, that the great commander ſhall reſide in the convent, and ſhall not depart from it as long as he is in that poſt; and that the two procurators of the common treaſury ſhall ſerve for two years, during which time they ſhall have no leave granted to ſtir from it, nor to quit their employments both at a time: they ſhall change one of them every year, and chooſe another in his ſtead.

Of the conſervator of the treaſury.

Br. JOHN DE LASTIC.

55. To prevent the ſquandering, and make the neceſſary diſtribution of the money and effects of the treaſury, we decree, that a brother well qualified for ſuch a truſt be choſe out of any language whatever to be conſervator general of it; who ſhall have the keeping of all money, goods and effects belonging to the treaſury, ſhall receive, take care of, and diſtribute them according to the orders of the maſter and council, with the knowledge and warrant of the great commander.

If the conſervator is a knight and reſides in the convent, he ſhall receive an hundred ducats of Rhodes from the treaſury as his ſalary; if he be a chaplain or ſervant of arms, he ſhall receive only an hundred florins of Rhodes in current coin. If they ſend him into the Weſt, the grand maſter and council ſhall give him ſuch a ſtipend as they ſee fit.

THE conſervator general ſhall be changed at every chapter general, and another put in his ſtead, who ſhall not be named out of the ſame language as his predeceſſor, till after an interval of ten years.

Of the auditors of accompts.

The ſame MASTER.

56. BESIDES the great commander, the two procurators of the treaſury and the conſervator general, they ſhall chooſe eight brothers, out of each language one, who ſhall have power to examine and audit the accompts, and obſerve all the buſineſs of the treaſury, how affairs are there managed and the money diſpoſed of. They ſhall appoint themſelves one day in every week for this purpoſe; if they find any miſconduct that wants to be reformed, they ſhall make their report to the grand maſter and ordinary council, who ſhall lay aſide all other buſineſs to take care of this.

THESE brothers ſhall be named by their reſpective languages, who ſhall chooſe men of integrity, wiſdom and experience in ſuch ſort of affairs, and preſent them to the maſter and council, before whom they ſhall take an oath for the faithful execution of their office in looking after the intereſt of the treaſury, and conſcientiouſly hindering any wrong being done by it. Theſe eight brothers ſhall be preſent at the examination of the accompts that ſhall be given in to the maſter and council, and at the payments which ſhall be made by the treaſury.

Br. CLAUDE DE LA SENGLE.

57. WE enact, that theſe auditors ſhall be changed every two years, not all at a time, but ſo that there always remain ſome of the old ones.

Of the comptroller of the conſervator.

Br. PETER D'AUBUSSON.

58. WE enjoin the maſter and council to depute a brother of the order, ſuch as they ſhall judge qualified for ſuch a truſt, to keep a particular regiſter, in which he ſhall keep a clear and exact journal of all that the conſervator general ſhall receive for the treaſury: he ſhall be preſent at all payments made to the conſervator, as well as at the giving in of his accompts: ſo there ſhall be two regiſters, one of which ſhall be kept by the conſervator, and the other by the comptroller ſo deputed, who ſhall write down every particular received in both the regiſters.

THE maſter and council ſhall aſſign the comptroller ſuch a ſalary to be paid out of the treaſury as they ſhall ſee fit, and continue him for as long as they pleaſe: when the term they conſtituted him for is expired, they may renew it, or put another capable perſon in his ſtead as they ſee fit.

That the debts of brothers deceaſed be paid to their creditors.

Br. JOHN DE VILLERS.

59. 'TIS ordered, that the debts of brothers deceaſed, when legally and duly proved, ſhall be paid to their creditors, out of the movable goods which they leave, but with a ſalvo to the ſtate of the commandry: if this be not ſufficient, the creditors ſhall be paid out of the immovable goods which the brother had newly acquired for the order, and not otherwiſe.

That the debts of brothers deceaſed ſhall not be paid out of the year of the mortuary.

Br. JOHN L'EVESQUE DE LA CASSIERE.

60. WE forbid all priors, the caſtellan of Empoſta, provincial chapters, aſſemblies, receivers, and all other perſons whatſoever, to pay, or order the debts of our brothers deceaſed, priors, bailiffs or commanders, to be paid out of the revenues of the mortuaries of the priories, bailliages and commandries

that

that are vacant, which belong of right to the common treaſury; to which ſuch as tranſgreſs this ſtatute ſhall make full ſatisfaction with intereſt out of their own purſe.

That they ſhall make a valuation of the ſpoils of the bailiffs.

Br. BAPTIST URSINI.

61. The effects contained in the ſpoils of the priors, bailiffs, commanders, and others that die in the convent, ſhall be appraiſed by eight brothers of conſiderable ſtanding taken out of each language, as uſual.

Br. CLAUDE DE LA SENGLE.

62. Which appraiſing ſhall be made according to their real value, and upon the judgment of ſworn appraiſers that have skill: the priors, bailiffs and lieutenants of bailiffs are to ſhare among themſelves alone the ſpoils of priors, bailiffs or lieutenants of bailiffs; the commanders and brothers of the convent are to do the ſame by thoſe of the commanders; and thoſe of the brothers of the convent, are to be divided among the conventual brother knights.

That the brothers that are ſick declare their effects.

Br. ELION DE VILLE-NEUVE.

63. All that our brothers poſſeſs belongs to the order, ſo that when they are ſick, the duty of their obedience obliges them to ſend for two brothers, ſuch as live neareſt them, one of which ſhall be a chaplain, if it may be, and the other a perſon of diſtinction, to whom they ſhall declare all their goods, money, and other effects, all which ſhall be put down in writing, and ſealed up with the ſeal of the ſick brother, and thoſe of the two brothers in their preſence. This writing ſhall then be put into the hands of the procurator of the treaſury, who ſhall deliver it back to the brother if he recovers. The brothers that are preſent on this occaſion are forbid, under pain of diſobedience, to reveal any thing that is contained in it during the brother's life-time; if they act otherwiſe, they ſhall be deprived of their commandries for ten years; if the tranſgreſſor be a brother of the convent, the order ſhall puniſh him as he deſerves.

And if any brother, of what quality ſoever, ſeizes on his ſpoils, in whole or in part, he ſhall, upon complaint being made of it, be expelled the ſociety of the brothers of the order. If the brother in his ſickneſs refuſes to make his declaration as above, he ſhall be complained of upon his recovery, and be puniſhed, for having, in breach of his vow of poverty, not ſcrupled to acquire goods, and afterwards refuſed to declare them.

That the dues of the common treaſury ſhall not be ſpent in law-ſuits.

Br. PHILIBERT DE NAILLAC.

64. We enjoin all priors, commanders and brothers not to employ the dues and revenues of the common treaſury, the ſpoils, the mortuary and the vacancy, to commence or carry on law ſuits, or to any other uſe whatever: we require them to remit them to the common treaſury, on pain of being deprived of the habit, if the offender againſt this ſtatute damages the order above the value of a mark, and of making the quarantaine, if the damage be leſs.

That embaſſadors ſhall be paid their ſtipends.

Br. ANTHONY FLUVIAN.

65. We do not give great ſalaries to the embaſſadors and envoys, which we are obliged to keep according to occurrences in different parts of the world, for, notwithſtanding the fatigue and tedioufneſs of the voyage, it is but a ſervice which they are obliged to do for the order, and the rewards that their ſervice will entitle them to, are much greaer than any recompence that it can

give them. The prior or bailiff that ſhall be ſent embaſſador into the Weſt ſhall have two ducats a day, but if the maſter and council do not think it enough, they may add half a ducat to it. Such as ſhall be ſent into the Eaſt ſhall have their ſtipend regulated by the maſter and council, according to the circumſtances of the journey and the importance of the affair.

As ſoon as the embaſſy is over, the embaſſador ſhall be obliged to return to the convent, to give an account of it to the maſter and council, that they may be able to form a judgment in the caſe. The embaſſador's prudence and exactneſs will oblige them to provide for him, and take care to promote him, as his informations will enable them to take meaſures ſuitable to the exigence of affairs.

The ſame MASTER.

66. We unite the commandries of Cyprus, Lango and Niſaro to our treaſury; they were before diſpoſed of in common to all the languages.

Of the pay which is to be given to the brothers.

Br. PETER RAIMOND ZACOSTA.

67. We order that the ſtipends of the brothers be paid in the month of September, that they may have wherewith to ſupply their neceſſities: ſuch as are provided with any eſtates of the order, houſes or other revenues above the value of ſixty florins of Rhodes, ſhall have no ſtipend from the treaſury, neither ſhall ſuch as are in poſſeſſion of commandries, of what value ſoever they be.

Of the jewel which the great commander takes in the ſpoils of a brother deceaſed.

Br. BAPTIST URSINI.

68. We ordain and enact, that notwithſtanding any cuſtom to the contrary, the great commander or his lieutenant ſhall not take in the ſpoils of brothers deceaſed, any jewel of the value of more than five florins of Rhodes current money; and the value of it ſhall be afterwards deducted out of the ſtipend he receives from the treaſury.

That no debt can be remitted but by a general chapter.

Br. FABRICIO DEL CARRETTO.

69. Things deſigned for the common profit ought not to be miſapplied to particular uſes. We therefore ordain, that no body of any quality, rank, office or condition whatever, ſhall preſume to remit, releaſe or forgive the debtors of the treaſury any ſum whatever, that they owe to it on any account whatever, without a lawful cauſe, the judgment of which belongs only to the maſter and general chapter. Whoever ſhall offer to do ſo, ſhall be deemed to have remitted it on his own account, ſo that the treaſury may come upon him for the ſum remitted, and yet the real debtor ſhall not hereby be releaſed of his debt, till the treaſury has been entirely paid either by the one or the other.

Of letters of exchange.

Br. JOHN DE LASTIC.

70. We ordain, that the vicechancellor ſhall not expedite any letter of exchange or aſſignment for either brothers or ſeculars, without a previous order of the maſter and council; when the letters are drawn up, they ſhall have the common ſeal put to them, and ſhall be regiſtered in the chancery. They muſt be ſigned under the fold of the ſeal by the conſervator of the convent, and by the ſecretary of the treaſury, before they are delivered to the parties; they ſhall be deemed null, if any one of theſe formalities be wanting.

Of the keeping of horſes for the guard of the iſland.

Br. BAPTIST URSINI.

71. Our brothers are obliged to keep horſes for the ſecurity of the iſland: the treaſury is obliged to pay the muſter for the whole year to all ſuch horſes as the marſhal or his lieutenant, and the comptrollers deputed for this purpoſe, who take a ſolemn oath for the faithful execution of their commiſſion, ſhall judge proper to mount the guard: no muſter ſhall be allowed for any horſe but ſuch as the marſhal and theſe comptrollers think fit for the ſervice.

That the treaſury furniſh barley for the horſes.

Br. CLAUDE DE LA SENGLE.

72. We ordain, that our common treaſury ſhall from the time of the muſter furniſh the brothers with ſix load of corn for every horſe that has paſſed the review. For want of barley he ſhall pay them a crown for each load. The brothers that have received barley from the treaſury, ſhall be obliged to march out for the guard of the iſland, whenever the maſter orders them. Such as refuſe to march out with the reſt, ſhall forfeit a year's barley.

Of the manner of paying the debts of brothers deceaſed.

Br. HUGH DE VERDALE.

73. To regulate all diſputes that may happen in relation to the debts of brothers deceaſed, we enact, that all debts owing to the treaſury ſhall be paid preferably to any others: the wages of ſervants ſhall be the next in order of payment, and afterwards the other creditors according to the date of their bonds, as is practiſed in ordinary caſes, where law and reaſon prefer the firſt creditors to the laſt, and not as the cuſtom has hitherto been.

How the inventory of the ſpoils is to be made.

The ſame MASTER.

74. We enact, that when the receiver, or procurator of the treaſury, or their deputy, ſhall go to receive the ſpoils and mortuary dues he ſhall not go alone; and after the coffers and doors are ſhut and ſealed, he ſhall give publick notice of the place, day and hour of taking the inventory, that the creditors concerned may be preſent at it.

At the day and hour appointed, he ſhall take two honeſt men to repreſent the parties concerned, and a publick notary, and in their preſence ſhall open the doors and coffers, examine, and ſpecify in an inventory before two or three witneſſes, all and every the effects, goods, corn and fruits that are found there, their number, quality, weight and meaſure, and have them appraiſed by the people that are preſent; provided however that the 40th article of this title be obſerved in all other particulars. We require the venerable procurators and ſecretary of the treaſury to obſerve the ſame method in the convent.

That the ſpoils of brothers deceaſed be for the future ſold for the profit of the common treaſury.

The ſame MASTER.

75. We enact, that the ſpoils of the priors, caſtellan of Empoſta, bailiffs, commanders, and our other brothers that die within the convent, except the maſter's, ſhall not be diſtributed as has been hitherto practiſed, but ſhall for the future be ſold by auction to the higheſt bidder as ſoon as poſſible, for the benefit of the common treaſury. We revoke and annul all other ſtatutes that ſpeak either of the jewel which the great commander uſed to take out of the ſpoils, or of the appraiſings, and perſons that were ſummoned to be preſent at them; and alſo the rights of the conventual conſervator, the maſter equerry,

and the ſecretary of the treaſury. As for the thirtieth which is due to the aſſembly of the chaplains, it ſhall be paid as uſual by the common treaſury.

Of the Chapter, as well general as provincial.

TITLE VI.

How the general chapter is held.

CUSTOM.

1. OUR predeceſſors, who took great care of every thing that related to publick affairs, were uſed of old to ſummon and hold general chapters to reform the conduct of the religious, to rectify the government, and regulate every thing that affected the conſtitution and publick good of our order. We likewiſe, in conformity to their example, are uſed to hold them: they are always begun with an invocation of the Holy Ghoſt, without whoſe aſſiſtance nothing can be well undertaken, and with humbly praying for his grace to enlighten our minds and bleſs our endeavours.

WHEN the members of the chapter are met, they wait on the maſter to church, where the prior of the church at day break ſings a maſs of the Holy Ghoſt, and they all pray to him with great devotion to give them the ſpirit of underſtanding, to enable them to make a good regulation of every thing that comes before them: when the maſs is over, the maſter, members of the chapter, and brothers go in proceſſion from the church, with the ſtandard of the order carried before them, towards the place where the chapter is held. The prior of the church appears there in his pontificalibus. The chaplains, deacons and clergy ſing the Veni Creator. When they arrive at the chapter-houſe they all ſing the ℣. Salvos fac ſervos tuos; they ſay the prayer of the Holy Ghoſt, and the chaplain chants the goſpel, Cum venerit filius hominis, &c.

THE maſter, priors, caſtellan of Empoſta, bailiffs, and old members of the chapter take their places according to their rank and dignity; and the rule is read to them. Then they hear a ſermon upon ſome ſubject for their ſouls health and the publick good; after which the chaplains, and ſuch as have no right to ſit in the chapter, withdraw, and the maſter, if he ſees fit, makes them another diſcourſe upon the ſituation and affairs of the order.

THE firſt day afterwards, that is not an holiday, the members of the chapter meet, and the maſter, with thoſe of the ordinary council, chooſe ſome of their number to be commiſſioners, who call in the vicechancellor, and examine with him the forms of the proxies given by the priors, bailiffs, and other abſent perſons that ought to come to the chapter general: they allow ſuch as are drawn in due form and reject the reſt.

THE bailiffs, priors, caſtellan of Empoſta, and the old members of the chapter go next to kiſs the maſter's hand, in the order of their rank: every one preſents him a purſe with his name written on it, and five janets of ſilver within as a token of their diſappropriation; with a roll or writing tied to it containing an account of their offices, and their opinion of what is proper to be done for the publick good: they preſent likewiſe the ſeals of their offices which were inſtituted for the common benefit and dignity, as the marſhal likewiſe in his turn does the ſtandard of the order.

AFTER the purſes, the ſtandard and the rolls are preſented; they write down the names of all that compoſe the chapter; the vicechancellor reads the rolls aloud, according to the rank of the perſons that gave them in, and they proceed to the election of a committee of ſixteen, in the following manner.

THE brothers that have voices and compoſe the chapter, after going to confeſſion and receiving the holy euchariſt, take an oath to proceed and judge rightly and equitably according to God and their conſcience in all affairs that ſhall come before them, and to order nothing that will be prejudicial to a third party, as far as they can diſcover.

THE

THE maſter next orders the languages to aſſemble apart in the chapter-houſe, where every language chooſes two of their members that compoſe the chapter, which they judge the moſt capable and fitteſt, and preſents them to the maſter: but if there be a want of brothers in any language, they may borrow them from another. Thus they chooſe ſixteen perſons, which they preſent to the maſter and the chapter. They make them take an oath, that they will, without being biaſſed by any kind of affection and inteteſt, make no regulation or order but what ſhall be honourable and advantageous to the order and brothers in general.

THE maſter and reſt of the members that ſtay in the chapter-houſe to regulate other affairs, devolve their power upon them by way of compromiſe, promiſe upon oath to ſtand to their deciſion, and approve every thing that ſhall be regulated and decreed by this committee of ſixteen, who, with the maſter's procurator, (who has no deciſive but only a conſultative voice) and the vice-chancellor, retire into another room, to draw up their deliberations in writing: there they conclude on what is to be done in the following manner.

THEY debate at firſt about ways and means of raiſing money to ſupply the occaſions of the order: and then they go on to the management and ordering of the treaſury; they examine the rolls given in, reform abuſes, make new ſtatutes, and regulate all affairs not yet decided that relate to the publick. As ſoon as they have finiſhed, the bells ring to call all the brothers, who repair to the chapter-houſe, and come into the maſter's preſence: the chaplains too come in proceſſion, and then the vice-chancellor reads the new ſtatutes with an audible voice. The maſter delivers back the purſes, ſeals and ſtandard to the marſhal and priors. The chaplains ſay the following prayers, and the chapter breaks up.

Prayers to be ſaid at the concluſion of a general or provincial chapter.

CUSTOM.

2. 'Tis very reaſonable that at the concluſion of all our actions we ſhould lift up our hearts to God, and implore his mercy, to obtain quiet in this life, and happineſs in another: and therefore at the end of a general or provincial chapter, the chaplains that are come thither in proceſſion are uſed to offer up the following prayers to God for the peace of the faithful, and for the reſt both of the living and the dead. We order this practice to be continued.

Prayer for peace.

WE beſeech God and our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, to grant peace, quietneſs and concord to all faithful Chriſtians, to prevent wars and ſeditions, to reſtrain the fury of the Infidels, and direct all Chriſtians into the way of eternal life.

Prayer for the fruits of the earth.

We pray that our God and our Lord Jeſus Chriſt would vouchſafe to give, multiply and preſerve the fruits of the earth.

Prayer for the pope.

WE beſeech our God and Lord Jeſus Chriſt not to forſake N. the paſtor of his flock, but to defend him with his continual protection, to increaſe his faith and charity, that he, with the flock committed to his charge, may obtain eternal life.

Prayer for the cardinals and prelates.

WE beſeech our God and Lord Jeſus Chriſt to confirm and preſerve the cardinals of the holy church of Rome, the patriarchs, archbiſhops, and the reſt of the clergy in his holy ſervice.

Prayer for the emperor and princes.

We beſeech our God and Lord Jeſus Chriſt to preſerve the emperor, and all kings and catholick princes, in peace and true concord, and inſpire them with a fervent zeal to make war upon the barbarians and infidels, and deliver the holy Land and Jeruſalem from the yoke of ſlavery.

Prayer for the maſter of the hoſpital.

We beſeech our God and Lord Jeſus Chriſt to vouchſafe to direct N. in the government of the hoſpital of our order and our brothers, and to grant him in health and wealth long to live.

Prayer for the bailiffs and priors.

We beſeech our God and Lord Jeſus Chriſt to direct the bailiffs, priors and caſtellan of Empoſta of our order, and enlighten their minds, that they may always ſeek and promote the honour and advantage of our order.

Prayer for the brothers of the hoſpital.

We beſeech our God and Lord Jeſus Chriſt to preſerve our brothers, and keep us from failing in the performance of our vows.

Prayer for the ſick and ſlaves.

We beſeech our God and Lord Jeſus Chriſt to heal and deliver all ſick perſons and ſlaves, that they being freed from captivity and ſickneſs may come to give him thanks in his holy church.

Prayer for ſinners.

We beſeech our God and Lord Jeſus Chriſt to deliver all ſinners from the bonds of their ſins, and bring them to everlaſting life.

Prayer for the benefactors of our hoſpital.

We beſeech our God and Lord Jeſus Chriſt to give them in this life a juſt recompence for their benefits, and after their death life everlaſting.

Prayer for our brethren and relations.

We pray for the ſouls of our brethren, relations and kinſmen, and for all that reſt in our churchyards all over the world.

The Pſalm, Deus miſereatur, the De profundis, &c. Kyrie eleiſon, &c.

PRAYER.

O God, from whom all holy deſires, all good counſels, and all juſt works do proceed; grant unto thy ſervants that peace which the world cannot give, that both our hearts may be ſet to obey thy commandments, and alſo that by thee we being defended from the fear of our enemies, may paſs our time in reſt and quietneſs, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, &c.

That the brothers come to the general chapter.

Br. JOHN FERDINAND D'HEREDIA.

3. We enjoin the bailiffs, priors, caſtellan of Empoſta, commanders and others, that in vertue of their offices and dignities are members of a general chapter, to give their attendance in it, if not hindered by very preſſing buſineſs, and

and accidents that are in a manner unavoidable; in which caſe they ſhall ſend a proxy duly authorized to it: ſuch as fail to do ſo ſhall be declared diſobedient, and be deprived of the habit.

Br. CLAUDE DE LA SENGLE.

4. This penalty may be moderated by the maſter and general chapter.

Of the reſidence to be kept by ſuch as are to be admitted to ſit in the chapter, or in any other council.

Br. HUGH DE LOUBENX VERDALE.

5. 'Tis not fitting that ſuch as are not acquainted with the conſtitutions and ſtatutes of the order, and are not verſed in the affairs of it, ſhould be put into the office of judges: and therefore we enact, that ſuch brothers as have not reſided, either at once, or at different times, the ſpace of eight whole years in the convent, ſhall not be admitted for the future to the general chapter: nor ſhall any body be allowed to ſit in any other council whatever, where regulations are to be made about the affairs of the order, unleſs he have reſided five years compleat, except the brothers of the venerable languages of England and Germany.

That proxies ſhall not be admitted into the general chapter without producing a procuration in good form.

Br. RAIMOND ZACOSTA.

6. We forbid the maſter and general chapter to admit in it the proxies of the priors, bailliffs, caſtellan of Empoſta and commanders, without their producing an authentick and ſufficient procuration from them, empowering them to appear at the chapter, and conſent to the determinations made in it. Such as are hindred from coming themſelves, and want means to ſend a proxy, ſhall be deemed to acquieſce in what is there done, and be obliged to obſerve the regulations made in it, as much as if they had been preſent.

Br. CLAUDE DE LA SENGLE.

7. No proxy appointed to aſſiſt at a general chapter, can, on vertue of his procuration, in what terms ſoever it be drawn up, ſubſtitute another in his ſtead, but he ſhall be obliged to attend there in perſon. If the procuration contains the name of ſeveral proxies, the firſt named ſhall be preferred, unleſs it plainly appeared that the conſtituent intended otherwiſe.

Form of the procuration of the priors and bailiffs, to appear for them at a general chapter.

The ſame MASTER.

8. We brother N. knight of the hoſpital of St. John of Jeruſalem, humble prior or bailiff of the priory or bailliage of N. depending on the prudence, probity, fidelity and induſtry of our religious brothers in Jeſus Chriſt, N. and N. have made, conſtituted and appointed, and by theſe preſents do make, conſtitute and appoint, in the beſt form and manner that we can, for our true and lawful proxies, general and ſpecial, abſent as if preſent, and each of them entirely, in the manner following; firſt, the ſaid brother N. ſolely and entirely, and in caſe of his abſence, or other impediment, our brother N. alſo ſolely and entirely, and in caſe of the abſence or other impediment either of the one or the other, brother N. alſo ſolely and entirely, to appear before the moſt illuſtrious lord grand maſter, and the next general chapter that ſhall be aſſembled in our convent, to aſſiſt and intervene at the ſaid chapter in our name, and ſpecially and expreſly to conſent for us, acquieſce in, and give free and ready aſſent to, all and every the decrees, conſtitutions, ſtatutes, deliberations and ordinances of the ſaid general chapter, and the moſt reverend lords of the committee of ſixteen; and in general to do, procure and exerciſe all and every the things which ſhall be judged uſeful and neceſſary to be done, as aforeſaid, and which

we ſhould do, might or ought to do ourſelves, if we were preſent in the ſaid chapter, even tho' the caſe ſhould require a ſpecial direction and authority. We promiſe faithfully to approve, ratify, confirm and execute punctually whatever ſhall be done and tranſacted by them, or any of them, in vertue of our preſent procuration: in teſtimony whereof we have ſet our hand to theſe preſents, and ſealed it with our coat of arms. Given at, &c.

Procuration of the commanders and priories.

9. We N.N. commanders of the priory of N. with the reverend lord brother N. prior of the ſaid priory, aſſembled to hold our provincial chapter, declare that, &c. In witneſs whereof we have cauſed theſe preſents to be ſigned by the ſecretary or a notary's hand, and ſealed with the ſeal of the chapter.

If the procuration be made by the aſſembly, and they are not uſed to make uſe of a ſeal in that priory, the commanders there preſent ſhall ſign the procuration, or have it ſigned by the ſecretary of the chapter, or ſome other notary, and put two or three of their own ſeals to it.

That when any buſineſs where one of the committee of ſixteen is particularly concerned comes before them, he ſhall be obliged to withdraw.

Br. PETER D'AUBUSSON.

10. 'Tis not reaſonable that when any body's particular affairs are treated of, he ſhould be judge and party in the ſame caſe. We therefore enact, that whenever any affair wherein one of the reverend ſixteen is particularly concerned comes to be debated, he that is a party in it ſhall be obliged to withdraw; notwithſtanding which their ordinances ſhall have the ſame force as if all of them had been preſent.

If any one of the ſixteen be ſick, or otherwiſe hindered, another ſhall be choſe in his ſtead.

Br. JOHN L'EVESQUE DE LA CASSIERE.

11. If any one of the ſixteen falls ill, or is hindered by any lawful impediment, from attending at the committee to act jointly with the reſt, the maſter ſhall ſummon the members of the ſick perſon's language before him and the chapter, and after making them take a new oath, ſhall order them to go together and chooſe another, who ſhall take the ſame oath, and make the ſame promiſe that the perſon he ſucceeds did before.

Of the modeſty to be obſerved by the ſixteen members of the committee.

Br. HUGH DE LOUBENX VERDALE.

12. Whereas it has ſometimes happened that one of the ſixteen members of the committee has tranſgreſſed the rules of modeſty, and refuſed to give his vote in relation to the propoſitions made by the preſident, to the great diſturbance of the committee, and prejudice of the publick good, in matters of the higheſt conſequence; we have therefore enacted, that if any one of the ſixteen is ſo raſh as to go out of the committee which repreſents the ſtate and dignity of the whole, to embroil the affairs which are there treated of, or refuſes to give his voice when he is called upon by the preſident, if he be a prior, bailiff or commander, he ſhall forfeit three years revenue of his priory, bailliage or commandry, which ſhall go to the common treaſury: if he be a brother of the convent, he ſhall loſe three years of his ſtanding, and be expelled the committee: another ſhall be choſe immediately in his ſtead, according to the form of the precedent ſtatute; and the perſon thus excluded ſhall be incapacitated to ſit in the general chapter, in the council, or in any other congregation, or to enjoy any other dignity that ſhall fall vacant.

That no brother be allowed to appeal from or proteſt againſt the ſtatutes of the ſixteen.

Br. BAPTIST URSINI.

13. To reſtrain the inſolence of ſome who are never for bringing their ſuits to an iſſue, in hopes of wearying out thoſe who have right on their ſide, with the exceſſive expence and trouble that attends them, we reſolve to follow the practice of our predeceſſors, who inſtituted the committee of ſixteen to regulate and diſpoſe of the affairs of our order with abſolute authority; ſo that by antient cuſtom, none of our brothers is allowed to contradict or oppoſe their ſtatutes, ſentences and ordinances, which have the force of a final award, but are to ſubmit to them with humility; and whereas ſome of them, regardleſs of the oath they have taken, ſet themſelves to break through this inſtitution, which muſt be a dangerous example and of infinite prejudice, if care be not taken to remedy it by laws and conſtitutions: We therefore, in a view of repreſſing their inſolence, and of adhering to our old cuſtoms, forbid all the brothers of our order, who are members of the general chapter, and have a right of ſitting in it, of what rank and quality ſoever, to appeal from the ſtatutes, ſentences, determinations and ordinances of the committee of ſixteen, or to diſpute and contradict them in any manner whatever. Such as offend againſt this injunction ſhall be immediately deprived of their commandries and benefices; if it be a brother of the convent he ſhall loſe his ſeniority.

How long the general chapter ſhall laſt.

14. We enact, that the general chapter ſhall ſit fifteen days that are not holidays, in order to regulate all affairs that happen with the greater conveniency: the maſter however and the compleat council may, after the chapter is broke up, ſit for ſome days which are reſerved to them, for the diſpatch and execution of buſineſs left undetermined by the chapter.

Of the perſons obliged to be preſent at the provincial chapter.

Br. CLAUDE DE LA SENGLE.

15. All and every the bailiffs and commanders in the provinces are obliged to go every year to the provincial chapter of their priory, on pain of paying a double reſponſion to the treaſury, unleſs they are hindered by ſome lawful impediment, which they muſt notify by their proxy to the chapter: the prior likewiſe muſt attend there under the ſame penalty.

Of the modeſty that the members of chapters are to obſerve.

Br. PETER D'AUBUSSON.

16. We enjoin the priors, the caſtellan of Empoſta, commanders and brothers, of what rank and quality ſoever, to behave themſelves in the provincial chapters with judgment, gravity, temper and modeſty, ſo that every one may ſpeak in his rank, deliver his opinion, and give his vote without heat, ill language, or indecent geſtures, and quietly propoſe whatever he thinks will be for the honour and advantage of the order: ſuch as ſhall behave themſelves otherwiſe ſhall ſuffer the quarantaine.

That the priors are not to favour any body in the provincial chapter.

Br. ANTHONY FLUVIAN.

17. We forbid the priors and caſtellan of Empoſta, to ſpeak or ſolicite in the provincial chapters or aſſemblies, either for or againſt any brother, either preſent or abſent: they are to go on quietly with the buſineſs before them, ſtick cloſe to it, and decide it impartially, without intermeddling in the claims of particular perſons.

That the rules and ſtatutes be read in provincial chapters.

Br. CLAUDE DE LA SENGLE.

18. THERE is nothing more ſcandalous and pernicious than to be ignorant of the ſtatutes and cuſtoms of the order, which are the rule of its government and adminiſtration, eſpecially if it be a groſs and affected ignorance, which has been of vaſt prejudice on ſeveral occaſions. To remedy this fault, and deſtroy all plea of ignorance for the future, we enact, that the following ſtatutes be ſent under the ordinary ſeal into all the priories, and delivered by our authority to the priors, or the caſtellan of Empoſta, and the receivers of the treaſury, whom we enjoin, in virtue of their obedience, to take care that they be read publickly in all provincial chapters, after the maſs of the Holy Ghoſt and the reading of the rule, before they enter upon any act of chapter, that they may be known and obſerved by all the brothers. If the priors, caſtellan of Empoſta neglect to diſcharge their duty in this point, they ſhall incur the penalties of diſobedience.

Of the rule.

THE rule of the hoſpitallers and knights of St. John of Jeruſalem.
OF the penalties of tranſgreſſing the rule.

Of the common treaſury.

OF the charges of the treaſury, and regulations made on that account.
THAT all are obliged to pay the dues of the treaſury.
THAT the dues of the treaſury be fully paid, notwithſtanding any impediment.
OF the mortuary and vacancy dues which are to be paid to the treaſury.
WHAT is to be paid by ſuch as poſſeſs members or portions of lands, and the three next ſtatutes.
OF the paſſage fees that are to be paid by the brothers.
WHEN the treaſury dues are to be paid: penalties in caſe of non-payment.
OF the debts owing to the treaſury, and the following ſtatute.
THAT the effects of brothers deceaſed are to be carried to the treaſury, and the three following.
OF the office of receiver and procurator of the treaſury out of the convent, and the three following.
AGAINST receivers that neglect getting in the debts.

Of the chapter.

WHAT perſons are obliged to appear at the chapter.

Of the priors.

OF the juriſdiction of the priors.
OF the ſeals of the priors, with the ſtatute next following.

Of the office of the brothers.

OF the guard of the fortifications, with the following.

Of the commandries.

OF reſignations.
THAT no member or demeſnes be given to ſeculars.
THAT the brothers do not ſue for and get commandries or benefices out of the order.
THAT no ſecular be deputed for the adminiſtration of a commandry.

Of viſitations.

OF the viſitation of commandries, and the two next following.

Of contracts and alienations.

THAT no alienation be made of the eſtates of the order.
THAT no brother either pledge or mortgage the poſſeſſions of the order and the next following.
THAT they do not offer to treat in provincial chapters or aſſemblies about alienating the eſtates of the order, and the next following.
THAT the brothers do not alienate the effects they have acquired.

Of leaſes.

THAT leaſes of mortuaries and vacancies be made in the provincial chapter.
THAT no repairs be made during the mortuary and vacancy.

Of prohibitions and penalties.

THAT the brothers do not ſeize on commandries.
THAT the brothers do not apply for letters of recommendation to get commandries, and the next following.
THAT no body offer to take up the treaſury dues.
OF obedience.
OF bad adminiſtrators.

That reſcripts and graces, obtained from the general chapter by a falſe repreſentation, or by concealing the truth, be null and void.

Br. HUGH DE LOUBENX VERDALE.

19. THOUGH the general chapter is the laſt and ſupreme tribunal of the order, yet ſince the laws have determined that ſuch as deſignedly uſe falſe ſuggeſtions, or ſuppreſs the truth, ought not to enjoy the favours granted them, we ordain, that graces and reſcripts obtained from our general chapter by ſubreption or obreption, i. e. by falſe repreſentation, or by diſguiſing the truth, which are attended with an illegal defeat, ſhall be of no force at all. We declare, that the maſter and council ſhall take cognizance of ſuch caſes, and give judgment in them as they ſee cauſe.

Of the Council and Judges.

TITLE VII.

The formalities obſerved in the judicial proceedings of the order.

CUSTOM.

1. WHEREAS our brothers are to apply themſelves to hoſpitality and the exerciſe of arms, rather than to law affairs, the antient cuſtom that we derive from our predeceſſors requires, that the diſputes which ariſe between them be decided in a ſummary way, without any form of ſuit, and not in writing, but by word of mouth; that no formal inſtrument be drawn of the caſe; that the parties plead their own cauſe, and juſtice be done after hearing the allegations on both ſides. They may however produce in their defence writings formerly made, as ſentences, inquiſitions, and the like, and bring witneſſes to be examined by the council, or by commiſſioners deputed by it, whoſe depoſitions ſhall be heard, if it be neceſſary.

What perſons have a right of ſitting in the council of the order.

CUSTOM.

2. We have two ſorts of councils, the ordinary and the compleat. The firſt is compoſed of the maſter, and the lieutenant of the maſter or maſterſhip, if there be one; of the biſhop of Malta, who was brought in not long ſince, the prior of the church, and the eight conventual bailiffs, or their lieutenants. They admit into it likewiſe the priors of the provinces, the capitulary bailiffs that are at the convent, the treaſurer or his lieutenant, and the maſter's ſeneſchal, who has a conſultative but not a deciſive voice. The compleat council is compoſed of the ſame perſons, if they are preſent, with the addition of two brothers out of each language: the vicechancellor aſſiſts at both.

The eight conventual bailiffs or their lieutenants muſt always be there, and no council can be held without them: they can even hold one themſelves, and after ſummoning the reſt, though they do not come, they can alone determine every thing that belongs to the juriſdiction of the council. They cannot however hold any council without the maſter's preſence or leave.

The form of the oath taken by ſuch as have a ſeat in the council.

Br. BAPTIST URSINI.

3. Nobody ſhall be admitted into the council till he has firſt taken an oath before the maſter, that he will never reveal the things that ſhall be there debated, determined and concluded, and never declare his opinion, or give any ſentence out of affection, averſion or corruption; that he will faithfully and truly obſerve the ſtatutes and cuſtoms of the order, as well in giving judgment as in publick affairs. Such as act otherwiſe ſhall be declared incapable of holding any office or adminiſtration of the order, ſhall be deemed perjured perſons, and their ſentences and judgments ſo given ſhall be null and of no force.

Br. PETER DU MONT.

4. We enact, that if any of the ordinary members of the council be abſent or exceptionable, another ſhall be appointed in his ſtead, who ſhall take the oath as preſcribed by the foregoing ſtatute. But after the commiſſioners have made their report, and the parties have begun to plead, no member of the council ſhall be excepted againſt, nor any grounds of ſuſpicion allowed to be alledged againſt him.

Br. RAIMOND ZACOSTA.

5. We forbid any citation to be iſſued out againſt a brother of the order, of what condition ſoever he be, without leave firſt obtained from the maſter and council.

Of the moderation required in the members of the councils.

Br. BAPTIST URSINI.

6. That affairs may be treated and examined with the greater deliberation in the councils, we enact, that the maſter, bailiffs, priors, caſtellan of Empoſta, and others that compoſe them, hear the parties that plead before them with patience, not interrupting them with queſtions; that they hear their reaſons, and what they are minded to alledge, without ſhewing any inclination to favour one more than another, or that they have a greater eſteem for one party than they have for the other. If any body acts otherwiſe, the party that perceives it may except againſt him, whoever he be, and without any other reaſon, he ſhall be obliged immediately to quit the council.

How many cauſes may be brought before the council.

Br. CLAUDE DE LA SENGLE.

7. For the greater diſpatch of cauſes, we enact, that only three cauſes at a time ſhall be brought before the council; that the parties, before they appear there, ſhall enter their names in the chancery, with the nature of their cauſe. The vicechancellor ſhall lay them before the council in the order that they are entered. The petitions of commiſſaries are not comprehended in this number of cauſes.

Manner of examining witneſſes.

8. We enact, that all witneſſes produced in the convent ſhall take an oath in the preſence of the parties, and be examined in their abſence. They ſhall be examined ſeparately about the matter in queſtion, the place where, the time when it happened, and how it came to their knowledge. Their anſwers ſhall be put down in writing, if it be neceſſary.

That there ſhall be no more than two proxies to plead a cauſe.

Br. RAIMOND ZACOSTA.

9. To prevent confuſion and tediouſneſs in ſuits, we enact, that when any difference ariſes between brother and brother, language and language, or between the priors and caſtellan of Empoſta, in which it is neceſſary to make uſe of proxies before the council, egard, or commiſſaries, there ſhall never be more than one employed on a ſide, each whereof may ſpeak and produce what evidences he has to ſupport his right. They muſt appear in a long decent garb, and without arms. Such as offend againſt this ſtatute, ſhall be puniſhed with the quarantaine, during which he ſhall have leave to ſit down and eat.

Br. PHILIBERT DE NAILLAC.

10. We think fit, for very good reaſons, not to allow ſeculars to aſſiſt at our councils.

That no brother ſhall be proxy for another that is preſent in the convent.

Br. JOHN FERDINAND DE HEREDIA.

11. Since it has been an ancient cuſtom in our order, to determine all ſuits in a ſummary way, to prevent their being ſpun out to an improper length, that the brothers may not be diverted from the exerciſe of arms, whilſt they amuſe themſelves with pleading, we forbid, under pain of the quarantaine, our brothers to ſerve for proxies to one another whilſt they are in the convent, and not ſick enough to hinder their appearing in perſon. Whoever would act as proxy for one that is abſent, ſhall be obliged to ſhew his procuration to the ſuperior, who ſhall determine whether it be ſufficient. The Engliſh and German brothers, if they cannot ſpeak a language to be underſtood in the convent, ſhall be allowed a proxy, tho' they are preſent.

Br. CLAUDE DE LA SENGLE.

12. Such as, for want of language, or otherwiſe, are not able to repreſent their reaſons, may make uſe of proxies. We refer, however, this liberty to the judgment of the maſter and council.

That the bailiffs and priors may have proxies.

Br. PETER D'AUBUSSON.

13. We enact, that when there ſhall be any difference between the capitulary or conventual bailiffs, the priors and caſtellan of Empoſta on one ſide, and the commanders and brothers of the convent on the other, the priors may appoint a proxy to plead in their name, and defend their intereſts.

That no ſtranger ſhall be allowed to plead for the religious of the order before any tribunal of the order.

Br. PHILIP DE VILLERS DE L'ISLE-ADAM.

14. To prevent ſuits in the order, which ought to be ended in a ſummary way, from being perverted or ſpun out by querks and artifices, we allow no ſeculars, nor regulars of any other order, to plead before the maſter, in the councils, general chapter, egard, or before any commiſſaries, deputed either by them or the prior of the church, or the marſhal of the convent; not intending here-

by

by to alter the cuſtom which allows ſeculars to plead their own cauſes in our provincial chapters, and other tribunals.

That the ſuits of the knights, chaplains, and ſerving brothers, be decided by the maſter and council.

Br. JOHN DE LASTIC.

15. As our deſign is to diſtribute juſtice to all our brothers alike, ſo that the weaker ſhall not be oppreſſed by the ſtronger, we reſerve all diſputes that may ariſe on account of chevisſement or amelioration, between the brother knights of one part, and the brother chaplains and ſervants of arms of the other, to the cognizance and deciſion of the maſter and council.

Of the manner of treating affairs in the councils.

Br. BAPTIST URSINI.

16. We enact, that when there are any affairs to be treated of in the councils, before they come to give their voices, as ſoon as the matter has been propoſed, every member of the council, without any regard to his rank or turn, may alledge, urge and offer whatever he ſhall think fit: and when the affair has been duly examined and debated, they ſhall give their votes by way of ballot, ſo that the party who has moſt ballots ſhall carry his cauſe. We order likewiſe, that all affairs, of what nature ſoever they be, even criminal caſes, that are treated in our councils, ſhall be determined in the way of ballot, otherwiſe the ſentence ſhall be null.

Br. JOHN D'OMEDES.

17. The ſame method ſhall be obſerved in provincial chapters, and aſſemblies: every thing done otherwiſe ſhall be null.

Of the order and manner of balloting.

18. Our predeceſſors were of opinion that freedom of judgment, and ſecrecy in giving of votes, were two things of great importance to the ſtate; and therefore invented the uſe of balloting: but ſince they left us no rule for it in writing, we enact, that when there ſhall be two or more competitors for any office or dignity, there ſhall be a balloting for them all together, according to the order of their ſtanding, provided none of them be great croſſes, or enjoy one of the principal dignities of the order; for in ſuch caſe they ſhall firſt ballot for him in this manner.

When they have taken the oath appointed by the ſtatutes of the order, the vicechancellor ſhall bring as many boxes as there are candidates, ſhall preſent them firſt to the maſter, and then to every member of the council in his order, that they may put their ballot into what box they pleaſe. They afterwards count the ballots, and he that has the moſt ſhall be choſe. If the number be equal, he that is of the longeſt ſtanding in the order ſhall carry it, provided that the Fiarnaud or junior be not a great croſs; in which caſe he ſhall be preferred. If they were entered at the ſame time, the choice ſhall be referred to the compleat council, as well as other diſputes, where the voices are equally divided, who ſhall decide thereof finally, and without appeal.

Br. RAIMOND BERENGER.

19. We ordain and enact, that uſe and cuſtom ſhall not over-rule a written ſtatute, but ſhall ſerve for a rule, if there be no written law in the caſe.

Of appeals.

Br. CLAUDE DE LA SENGLE.

20. No brother is allowed to appeal from the decrees of a general chapter, which is the ſupreme tribunal of the order. Nor ſhall there be any appeal from judgments given in criminal matters, in caſe of the correction ordered by the rule, or of the election of brothers or commanders to be bailiffs of the great

croſs. They may however appeal in caſe of the promotion, or tranſlation of bailiffs to other dignities: but no appeal lies in the creation of officers, or in the nomination of commiſſaries, or in the declaration made upon the exceptions offered againſt any particular members of the counſels or commiſſaries, or in the caſe of execution, or of an order to execute, or of ſentences given by the brothers in provincial chapters, where the conſequence does not exceed an hundred crowns.

In cauſes decided between the brothers and ſeculars, the brother cannot appeal from the ſentence given in the provincial chapter, of what conſequence ſoever it be. Appeals are allowable in all other caſes, whoever is the appellant. Incidents that ariſe in cauſes ſhall be decided by commiſſaries deputed for that purpoſe, and an appeal lies from them to the perſons that deputed them; but from them there lies no appeal at all.

The ſentences called Lobia given in diſputes that do not exceed the value of ten crowns, ſhall be final and liable to no appeal. If the ſum be more conſiderable, and the ſuit is between two brothers, the appeal is to be carried before the ordinary council: if it be between a brother and a ſecular, it does not ſignify who is the plantiff or defendant; the appeal lies to the council or audience, whoſe ſentences, as well as the awards of arbitrators, ſhall be executed, without liberty of appeal to any other tribunal.

The time in which an appeal is to be lodged.

21. An appeal ought to be lodged within ten days after the ſentence is given and publiſhed, if given in the convent; and within the ſame term, though it be given elſewhere, if the party or his proxy was preſent at it. If neither of them were there, the ten days ſhall only be reckoned from the time that the party came to the knowledge of it, and if he lapſes the time, it ſhall be deemed an acquieſcence: but in caſe of ſentences given by commiſſaries upon incidents, the appeal muſt be made the very ſame, or the next day.

Of the order of appeals.

22. Appeals made from the prior and aſſembly, or from the prior alone, are carried to the provincial chapter, and from thence to the ordinary Council. If the cauſe began in the provincial chapter, the appeal lies to the ordinary council, and from thence to the compleat council, but ſo that if the provincial chapter has confirmed the aſſembly's or the prior's ſentence; or if the ordinary council has confirmed that of the provincial council; if the cauſe began there, their ſentences ſhall be executed proviſionally, notwithſtanding the appeal. If the cauſe began in the ordinary council, the appeal lies to the compleat council, and from thence to the general chapter: but in caſe of ſuch appeal, the compleat council may order a proviſional execution of their ſentence.

The time limited for purſuing an appeal, and bringing it to a trial.

23. Appeals from a ſentence given by the prior and aſſembly, or by the prior alone, muſt be tried at the firſt provincial chapter, otherwiſe they ſhall be adjudged to be dropped, unleſs a lawful impediment be proved. An appeal from the ſentence of a provincial chapter to the ordinary council, laſts a year or two, if the appellant has juſt reaſon to put it off. An appeal from the ſentence of the ordinary council to the complete council, laſts only four months, reckoning from the day it was lodged; if it is from a ſentence of the compleat council, the appellant is obliged to bring it to a trial at the firſt general chapter, otherwiſe it ſhall be deemed to be dropped. Appeals from the ſentences given by commiſſaries, upon incidents, muſt be brought to an iſſue in ten days, reckoning from that in which they were given.

Of the appeals of brother chaplains of obedience, or of brother ſervants of office out of the convent.

24. The brother chaplains of obedience, or brother ſervants of office or ſtage, if aggrieved by the prior or commander that they live under, may appeal to

the prior and aſſembly, or to the provincial chapter, which ſhall decide their diſputes.

That ſentences be written and publiſhed.

25. THE decrees and ſentences of general chapters, of councils and egards in the convent, ſhall be drawn up in writing by the vice-chancellor, and thoſe of the provincial chapters and aſſemblies by the ſecretary, who ſhall publiſh them, and both ſhall be tranſcribed in a regiſter.

Of the modeſty which the brothers ought to obſerve in the aſſemblies of the languages.

Br. PETER D'AUBUSSON.

26. WHEREAS it happens frequently in the aſſemblies of the languages, that the brothers forgetting the modeſty, civility and decorum which they are engaged to by their holy obedience, uſe geſtures and indecent manners, in breach of that regard which they owe to their priors and ſuperiors, and diſturb the debates and conſultations, to the reproach of the order, and detriment of the publick good: we therefore order the bailiffs, priors, commanders, and brothers, of what quality ſoever they be, to be upon their guard, and behave themſelves with modeſty in the aſſemblies of the languages that are held in the convent, to keep every one in the proper place that belongs to him, to mind what ſhall be propoſed to them by the bailiffs or their lieutenants, the procurators and the brothers of the other languages as well as their own, and even the parties concerned that are for maintaining their rights, without giving them any diſturbance or interruption; that after hearing quietly the nature of the diſpute, they may give their judgment in their reſpective ranks, and the language come to a reſolution in the caſe. If any body thinks himſelf aggrieved by that reſolution, he may apply to the maſter and ordinary council, who ſhall hear the parties, and do juſtice between them. Such as ſhall tranſgreſs this ſtatute ſhall be puniſhed with the quarantaine.

Of the uſe of ballots in the languages.

Br. CLAUDE DE LA SENGLE.

27. THAT our brothers may give their votes with the greater freedom in every language, we enact, that whenever there is any grace to be conferred in the languages or priories, or they are to name to bailliages or dignities, they ſhall make uſe of ballots, as is done in the councils. They ſhall grant no graces, but by the unanimous conſent of all the brothers.

Br. PETER DU MONT.

28. WE enact that no brother ſhall have a voice in the aſſemblies till after he has reſided at the ſame, or at ſeveral times, three years in the convent, except the brothers of the venerable languages of England and Germany.

Of the collects of the languages.

29. WE enact agreeable to antient cuſtom, that the brothers in the aſſemblies, or collects of the inns, ſhall not treat of any thing but of the lands, houſes, chambers, or poſſeſſions of the language or inns, we enjoin them on pain of diſobedience, neither to treat of, nor reſolve on any thing that concerns the conſtitution and ſtate of the order, or that is of conſequence, and contrary to cuſtom: whatever they do of ſuch a nature ſhall be null.

Of the ſame thing.

Br. FABRICIO DEL CARETTO.

30. SINCE we are obliged to prefer the publick good before all other conſiderations, we enact, that whenever they treat in the aſſembly or collect of any language whatever, of the repairs of the houſes and chambers, or of the dreſſing and ordering of their vineyards or other immoveable goods of the lan-

guages,

guages, and two thirds of the brothers of the language agree in the ſame ſentiment, their reſolve ſhall be put in execution, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the other third; the uſages however of the ſame languages in other caſes, ſhall ſtill continue in full force.

Of licenſes for the bailiffs and priors to retire from the convent.

Br. RAIMOND ZACOSTA.

31 We forbid the maſter to give leave to the capitulary or conventual bailiffs, the priors, or caſtellan of Empoſta, to retire from the convent, without the knowledge of the compleat council; three fourths of which muſt conſent to it, otherwiſe the reſolution ſhall be null, as likewiſe the Maſter's licenſe, if he grants it without their concurrence. Such as leave the convent on ſuch a pretended Licenſe, ſhall be as much proceeded againſt, as if they had left it without any at all.

Br. PETER D'AUBUSSON.

32. The maſter and ordinary council however are allow'd to ſend ſome into the weſt, and other places out of the convent, provided it be about the general affairs of the order.

Of the Letters to be expedited by the maſter and council.

Br. BAPTIST URSINI.

33. We enact, that letters patents of ſafe conduct, licenſes to leave the convent, inſtructions, epiſtles, and other patents granted by the maſter, and the ordinary or compleat council, ſhall be expedited by the vice-chancellor, and ſigned by his hand. They ſhall be regiſtered too in the chancery, with a ſalvo to the vice-chancellor's rights, and in defect thereof, they ſhall not have the authority of the council.

Br. CLAUDE DE LA SENGLE.

34. They muſt be all ſealed with the maſter's ſeal in black wax.

Of the publick audience.

Br. PHILIBERT DE NAILLAC.

35. It has been provided by a wiſe regulation, that a publick audience ſhould be held every Friday. The maſter or his lieutenant, the conventual bailiffs, the capitulary priors, the caſtellan of Empoſta, and the reſt that uſe to ſit in the ordinary council, the caſtellan, the judges of appeals, the ordinary judges, and the vice-chancellor ſhall aſſiſt at it: they ſhall read and hear in it the complaints and petitions of the ſeculars; pleadings ſhall be uſed on both ſides, and they ſhall make proper proviſion to put an end to their ſuits, and do juſtice to every body.

Br. CLAUDE DE LA SENGLE.

36. The captain and judge of our town, and the maſter notary of the caſtellany are uſed to be there. The maſter and council may likewiſe call in other good and learned men, if there be occaſion.

Of the calling of the officers of juſtice to account.

37. Tis very fit that every body ſhould give an account of his actions; we therefore enact that the caſtellan, the ſub-caſtellan, the judges of appeals, and the ordinary judge, the captain, the jurats, the judge, and all the officers of our city that are uſed to be called to an account, ſhall be ſo before two commiſſaries, the one a knight, the other a man of learning, choſe by the maſter and council; when they quit their offices, and others are choſe in their ſtead, as has been the practice hitherto, that ſuch as have not done their duty may be puniſhed.

Of

Of the bull or ſeal of the maſter and convent.

38. THE inventing of ſtamps, bulls, and ſeals, has been found very uſeful, for giving credit to writings that contain any act of authority, and making them authentick. For this end it has been ordained, that two ſteel ſtamps ſhould be made with the maſter's and bailiffs pictures engraved thereon, to ſerve for a bull or ſeal for the convent. All manner of grants ſhall be ſealed with it, all procurations, exchanges, bonds, proviſions, and other inſtruments that are expedited by the authority of the maſter and convent, or by the council or general chapter; and ſuch as have been uſed to be ſealed with the common leaden Bull.

That the procurators of the common treaſury be not excluded from the cogniſance of matters that concern it.

Br. PETER D'AUBUSSON.

39. WE decree that the venerable great commander, and the procurators of the treaſury ſhall not be excluded from the cogniſance and deciſion of matters that concern it, having been uſed from antient times to be preſent on ſuch occaſions, where they have not their own private, but the publick intereſt to take care of.

Br. CLAUDE DE LA SENGLE.

40. BUT ſo that they do not offer to ſpeak in relation to the cauſe whilſt it is pleading, but appoint a procurator to plead and proſecute in behalf of the treaſury.

That no brother cite another brother before any court of judicature but thoſe of the order.

Br. PHILIBERT DE NAILLAC.

41. TIS a very indecent practice, and has often proved very prejudicial to the order, for our brothers, who are devoted to the defence of the faith, to trouble themſelves with law-ſuits, and ſue in courts that do not belong to the order, in contempt of the obedience which they owe it: they are ſubject to ſtatutes, to cuſtoms, and to a tribunal, where they may defend their intereſts, and decide their diſputes in a little time, ſo as not to loſe any of that which they ought to dedicate to the exerciſe of arms. We therefore forbid them expreſſly by this ſtatute to ſue, on any occaſion or pretence whatever, any of our brothers, in any court either eccleſiaſtical or civil, but only in thoſe of the order. Such as offend againſt this ordinance ſhall loſe their ſeniority, and be deprived of all manner of adminiſtration for five years.

Br. CLAUDE DE LA SENGLE.

42. WHOEVER after loſing his cauſe, ſhall appeal to any other judges but our own, or ſhall only proteſt that he would appeal, though he does not do ſo in fact, nor proſecute his appeal at all, ſhall be deprived of the thing which occaſioned his ſuit.

Br. JOHN L'EVESQUE DE LA CASSIERE.

43. WE lay the ſame injunction on the brother chaplains of obedience, on pain of being deprived of the benefices, rectories, and portions that they are preſented to, and likewiſe of the habit, which ſhall be taken from them immediately.

The feaſts that are obſerved in the judicatures of our order.

JANUARY.

1. The Circumciſion.
17. St. Anthony the Abbot.
20. S. Fabian, and S. Sebaſtian.
23. The converſion of St. Paul.

FEBRUARY.

2. Purification of the V. Mary.
3. St. Blaiſe Bp and Martyr.

5. St. Agatha, a virgin.
20. Dedication of the church of St. John Baptiſt.
22. The choir of St. Peter.
24. St. Matthias the apoſtle.

MARCH.

12. St. Gregory, the pope.
19. St. Joſeph, a confeſſor.
25. The annunciation of the bleſſed virgin Mary.

APRIL.

23. St. George the martyr.
25. St. Mark the evangeliſt.

MAY.

1. St. Philip and St. James.
3. Invention of the croſs.
6. St. John Porte Latine.
28. St. Waldeſce, a virgin nun of the order.

JUNE.

11. St. Barnabas.
14. St. John Baptiſt, and all the octave.
29. St. Peter and St. Paul, apoſtles.
30. Commemoration of St. Paul.

JULY.

2. Viſitation of the bleſſed virg. Mary.
22. St. Mary Magdalen.
25. St. James the apoſtle.
26. St. Anne, mother of the virg. Mary.
31. St. Ignatius Loyolo, confeſſor.

AUGUST.

1. St. Peter ad vincula.
4. St. Dominick, confeſſor.
6. The transfiguration of our Saviour.
10. St. Laurence, martyr.
15. The aſſumption of the bleſſed virgin Mary.
24. St. Bartholomew, apoſtle.
28. St. Auguſtin, biſhop.
29. Beheading of St. John Baptiſt.

SEPTEMBER.

8. The nativity of the bleſſed virgin Mary.
14. The exaltation of the croſs.
21. St. Matthew, apoſtle and evangeliſt.
29. St. Michael the archangel.
30. St. Jerome, confeſſor.

OCTOBER.

1. The holy guardian angel.
4. St. Francis, confeſſor.
18. St. Luke, evangeliſt.
28. St. Simon and St. Jude, apoſtles.

NOVEMBER.

1. All ſaints.
2. All ſouls.
4. St. Charles Borromeo.
11. St. Martin, biſhop.
21. The preſentation of the bleſſed virgin Mary.
25. St. Catherine, virgin.
30. St. Andrew the apoſtle.

DECEMBER.

2. St. Francis Xavier.
6. St. Nicholas, biſhop.
7. St. Ambroſe, biſhop.
8. The conception of the bleſſed virgin Mary.
13. St. Lucia, virgin.
21. St. Thomas the apoſtle.
24. From Chriſtmas Eve to the Epiphany, and the two days following.

MOVEABLE FEASTS.

From the Thurſday before the carnival, to Aſhwedneſday, incluſively.
From the Saturday before Palm Sunday, to the octave of Eaſter-day, incluſively.
Aſcenſion-day.
Whitſunday, Monday and Tueſday.
Corpus-Chriſti day, and the eight days following.

Of the Egard.

TITLE VIII.

Of the manner of holding the Egard.

1. THAT the minds of our brothers might not, by being plagued with long law-ſuits, be diverted from the duties of their profeſſion, our predeceſſors thought of an eaſy as well as expeditious way to determine them, which they called the Egard, and is thus practiſed.

THEY chooſe eight brothers, one out of every language, they add to theſe another, out of any language they pleaſe, to be the head and preſident of the Egard, who is named by the maſter, or by the marſhal, when the brothers belong to his juriſdiction. The reſt are named by the bailiffs, and declared by the maſter equerry; only the bailiffs never name any body in the languages of the two contending parties, but the perſons whom they approve of.

FROM this Egard they go to the Renfort of the Egard, doubling the number of the brothers, ſo that there are two of every language; and then to the Ren-

fort of the Renfort, which is compoſed of three brothers out of every language, the preſident firſt choſen continuing all this while in the ſame poſt. If the parties do not abide by the award of theſe three Egards, they add another Egard of bailiffs, which is compoſed of eight conventual bailiffs, or their lieutenants. The maſter names them a preſident, who is either another bailiff, a prior, or the prior of the church; but if he names a conventual bailiff, they put an antient brother of the ſame language in his ſtead.

THEY have every one of them a voice; only the preſident has a double one, or the caſting vote in caſe of an equality. If any language does not afford a proper perſon for this poſt, they ſupply this defect out of the other languages, to fill up the number, ſo that every Egard conſiſts of nine perſons. If one or both the parties be bailiffs or priors, the preſident of all the Egards muſt be a bailiff or prior.

WHEN the parties appear before the Egard, the preſident asks them if they have any exception againſt any one of their judges: if they have, the perſon objected to ſhall retire, and another be put in his ſtead. The plaintiff opens his caſe, and propoſes his grievance, tho' the Egard was aſſembled at the defendant's requeſt. The diſpute is fully heard in a ſummary way, without writings on either ſide, but the parties are to make the beſt of their cauſe by word of mouth. If there be any witneſſes, they hear them, but take no depoſitions in writing. No proxies are allowed, but for perſons that are abſent, or for ſuch as are allowed to have them by the ſtatutes.

THE parties are diſmiſſed as ſoon as they have pleaded their cauſe: the brothers of the Egard retire to debate the caſe, and conſider what has been offered, and then two boxes are brought, one for the affirmative, the other for the negative. Thoſe that are for the plaintiff put their ballots into the firſt, the reſt put theirs into the ſecond; every one according to his ſeniority. The ballots being put in, before the preſident pronounces the ſentence, they call in the parties, and ask them if they will ſtand to the award of the Egard, or no? If they agree to it, they are ſent out again, and the preſident puts his ballot into the box. They afterwards open the boxes in the preſence of the parties, and count the ballots. He that has the moſt votes carries his cauſe: the vice-chancellor writes down and publiſhes the ſentence.

IF either or both the parties declare that they will not ſtand to it, the vice-chancellor counts the ballots a ſecond time, and at the bottom of the ſentence puts down the number of votes that each party had. This writing is kept by the preſident. Then they ſummon the Renfort; and if the parties are not yet ſatisfied, the Renfort of the Renfort. They have recourſe at laſt to the Renfort of the bailiffs, after which the perſon condemned has no reſource left.

WHEN they aſſemble the Renfort of the Renfort, and the Egard of the bailiffs, the preſident of the firſt Egard is to be preſent, with ſome of thoſe that compoſed it, to ſee if the parties have any thing new to ſay, more than they offered at the firſt Egards, for they all make but one judgment, in conjunction with this laſt. When they have given over pleading, the brothers of the firſt Egard retire, all except the preſident, who keeps his place in the Renforts. In fine, when the ſentence of the Renfort of the bailiffs is going to be given, the preſident of the firſt Egards puts in his ballot in the preſence of the preſident of that of the bailiffs. They open the boxes; and the preſident of the firſt Egards takes out the ballots in the preſence of ſome of the brothers that aſſiſted at the ſeveral Egards: they are counted over with thoſe of the bailiffs, and the party that has moſt votes carries his cauſe, and the ſentence is executed.

THE votes however of the Egards are to be kept ſecret, not only from the parties, but even from the other Egards, till the very end of the ſuit. This manner of judging was called by our predeceſſors in old times, the juſtice of the houſe. They proceed in it by default againſt ſuch as are abſent, if they have been duly cited; no appeal is allowed from their ſentences, becauſe it is a ſort of compromiſe.

The occaſions on which they aſſemble the Egards.

CUSTOM.

2. THEY ſometimes aſſemble the Egards to take cognizance of the complaints which the maſter, his lieutenant, the marſhal, or ſome other ſuperior, are minded to make. In the Egards held on ſuch occaſions, there need be only the eight conventual bailiffs, or their lieutenants, or elſe eight brothers with a prior or bailiff choſe by the grand maſter for their preſident, or elſe a brother named by the grand maſter when he is concerned in the affair, but in ſuch caſe the preſident has only one vote. There lies no appeal from this ſentence to other Egards; it is always final. The bailiff of the language which the perſon accuſed is of, muſt be preſent at it, and the affair is determined by plurality of voices.

THE Egard held upon the complaint of the marſhal, or any other ſuperior, except the grand maſter, conſiſts of eight brothers taken out of different languages, unleſs when any language wants a proper perſon, for then they chooſe him out of ſome other language: the ſentence that they give is final, as well as the other, and there is no applying to the Renfort. There are likewiſe other Egards held upon petitions, diſputes, and ſuits of private men, in civil or criminal caſes, but in theſe caſes they may go on to the Renfort, the Renfort of the Renfort, and the Renfort of the bailiffs.

That the Egard may be demanded, notwithſtanding the ſuperior's orders to the contrary.

Br. WILLIAM DE VILLARET.

3. IF the maſter, or any other ſuperior, orders one of our brothers to do any thing contrary to the ſtatutes and cuſtoms of the order, the brother may demand the Egard. If the maſter refuſes or defers to grant it him, he may ſtill inſiſt on his demand; nor ſhall he be obliged to obey the grand maſter's order till the Egard has decided the caſe.

Br. FERDINAND D'HEREDIA.

4. THE Egard never makes interlocutory decrees, nor troubles it ſelf with judging of incidents; all that it minds is to make a final determination.

5. THE Egard is never granted in any affair that has been either reſolved, decided, or begun in the councils, all whoſe ſentences ought to be fully and entirely executed.

Br. JOHN DE LASTIC.

6. NOR on account of any ſuit commenced, or to be commenced between the brother knights on the one part, and the brother chaplains or ſervants of arms on the other, nor in caſe of any incidents ariſing or depending thereon.

Br. PETER D'AUBUSSON.

7. NOR in matters that regard the intereſt of our common treaſury, or its prerogatives, or the authority and prerogatives of the maſter, or any thing in which he is either directly or indirectly concerned.

That the compleat council ought to decide whether the Egard ſhould be granted or no.

Br. RAIMOND ZACOSTA.

8. To terminate a great many diſputes that have riſen about the manner of granting the Egard, we enact, that whenever a brother demands of the maſter to call the Egard, and the adverſe party oppoſes it, the maſter and compleat council ſhall determine whether it ſhould be granted or no. If none of the parties oppoſe it, the maſter ſhall be obliged to grant it immediately.

That

That the preſident and brothers of the Egard meet without any delay: of the exceptions that may be made againſt any of them.

Br. BAPTIST URSINI.

9. To remove all delays and ſuſpicion, we enact, that whenever the Egard is granted by conſent of parties, or by the maſter and compleat council, the maſter ſhall be obliged to name a preſident within two days, in failure whereof the ordinary council ſhall name one, as there is occaſion. The bailiffs and piliers of the languages ſhall be obliged, within twenty four hours, to depute ſome of their brothers to aſſiſt in it: upon their refuſal, the ordinary council ſhall take care to have it done. If the parties except againſt any of thoſe that compoſe it, they ſhall give in the reaſons of their exception to the maſter and ordinary council, who ſhall judge of their validity.

The preſident and brothers of the egard ſhall keep ſilence whilſt the parties are pleading their cauſe, and hear them with attention, without interrupting them; ſo as not to ſhew the leaſt appearance of favour to one more than another, but to keep a perfect equality between them. Such as act otherwiſe may be excepted againſt, and ſhall be obliged to withdraw, tho' it be the preſident himſelf, without any other reaſon of exception being given.

Of the temper that the brothers are to keep in the Egard.

10. We enact, that the preſident, or chief of the Egards ſhall hear the parties that plead before him with great attention, ſilence and prudence, without interrupting them, either by word or deed. As ſoon as the pleading is over, he ſhall ask the brothers of the Egard that are about him their opinion, and whether they are clear in their notions of what has been alledged on both ſides. If any one owns that he did not underſtand them rightly, the parties ſhall repeat their reaſons over again in as conciſe a manner as they can. If any writings or bulls have been produced in the caſe, the vicechancellor ſhall read and explain them to the brothers, that they may be fully apprized of the fact.

That the brothers of the Egard be obliged to take an oath.

Br. RAIMOND ZACOSTA.

11. We order the preſident of the Egard to give an oath to all that are admitted of it, that they will not reveal any thing that is ſaid and determined there, or ſpeak of it to any body; and that they will decide juſtly in all caſes, according to our laudable cuſtoms and ſtatutes. Such as offend in this reſpect ſhall be diſqualified to enjoy any commandries and offices in the order for the reſt of their lives.

Br. JOHN FERDINAND D'HEREDIA.

12. 'Tis enacted, that no new Egard ſhall be either demanded or granted between the ſame parties, till the firſt is at an end.

CUSTOM.

13. When matters are once decided by the Egard, no new one ſhall be granted on the ſame ſubject.

Br. PETER RAIMOND ZACOSTA.

14. We enact, that the affairs of the Egard ſhall not be debated in the church, except ſuch as relate to the correction and chaſtiſement of the brothers, as has been cuſtomary.

Of

Of the Maſter.

TITLE IX.

That the brothers obey the maſter.

Br. ALPHONSUS of Portugal.

1. OBEDIENCE is better than ſacrifice. There is nothing fitter to keep up the practice of the duties of our profeſſion, than the true and ſincere obedience which inferiors owe to the authority of their ſuperiors. It has therefore been wiſely enacted, that all the brothers of the order of Jeruſalem, of what rank and quality ſoever they be, ſhould be obliged to obey the maſter, for the love of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

Declaration of the extent of this obedience.

CUSTOM.

2. IF the rule enjoins the brothers to obey the maſter in every thing that he ſhall command them, without exception, their obedience however is limited within certain bounds, without which nothing can be well regulated. Theſe bounds are the rules, ſtatutes, and good cuſtoms of the order, which obliged the brothers to obey the maſter for the ſake of Jeſus Chriſt. When therefore the maſter commands them any thing contrary to his oath and obligations, it is a ſin which Jeſus Chriſt obliges us not to commit: he requires us on the contrary to take care that our actions be good; this is the great end of the rule, and all the articles thereof are directed to it.

FOR this reaſon it is enacted, that when the ſuperior ſhall give the brothers any order that is not agreeable to the ſtatutes, and received uſages of the order, they ſhall be allowed to demand the egard. 'Tis thus we interpret the obedience which we have vowed; it ought not to bind us farther than the ſtatutes and good cuſtoms of our order, which the ſuperior is equally obliged to obſerve; if he breaks his oath, a brother is not bound to obey him.

The maſter muſt be a brother knight, born of noble parents in lawful wedlock.

Br. HUGH REVEL.

3. 'TIS very fit that the head of a body of knights ſhould be himſelf qualified by the like dignity; and therefore we enact, that no body ſhall be choſe maſter of the ſacred hoſpital of Jeruſalem, unleſs he be a brother knight of the ſame order, born in lawful wedlock of noble parents.

That the maſter who ſhall be elected, whilſt he is abſent from the convent, ſhall not exceed the bounds of the commiſſion given him.

Br. FABRICIO DEL CARETTO.

4. IF any maſter be in the weſt at the time of his election, we forbid him in his road to the convent for the publick ſervice of the order, to buy or take up any thing at the expence of the common treaſury, or extort any money from the receivers and agents of the order, above the income aſſigned him by the convent. If it appears that he takes up more, he ſhall be obliged to pay it out of his own pocket.

That the commandries, offices, and benefices of the perſon elected maſter ſhall be deemed vacant.

Br. PETER RAIMOND ZACOSTA.

5. WE enact, that whenever a brother be elected maſter, the commandries, priories, bailliages, dignities and offices that he enjoys, ſhall be declared vacant, the diſpoſal of them devolves to the maſter and convent, who ſhall beſtow them according to the ſtatutes and cuſtoms of the order.

That a mortuary and vacancy ſhall be due upon a promotion to the maſterſhip.

6. We enact, that when any body is elected maſter, the maſterſhip ſhall pay a mortuary, and the vacancy ſhall be paid for the priory, caſtellany of Empoſta, bailliage, commandry, or other eſtate of the order that he was in poſſeſſion of.

What effects the maſter may detain of the ſpoils of his predeceſſor.

Br. ANTHONY FLUVIAN.

7. Our regulations allow the new maſter to take out of the ſpoils of his predeceſſor a quantity of corn and wine ſufficient to ſerve him from the day of his election to the Chriſtmas following, all the reſt of the corn, wine, and proviſions, ſhall belong to the treaſury. There are likewiſe ſix hundred marks of ſilver plate annexed to his dignity; beſides which, he may take a gold cup and ewer if there be any, but all the reſt is to go to the treaſury.

Of the magiſtral chambers.

Br. CLAUDE DE LA SENGLE.

8. It has been a cuſtom time out of mind, that for the better ſupporting the dignity of maſter of the order with decency and magnificence, one commandry ſhould be aſſigned him in every priory: theſe are called magiſtral commandries, and cannot be ſeparated from the maſterſhip. The maſter however uſes to leaſe them out, or grant them by way of penſion to ſuch brothers as he ſees fit. Here follows a liſt of them.

In the priory of St. Giles, the commandry of Peſenas.
In the priory of Tholouſe, that of Puibran.
In the priory of Auvergne, that of Salins.
In the priory of France, that of Itenaut.
In the priory of Aquitain, that of the temple of Rochelle.
In the priory of Champagne, that of Mets.
In the priory of Lombardy, that of Inverno.
In the priory of Rome, that of Mugnano.
In the priory of Venice, that of Treviſo.
In the priory of Piſa, that of Prato.
In the priory of Capua, that of Liciano.
In the priory of Barletta, that of Brunduſium and Maraggio.
In the priory of Meſſina, that of Polizzi.
In the priory of Catalonia, that of Maſdea.
In the priory of Navarre, that of Calchetas.
In the caſtellany of Empoſta, that of Alliaga.
In the priory of Caſtile, that of Olmos and del Vito.
In the priory of Portugal, that of Villacoua.
In the priory of England, that of Peſlens.
In the priory of Germany, that of Bues.
And in the priory of Bohemia, that of Wadiſlavia.

That the commandry della Finica is a magiſtral commandry.

Br. JOHN DE LA VALETTE.

9. The commandry della Finica, formerly founded in the kingdom of Cyprus, ſhall be reckoned for ever among the magiſtral chambers.

That the maſter may make a lieutenant.

Br. PETER DE CORNILLAN.

10. Though the maſter be reſident in the convent, he may name his lieutenant or vicegerent, and give him what authority he ſees fit.

What things the maſter may grant to the brothers.

CUSTOM.

11. He may give them licenſe to have their own cloaths and houſhold goods, to go on pilgrimage, to eat by themſelves in their own houſes, to go out of the convent, to give the habit of the hoſpital, to aſſemble the languages; he may give the bailiffs likewiſe leave to forbid the drinking of any thing but water, which prohibition is irrepealable, after the clock has ſtruck, for in that caſe none but the maſter can take it off.

What faults the maſter may pardon.

Br. CLAUDE DE LA SENGLE.

12. The maſter cannot pardon any body after he has been condemned, nor ſuch as have been deprived of the habit for ever, without the conſent of the general chapter, and for good conſiderations. He may however alter the puniſhment of ſuch as are deprived of the habit for drawing blood of their brothers, according to the form of the ſtatutes, at the requeſt of the bailiffs of the council; and inſtead of that puniſhment, may take away a year's ſtanding from them, or more according to the nature and circumſtances of the fault, of which the Fiarnauds ſhall have the benefit; provided ſtill, that the perſon who ſuffered ſuch a violence, be neither dead nor maimed, for in ſuch caſe it is not allowable to abate any thing of the rigor of the ſtatutes.

That the maſter may not alienate the revenues of his dignity.

Br. FABRICIO DEL CARETTO.

13. We annul all grants that may be hereafter made by the maſter, of the dues, prerogatives, privileges, and revenues of his dignity to the prejudice of his ſucceſſors, and after his death they ſhall be re-annexed to the maſterſhip in virtue of this preſent ſtatute, if not confirmed by the general chapter, which is never to be done but for good and known reaſons.

On the ſame ſubject.

Br. CLAUDE DE LA SENGLE.

14. We ordain, that in caſe the maſter, during his being ſick, gives any body for a certain time, or for life, or otherwiſe diſpoſes of any of the magiſtral chambers, or other eſtates annexed to his dignity, which he had leave of the general chapter to diſpoſe of, the grant ſhall be null, if he does not recover of his illneſs, and live thirty days after the date of it. We ordain the ſame to be obſerved in the priories and bailliages for the members of the magiſtral chambers, and in the commandries with regard to their members of amelioration.

Of the maſters leaden bull, and ſeal for wax.

Br. NICOLAS DE L'ORGUE.

15. Tis enacted, that the maſter keep a leaden ſeal, with his effigies on one ſide of it, and the ordinary ſtamp on the other, to expedite, ſeal, and authorize all the diſpatches that depend on his authority, and the maſter's prerogative: he ſhall likewiſe have a ſilver ſeal to be uſed with black wax for ſealing letters patents, and others that are uſed to be expedited in that manner.

Of providing a proper ſtock of proviſions.

Br. PETER RAIMOND ZACOSTA.

16. We order the maſters to lay in from time to time a good ſtock of millet and wheat, ſo that there may be always a year's proviſion beforehand.

Of the four chaplains of the maſter's palace.

Br. FABRICIO DEL CARETTO.

17. That the holy relicks in the maſter's palace may receive the veneration that is due to them, we order the four chaplains of the palace, in the maſter's abſence, and during the vacancy of his dignity, to continue divine ſervice night and day, juſt as if he was preſent, and make their caravans, as uſual, before they leave the convent.

Of the goods belonging to the maſterſhip.

18. We enact, that when the maſterſhip falls vacant, the great commander, or his lieutenant, the conventual conſervator, and the commiſſaries deputed by the council, after taking an oath for the due execution of their truſt, ſhall receive from the officers of the maſter's palace, all the houſhold goods that the late maſter made uſe of, and ſhall take care to ſecure them. If any of them be carried off, they ſhall uſe all poſſible diligence to recover them. They ſhall do the ſame with regard to the ſtable and income of the maſterſhip. All gold and ſilver plate belongs to the common treaſury. We aboliſh all ill cuſtoms introduced by the officers.

In the maſter's abſence affairs are treated by the regents and the council jointly.

19. We enact likewiſe, that if the maſter is abſent from the convent, ſuch as are deputed to govern the order, ſhall treat of all important affairs that concern it, in conjunction with the council, and provide for them in the way of ballot, keeping to the form preſcribed by the ſtatutes, and in this manner they may depoſe officers, put others in their ſtead, diſpoſe of offices, commandries, and benefices, and grant graces and pardons. Whatever is done in any other manner ſhall be null.

That the maſter may give leave to the brothers to diſpoſe of their patrimonial fortunes.

Br. HUGH DE LOUBENX VERDALE.

20. We enact by way of addition to the eleventh article, that the maſter may likewiſe give permiſſion to the brothers of the order, to ſell, give, or alienate any kind whatever of immoveable goods only, which belong to them either by inheritance, or by the wills of their fathers, mothers, grandfathers, grandmothers, or collateral relations, to diſpoſe of them in their life-time, or at the point of death, and to ſue, plead, appear and treat for the recovery of the ſaid goods, either in courſe of law or otherwiſe.

Of the Bailiffs.

TITLE X.

Of the original of the bailiffs.

CUSTOM.

1. TO enable the maſter to provide the better for the government of the order, our predeceſſors formed a ſenate and council of grave and eminent perſons, diſtinguiſhed by their dignities to aſſiſt him. Hence aroſe the counſellors of the order, viz. the great commander, the marſhal, the hoſpitaller, the admiral, the conſervator, the turcopolier, the great bailiff, and the great chancellor. They are called conventual bailiffs, becauſe they are preſidents of their reſpective languages.

What brothers are ſubject to the marſhal's authority.

Br. ALPHONSO DE PORTUGAL.

2. THE ſacred ſociety of the order require inferiors to be ſubject to their ſuperiors; and therefore it has been enacted, that all the brothers, as well knights as ſervants of arms, obey the marſhal. The conventual bailiffs however, and their lieutenants, the priors, caſtellan of Empoſta, capitulary bailiffs, and the maſter's retinue, are exempted from this obedience.

That all the military men, when at ſea, obey the admiral and the marſhal, if he be preſent.

Br. WILLIAM DE VILLARET.

3. 'TIS enacted, that the admiral ſhall command the galleys and naval forces of the order, and may retain gallions, galiots and ſoldiers in the ſervice, who ſhall be paid out of the treaſury; and the marines ſhall be under his authority, both by ſea and land, unleſs the marſhal commands the ſquadron, for then the admiral and every body elſe receive orders from him. The marines that are landed ſhall be commanded by the perſon that the marſhal deputes for that purpoſe. When they are at ſea, either in going or coming back they ſhall receive orders from the admiral, if the marſhal is not there in perſon.

4. THE prior of the church ſhall be obliged to go to all aſſemblies or congregations called by the marſhal.

The marſhal may give the ſtandard of the order to whom he pleaſes.

5. THE marſhal of the order has the prerogative of giving the ſtandard of the order to whom he will in time of war: he is however obliged to conſult the maſter, or his lieutenant, on this ſubject.

6. THE maſter may order any brothers that have not done their duty to drink nothing but water in their chambers: the other bailiffs cannot put them under ſuch a penance without the maſter's leave.

That the brothers in time of war obey the marſhal's orders.

7. IF obedience is always praiſe-worthy, 'tis more particularly ſo in time of war: ſo that all the brothers are then ſubject to the marſhal, except the conventual and capitulary bailiffs, the priors, caſtellan of Empoſta, and the maſter's retinue, who has a right, if preſent, to command the marſhal himſelf, and in his abſence his lieutenant has the ſame.

Of the admiral's authority over the naval forces.

8. THE prerogative of the office of admiral requires, that all the brothers and ſeculars that compoſe the naval army be ſubject to the admiral's orders, unleſs the maſter or his lieutenant command it in perſon: all the marines too, in ſervice of the order, depend on him in what relates to their payment for that ſervice.

Of the prerogatives of the admiral.

Br. DIEU-DONNE DE GOZON.

9. WHEN the order fit out galleys and other ſhips, the admiral ſhall command the marines, and the ſeamen. He ſhall, either by himſelf or by his deputies, get their pay out of the treaſury to pay them. The maſter too ſhall draw from it the neceſſary proviſions for his own ſeamen and galleys.

The bailiffs cannot put out the officers they have appointed.

10. 'Tis unbecoming the gravity of ſuch as are appointed to command others to change their ſ[illegible]ments: ſo that the bailiffs, when they have once appointed officers, ſhall not have it in their power to turn them out, on any pretence whatever, without a declaration from the maſter and ordinary council that they have been faulty in the diſcharge of their office, and deſerve to be deprived. Such as act otherwiſe ſhall undergo the quarantaine, and their deprivation of the officer ſhall be null.

That the commanders of the arſenals, ſtores, and little commandry give in their accompts every month to the great commander.

Br. ANTHONY FLUVIAN.

11. For the better management of the ſubſtance, and ſecurity of the welfare of our order, we enjoin the commanders of the arſenal, the ſtores, and the little commandry, to give regularly, every month, an account of their adminiſtration to the great commander, and declare what is left in their hands. Such as fail to do ſo ſhall be deprived of their offices as ill adminiſtrators, and be incapacitated to obtain any commandry for five years to come. The commander of the arſenal ſhall lay out no money, nor make any payment, but in the preſence of the great commander, or (if he cannot be by) of the treaſurer general.

Of the office of great bailiff of the venerable language of Germany.

12. To ſhew the dignity, the pre-eminence, and the duty of the office of great bailiff of the venerable language of Germany, and reſolve all difficulties that may be ſtarted on that account, as well as for the ſervice and proper guard of our caſtle of St. Peter, which, as it is ſituated on the Turkiſh territories, is an ornament and honour for our order, and ſerves frequently for an aſylum to Chriſtians that make a ſhift to eſcape out of ſlavery, and has likewiſe need of being often viſited on account as well of its garriſon, as the condition it is in for defence, and the ſtate of its ammunition and proviſions, we order the conventual great bailiff, preſident of the venerable language of Germany, who enjoys at preſent, and will for the future enjoy that important poſt, to viſit the ſaid caſtle at leaſt once a year, and oftner if it be neceſſary, either in perſon, or by his lieutenant; for which purpoſe he ſhall be carried thither by one of our galleys, or ſome other ſhip that he ſhall think more proper. And we order that the brothers and the retinue that go with him on this occaſion, ſhall be paid out of the common treaſury, as thoſe are that ſerve on board the galleys of the order.

Of what is to be done in viſiting the caſtle of St. Peter.

13. As there are meaſures to be taken, and rules to be obſerved in all ſorts of actions, the great bailiff, or his lieutenant, when they viſit the caſtle of St. Peter, ſhall keep up the garriſon and ſoldiers that they find ſerviceable well provided with arms, and ready in the uſe of them: they ſhall break all that they think unſerviceable, and put others in their ſtead that ſeem fitter for action: they ſhall allow ſuch as appear robuſt time to furniſh themſelves with arms, if they want them; who if they fail to do ſhall be cut off of the pay deſigned them.

Reſtriction of the power of the great bailiff.

14. 'Tis very fit that the captain or governor that we depute for the government of that caſtle, ſhould not be ſubject to the great bailiff's authority, and therefore we enact, that he ſhall have no power over the captain and his ſervants, over thoſe that contributed to the taking of the caſtle, or the garriſon that is to go thither from Smyrna to guard it: he ſhall not have it in his power to take away their pay without the maſter's leave, whoſe immediate authority they are under. We order, however, that every thing that has been decreed in his favour in general chapters, with regard to his ſalary and dignity, ſhall be punctually obſerved.

That the captain of the caſtle of St. Peter ſhall aſſiſt the great bailiff in making his review.

15. Nothing contributes more to the preſervation of the ſtatutes, than the true and ſincere execution of them. And therefore we order the caſtellan of this caſtle to obey the great bailiff or his lieutenant, whilſt they are viſiting it, and to give them his advice, aſſiſtance, and good offices, when they deſire him to do ſo: they ſhall, upon their return, give the maſter an account in writing of the condition they found every thing in, as well as of what has paſſed in their review.

Br. JOHN L'EVESQUE DE LA CASSIERE.

16. WHEREAS the great bailiff cannot enjoy the ſaid pre-eminence which belonged to him whilſt we were at Rhodes, we give him authority to viſit the old city of Malta, and the caſtle of Goza.

Of the commander of the ſtorehouſe, and the comptroller's and the great commander's authority over the ſtorehouſe.

Br. JOHN DE LASTIC.

17. GREAT care ought to be taken of the laying up of corn and other proviſions, and to hinder their being ſpoiled by negligence, we enact, that all the bread-corn, barley, and other grain, biſket and other proviſions, ſhall be laid up in a proper ſtorehouſe, ſecure and well built, where they ſhall be kept under two keys by a religious of exemplary life and approved fidelity, choſen commander of the ſtorehouſe, who ſhall keep one of them; and the other ſhall be given to two religious of different languages, fit for the office, who ſhall be choſe by the grand maſter and ordinary council, and be changed every three months. They ſhall take care of the keeping and diſtribution of the corn and proviſions; they ſhall keep a regiſter of whatever is received and laid out upon the great commander's order; they ſhall give in every month a duplicate of their account to the grand maſter and council; whatever augmentation or diminution ſhall happen in the diſtribution, the treaſury ſhall receive the benefit or ſtand to the loſs of it. The ſtorehouſes or magazines ſhall be ſealed with the great commander's ſeal. The commander however of the ſtorehouſe, and the comptrollers, ſhall have one magazine free for making the diſtribution. The treaſury ſhall pay a ſtipend of twenty five florins a year to this commander and that of the arſenal, beſides their table and pay.

Of the comptrollers of the little commandry.

18. FOR the greater care in diſcharging the office of the little commandry, we order the maſter and council to depute two religious, men of integrity, of different languages to examine into the faults committed in it, and give an account of them to the great commander, who ſhall take immediate care for their redreſs: otherwiſe the caſe ſhall be laid before the maſter and council, who ſhall make due proviſion according to the exigence of the caſe. We order likewiſe the officers of the ſtores, the arſenal, the little commandry, and of the alms, to be changed every two years.

That the marſhal exempt no body from keeping guard at the tower.

19. The greateſt care and vigilance ſhould be uſed for the guard of our iſland, which is encompaſſed with ſuch a number of potent enemies: we therefore enjoin all our brethren that are ſubject to the marſhal's authority, to continue always to mount the guard, and keep watch at the towers aſſigned them; nor ſhall the marſhal, either by himſelf or by any other, exempt any body from this duty, on any account whatever.

That the paſſage horſes ſhall be preſented to the marſhal.

20. WE order the paſſage horſes to be preſented to the marſhal, and two religious deputed for that purpoſe; and ſuch as ſhall be adjudged fit for ſervice, ſhall be, upon the marſhal's order, entered by his ſecretary in the regiſter of the treaſury.

That comptrollers ſhall be choſe to overſee the office of maſter equerry, and the marſhal ſhall correct ſuch defects as are found in it.

21. To prevent frauds and negligence, we enjoin the maſter and ordinary council to choo[illegible]o diſcreet religious to have an eye over the office of maſter equerry; and if [illegible]ey find any thing amiſs, that they ſhall give notice of it to the marſhal, who ſhall provide immediately for it, and puniſh ſuch as are faulty, according to the importance of the caſe; if he fails to do ſo, they ſhall apply to the maſter and council, who ſhall take timely remedy for it.

That

That the hoſpitaller ſhall chooſe the director of the infirmary, and preſent him to the maſter and council.

22. 'Tis of great conſequence to empower a prudent and diſcreet brother to take care of the hoſpital, to be an head and rector of it, and take care of the ſick being duly attended. We therefore enjoin the hoſpitaller of our convent to chooſe a director of the infirmary out of the language of France, if there is any body in it well qualified to diſcharge that office; and in failure thereof, he ſhall chooſe out of any language whatever indifferently, and ſhall preſent him to the maſter and ordinary council, who after a careful examination ſhall admit or reject him, as they ſee fit. In the latter caſe, the hoſpitaller ſhall find another, who ſhall ſerve in that poſt for two years; after which the maſter and council ſhall examine into the manner that he has diſcharged his office, and if they find reaſon to be ſatisfied with it, ſhall continue him for two years more; if not, they ſhall turn him out and chooſe another in his ſtead. The ſecretary of the infirmary ſhall be changed likewiſe every two years, as well as the director of it.

Br. HUGH DE LOUBENX VERDALE.

23. None but a brother knight ſhall ever be choſe director of the infirmary.

Some prerogatives of the great conſervator.

Br. JOHN DE LASTIC.

24. We order the great commander, or his lieutenant, and the procurators of our treaſury, to give the great conſervator or his lieutenant, at the time of paying the ſoldiery, all the woollen cloth, linen, canvas and camlet deſigned for their pay, which ſhall be diſtributed by the great conſervator and the conſervator of the convent. We forbid the giving or advancing to any body more than is uſually given for one year: in failure hereof, the conventual conſervator ſhall be obliged to pay the treaſury the value of what he has advanced at the market price. The great conſervator or his lieutenant ſhall be preſent at all bargains for the woollen cloth, linen, canvas and camlets that are neceſſary for the pay, and at the diſtributing of the ſpoils of the brothers.

That the great conſervator ſhall give licenſes to have cloaths made.

25. Brothers that have made the vow of obedience are not allowed to live after their own fancy: they ought to ſhew their ſubmiſſion in every thing. We therefore forbid the brothers to offer to have any cloaths, either long or ſhort, made for them, without the licenſe of the great conſervator. If any body offers to do ſo, the great conſervator ſhall complain of it to the marſhal, and the offender ſhall be puniſhed with the ſeptaine.

That the Turcopolier ſhall not break the Turcopoles without hearing them in their own defence.

26. 'Tis not juſt to turn any body out of his employment without good reaſon; and therefore we forbid the Turcopolier to break the Turcopoles without a fair hearing of the cauſe; but if he find any of them faulty, he may ſuſpend the offender in the preſence of two credible witneſſes, and order him to appear in ten days before the maſter and the ordinary council, to anſwer what ſhall be alledged againſt him, that juſtice may be done. If the accuſed does not appear, he ſhall be broke, and the Turcopolier ſhall take care to put another in his place.

How the Turcopoles are to entertain the Turcopolier.

27. When the Turcopolier ſhall make his review over our iſland, every Turcopole ſhall be obliged to find him meat and drink for two days only in a year, not together, but at different times, that our ſubjects may not be put to too great charges.

Of the ſalaries of the bailiffs.

Br. CLAUDE DE LA SENGLE.

28. 'Tis very reaſonable that ſuch as have the trouble of poſts ſhould have

likewiſe the honour and profits of them, one is readily reconciled to fatigue where there is hope of recompence: we therefore aſſign the conventual bailiffs of the order, ſo long as they are reſident in the convent, a ſalary not exceeding ſixty crowns, but they ſhall not be paid it when they are abſent. Their lieutenants who are at the expence of the inns ſhall receive forty five from the treaſury, the prior of the church and the treaſurer ſhall be paid forty eight, and the treaſurer's lieutenant half that ſum, any ſtatutes or ordinances to the contrary in any wiſe notwithſtanding.

Of the treaſurer-general, and his prerogative.

Br. JOHN DE LASTIC.

29. We annex the dignity of treaſurer-general, who ſhall likewiſe have the title of a capitulary bailiff, to the language of France for ever. He ſhall be obliged to a continual reſidence in the convent, and ſhall have the common ſteel ſeal in his cuſtody, in a little bag ſealed with the ordinary ſeals of the maſter and bailiffs. He ſhall aſſiſt at the councils, where he ſhall vote as a capitulary bailiff, and at the examination of the treaſury accompts with the bailiffs. If he be a knight, he ſhall have a ſalary of forty eight crowns of gold a year; if he be a ſervant of arms, or a chaplain, he ſhall have an hundred florins of Rhodes in current coin.

Of the place and precedence of the bailiffs and priors.

30. We enact that the bailiffs, priors, and caſtellan of Empoſta, as well in the convent as out of it, either in ſitting, ſtanding, walking, or voting in council or elſewhere, ſhall be placed as uſual in former times.

That the donats obey the bailiffs.

31. If our brothers are obliged to obey their ſuperiors, the donats are ſo too, ſince they are engaged in the ſervice of the order. We therefore enjoin them to ſerve in the inns they have been entered in, and obey their bailiff, or his deputy, in all their lawful and honeſt commands; in failure whereof they ſhall forfeit their table and pay that they receive from the treaſury, unleſs they have a reaſonable excuſe that ſhall be allowed by the maſter and the council.

That the great commander preſent the officers of the ſtorehouſe and the little commandry.

Br. PETER RAIMOND ZACOSTA.

32. We order the great commander to preſent to the maſter and ordinary council, ſome brothers that he knows well, of any language whatever, to be officers of the Storehouſe and little commandry; they ſhall admit them, if they think them fit for their poſts; if not, he muſt preſent others that are duly qualified, which the maſter and council are obliged to admit.

Of the prerogatives of the great commander and the admiral over the officers of the arſenal and magazines.

33. To make up the difference between the venerable great commander, and the other brothers of the language of Provence on one ſide, and the admiral and brothers of the language of Italy on the other, about the offices of the arſenal and the magazine, we, after a full hearing of the parties, declare and ordain by this our final ſentence, with the authority of the preſent general chapter, that for the future the great commander may and ought to chooſe, and change the commander of the arſenal, his power of ſo doing being eſtabliſhed by preſcription. This commander of the arſenal ſhall be bound to give in every month an account of his adminiſtration in general to the auditors of accompts deputed by the maſter and council, and to give likewiſe a particular one of every thing, that if any thing be wanting, it may be known at once.

The admiral likewiſe may, without intrenching on the prerogative of the great commander, or the office of the commander of the arſenal, name ſome perſon well known to him to be a comptroller, who may build an houſe near the

arſenal to go in and out as he ſees fit. This officer ſhall be obliged to keep a regiſter of every thing that is bought or hired, as iron, wood, cordage, oars, thread, hemp, ſails, and every thing elſe entruſted to the commander of the arſenal; and likewiſe of all expences whatever, which ſhall be verified every day by the comptroller, or elſe they ſhall not be allowed in the accompts; that he ſhall not ſtir from the magazine whilſt the treaſury has men at work there; that an inventory ſhall be taken of every thing that is there, and copies given of it to the great commander, the admiral, and the comptroller for the time being; with ſuch additions and ſubſtractions as ſhall be made upon occaſion; that every thing ſhall be put in a proper place to keep it in, and the commander and comptroller ſhall have a key of the magazine.

THE admiral ſhall chooſe a ſecretary for the magazine, who ſhall by his orders keep a regiſter of every thing within it relating to the navy, which ſhall not be removed out of their uſual place, ſo that when the admiral would know of the ſecretary what there is in any particular place, and whether any thing is well kept, he may, as well as the great commander, be exactly informed of it.

THAT the comptroller and ſecretary ſhall be under the juriſdiction of the admiral, who may turn them out, and put others in their ſtead, and all bills of expences and things that are delivered ſhall be ſealed with the great commander's ſignet, as uſual. The commander of the arſenal, and the comptroller ſhall have each of them a ſalary of twenty florins, and the ſecretary ſhall have his uſual ſtipend; provided however that none of theſe officers have liberty to take any thing, as oars, hemp, ſails, &c. out of the magazine of the arſenal without the maſter's leave, unleſs it be for fitting out the galleys and flutes of the order. The commander and comptroller of the arſenal ſhall be changed every two years, as well as all the reſt of the officers.

Of the inſtitution of a new bailiff, with the title of great chancellor.

34. WE inſtitute and create a new conventual bailiff, who ſhall be the eighth and laſt, taking his place after the other ſeven: he ſhall be called the great chancellor, and enjoy the ordinary ſalary of the bailiffs. This dignity ſhall be annexed to the venerable language of Spain, which ſhall be divided into two languages in the ſame inn, becauſe that nation is full of knights of merit, who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves by the eminent ſervices they have done the order: not intending hereby to do any ſort of prejudice to the qualities, honours, precedencies, pre-eminences, and other advantages of the other conventual bailiffs of the languages, and the treaſurer-general who has the keeping of the common ſteel ſeal of the order, but rather to confirm them by this ſtatute. And we repeal, vacate, and annul, with the general conſent of the brothers of all the languages, all writings, letters, promiſes, and obligations whatever lately made, in whatever terms they are drawn, on account of the differences between the ſeven languages, any ſtatutes, cuſtoms, and uſages of the order, and any thing elſe to the contrary in any wiſe notwithſtanding.

Of the election of the great chancellor.

35. THAT the bailiff ſtiled the great chancellor, may be elected like the other bailiffs: we forbid the election of any body that cannot write and read.

Of the pre-eminences of the great chancellor.

Br. CLAUDE DE LA SENGLE.

36. WE enact, that the great chancellor ſhall have under him a vice-chancellor, a man of learning and capacity, to ſerve in the office of our chancery; after whoſe death he ſhall preſent to the maſter and ordinary council two or more of our brothers, that are capable and fit for the office, one of which ſhall be admitted by the maſter and council.

Of the Office of vice-chancellor.

Br. RAIMOND ZACOSTA.

37. WE ordain that the vice-chancellor ſhall ſign and expedite all the acts of

the chancery as uſual, and receive all the profits, as the chancellor has hitherto done. He may not ſeal letters with the common ſeal, unleſs the great chancellor, or his lieutenant, be preſent in council, who ſhall then ſign them gratis upon the fold of the patent, ſaving always the rights of the ſeneſchal.

Of the writings of the chancery.

The ſame grand MASTER.

38. WHEREAS the writings of the chancery are common to all the world, that every body may defend their rights, we order the vice-chancellor to deliver writings and extracts of the books of chancery to ſuch as demand them, if they want them for the defence of their cauſe; and for this no other permiſſion ſhall be needful, ſaving ſtill the rights of the chancery.

Of the reſidence of the conventual bailiffs.

Br. PETER D'AUBUSSON.

39. THE conventual bailiffs are obliged, as being counſellors, to be always near the maſter's perſon, to aſſiſt him with their advice in the management of the affairs of the order, and therefore it is not fit for them to be abſent from the convent. If however there happens any caſe in which it is neceſſary for ſome of them to ſtir from it, we order that there ſhall never be abſent more than three at a time in the order of their rank, and they ſhall return in three years, reckoning from the day of their departure, and in failure thereof they ſhall, without any other notice or citation, be deprived of their bailliages, and others put in their ſtead by the maſter and council.

Such as are choſe conventual bailiffs in their abſence, ſhall be obliged to return to the convent within two years, and may not wear the great croſs out of the convent.

Br. JOHN D'OMEDES.

40. Such as ſhall be elected conventual bailiffs in their abſence, ſhall be obliged to return to the convent within two years, reckoning from the day of their election; they may however enjoy the rights and prerogatives of conventual bailiffs, in order to obtain the dignities and benefices of the order: but if they lapſe their time, they ſhall not enjoy any privilege of a conventual bailiff, and ſhall be deemed ipſo facto deprived of their bailliages, without any other notice or citation whatever; ſo that the maſter and council ſhall be obliged to proceed to a new election, ſaving however the *mutition* of the languages. We forbid them likewiſe to put on and wear the great croſs, before they have been preſented to the maſter and council.

Br. HUGH DE LOUBENX VERDALE.

41. WE enjoin them within a year and half after their election, to pay fifty crowns of gold a month to their lieutenants to ſupport the expence of the inns. If they do not come within two years, they ſhall be deprived of their dignity, as is ſaid in the foregoing article.

When the marſhal may pardon perſons that have been ſentenced.

CUSTOM.

42. IF the marſhal has made complaint againſt any brother, and brought him to a trial, he may pardon him before he leaves the court to go to church, but not afterwards. The brothers may intercede for the delinquent, and get his pardon before the bell rings; if it has rung, no body can pardon him but the maſter or his lieutenant. If the marſhal or any commander made the complaint by the maſter's order and directions, he is not allowed to diſpenſe with it; nor is he in any caſe that is brought by the maſter's command.

Br. CLAUDE DE LA SENGLE.

43. WE give the marſhal authority to depute a brother knight, that is well known

known to him inſtead of a ſecular, to do the office of gonfalonier, or ſtandard bearer, any ſtatute or cuſtom to the contrary in any wiſe notwithſtanding.

That the right of ſeniority, with regard to dignities, ſhall be granted to no body but the conventual bailiffs.

Br. JOHN DE LA VALETTE.

44. To cut off all ſubject and occaſion of ſuits that have been frequently carried on between our brothers, about the ſeniority which ſerves for a ſtep and introduction to dignities, we forbid the granting for the future any faculty, or expectative, and what we call privilege of ſeniority, with regard to the priories, caſtellany of Empoſta, and bailliages, to any body but to the conventual priors, to whom theſe ſeniorities belong of right and cuſtom, excluſive of all other perſons.

In caſe ſome important neceſſity, or evident advantage of the priories, the languages on which they depend, and the whole order require and make it proper to confer theſe dignities to others, the matter ſhall be examined by the maſter and council, and they ſhall, with the conſent of the brothers of the languages, the priories, or caſtellany of Empoſta, who have the right of nomination to them, be conferred upon ſuch brothers of our order, men of ſtanding and merit, that have all the qualifications required by our conſtitutions for the enjoyment of ſuch dignities, ſaving however the rights of the conventual bailiffs in all other caſes, and the concordats that have been made in ſome languages, or priories, and may poſſibly have ſettled a different regulation among the brothers.

Of the number of the languages, bailliages and priories.

CUSTOM.

45. Though our order, ever ſince its firſt foundation, and eſpecially ſince it has received ample benefactions, always had ſome counſellors dignified with titles, as aſſiſtants to the maſter; yet in the courſe of time they have been obliged to diſtinguiſh the languages, to augment the bailliages, and to create priors, that the religious being confined within the bounds of their ſeveral juriſdictions, may mind their employs, and take care of the government with the greater eaſe and application.

This gave occaſion from time to time to the diſtinction of eight languages, the augmentation of the conventual bailiffs to ſerve as preſidents for them, the inſtitution of priors to preſide over the provinces, and the addition of capitulary bailiffs, to ſit in chapter and aſſiſt at the council: here follows a liſt of theſe dignitaries.

Of the language of Provence.

The great commander, the prior of St. Giles, the prior of Tholouſe, the capitulary bailiff of Manoſque, which was inſtituted in the time of brother James de Milly.

Of the language of Auvergne.

The marſhal, the prior of Auvergne, the capitulary bailiff of Lureil, inſtituted in the time of brother baptiſt Urſini, though this title was changed afterwards under brother Philip de Villers L'Iſle Adam to that of Lion, and under brother John L'Eveſque de la Caſſiere, to that of bailiff of Deveſſet.

Of the language of France.

The hoſpitaller, the prior of France, the prior of Aquitain, the prior of Champagne, the capitulary bailiff of the Morea erected ſome time ago, and the capitulary bailiff, the treaſurer-general, inſtituted in the time of brother John de Laſtic.

Of the language of Italy.

The admiral, the prior of Rome, the prior of Lombardy, the prior of Venice, the prior of Piſa, the prior of Barletta, the prior of Meſſina, the prior of Capua; the capitulary bailiffs of St. Euphemia, and St. Stephens near Monopoli, of the holy Trinity of Venuſia, and of St. John of Naples inſtituted a little time ago.

Of the language of Arragon, Catalonia, and Navarre.

THE great conſervator, ſo called from the time of brother John D'Omedes, the caſtellan of Empoſta, the prior of Catalonia, the prior of Navarre: the capitulary bailiffs of Majorca and Capſa, the firſt inſtituted in the time of br. Anthony Fluvian, the other in the time of br. Baptiſt Urſini.

Of the language of England.

THE turcopolier, the prior of England, the prior of Ireland, the capitulary bailiff of L'Aigle.

Of the language of Germany.

THE great bailiff, the prior of Germany, the prior of Bohemia, the prior of Hungary, the prior of Denmark, the capitulary bailiff of Brandenburg.

Of the language of Caſtile, Leon, and Portugal.

THE great chancellor, the prior of Caſtile and Leon, the prior of Portugal, the capitulary bailiff of Lora, erected in the time of brother John de la Valette, the bailiff of Lango or Leta, inſtituted in the time of br. Peter de Monte, and annexed for ever to the priory of Portugal, the bailiff of las Nuevas Villas, erected in the time of brother John l'Eveſque de la Caſſiere.

THE prior of the church of our order, and the commander of Cyprus, both of them capitulary bailiffs, are taken out of all the languages indifferently; the capitulary bailiff of Negrepont muſt be choſe out of thoſe of Arragon and Caſtile, according to the agreement made between them.

Of the Priors.

TITLE XI.

Of the priors lieutenants.

Br. CLAUDE DE LA SENGLE.

1. THAT the affairs of our order may be managed with the greater care, the priors and caſtellan of Empoſta, whenever they go from home, ſhall name a brother knight of the order, of the moſt conſiderable ſtanding of thoſe of their priory, a man of merit, capacity, and experience in buſineſs, to be their lieutenant or vicar, to convene aſſemblies, and do juſtice to all that apply for it. This lieutenant ſhall aſſiſt at the provincial chapters, and act in every thing that relates to publick affairs, as the prior or caſtellan of Empoſta might themſelves. If the prior be not preſent, but hindered by ſome lawful impediment, a bailiff, if there be any, or the brother that is of the longeſt ſtanding, ſhall preſide in the chapter or aſſembly.

Of the manner of electing the priors lieutenant.

Br. HUGH REVEL.

2. WE enact, that if the priors or caſtellan of Empoſta chance to die beyond ſea, the commander in whoſe commandry they die, ſhall get together twelve other commanders, if poſſible, of the ſame priory, and that lie neareſt his commandry, who after mature deliberation, ſhall pitch upon a brother of the priory, whom they think beſt qualified for the poſt, to ſupply the prior's ſtead, and he ſhall be obeyed by all the brothers of the priory, till the maſter and council have advice of the death of the deceaſed, and provide otherwiſe in the caſe.

IF the prior or caſtellan of Empoſta dies out of the bounds of his priory, or in any other place whatever out of the convent, the perſon that he left at his departure for his lieutenant or vicegerent, ſhall convene twelve brothers together to make choice of another lieutenant.

Br. CLAUDE DE LA SENGLE.

3. If a prior dies in one of his priorial chambers, the commander that is neareſt it, ſhall convene in like manner twelve commanders to chooſe a lieutenant: but if the prior deceaſed, left no lieutenant at his ſetting out from his priory, one of the moſt antient knights ſhall aſſemble the reſt, who ſhall make choice of one in the aforeſaid manner.

No brother can be lieutenant of any priory but his own.

4. 'Tis enacted that no brother ſhall be choſe lieutenant of any other priory, nor preſident of any priory, but that of which he is a member, and has a commandry within it, except in the languages of Provence and Italy, where the priories and commandries are enjoyed in common.

Of the juriſdiction of the priors.

5. The priors and caſtellan of Empoſta, in conjunction with the provincial chapter or aſſembly, have a juriſdiction in civil and criminal caſes, and may correct all the brothers of the order, of what quality ſoever they be, that live within the diſtrict of their priory or caſtellany, or chance to be there; a juriſdiction which they have exerciſed, and may exerciſe agreeable to the form preſcribed by our ſtatutes, without intrenching on the juriſdiction of the commanders over the brother chaplains of obedience, and the ſervants of office or ſtage, who have their obedience or ſtage within their commandries, nor on the juriſdiction and authority of the prior of the church of the convent, which is given him by our ſtatutes over the brother chaplains.

That the brother chaplains and clergy be ſubject to the prior of the church.

Br. WILLIAM DE VILLARET.

6. The Prior of the church being the ſuperior of the chaplains and clergy, ought to have a juriſdiction over them. And therefore the brother chaplains and clergy of our order, that are in the convent, or ſhall come thither from beyond ſea, ſhall all be ſubject to him, except the maſter's chaplains. He may order them to ſay divine ſervice duly, to hear confeſſions, to give the euchariſt and other ſacraments to the brothers and confraters, if the prior be taken up with other affairs, and cannot do that duty himſelf.

That the priors within their priories, and the commanders within their commandries, have a juriſdiction over the brother chaplains.

Br. PHILIBERT DE NAILLAC.

7. Impunity often cauſes a great deal of miſchief: ſeveral give their inclinations a full ſwing when no body takes care to correct them. As the prior of the church of the convent, who has a juriſdiction over all the chaplains, and power to puniſh them for their faults, is always reſident there, ſo that he cannot puniſh ſuch offences as are committed out of it by the chaplains that live in the priories and commandries; we therefore to prevent their remaining unpuniſhed, and put a ſtop to the diſorder, enact, that the priors and the caſtellan of Empoſta, within their priories, and the commanders within their commandries, ſhall exerciſe the ſame juriſdiction and correction over the brother chaplains that live there, according to the nature of their faults, as the prior of the church enjoys within the convent.

If the chaplains when admoniſhed and reprimanded by the priors and commanders their ſuperiors, do ſtill perſiſt in their irregularities, they may be chaſtiſed and puniſhed by the priors, all one as the brother knights and ſervants of the order, according to the form of our ſtatutes.

If the prior of the church is at any time in the weſt, he ſhall exerciſe his juriſdiction in the priories and commandries where he ſhall be in perſon over the chaplains, and ſhall correct them, viſit the churches, and make ſuch alterations as he ſhall ſee fit: he ſhall give orders for the regular performance of divine ſervice, notwithſtanding what has been enacted above in favour of the priors and commanders.

Br. CLAUDE DE LA SENGLE.

8. No body has any juriſdiction over the brother chaplains and ſervants of arms admitted in the convent, but the prior and caſtellan of Empoſta, in conjunction with the aſſembly or provincial chapter, as has been cuſtomary with regard to the knights of our order. If any one preſumes to act otherwiſe, he ſhall be deemed guilty of diſobedience.

9. The prior of the church may chooſe, name and depute ſome eccleſiaſtical viſitors and vicars to exerciſe his ſpiritual and eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction in the priories, caſtellany of Empoſta, bailliages, and commandries of the order over the chaplains and ſecular clergy, and the laity that are vaſſals and ſubjects to it in places where the priors, the caſtellan of Empoſta, the bailiffs and commanders have no ſpiritual juriſdiction; for in places where they have ſuch a juriſdiction, they can name their own vicars.

That the priors have no authority to deprive any brothers of the habit, of commandries, of members, or of their ſeniority.

10. We forbid the priors, caſtellan of Empoſta, and the provincial chapter, to give any ſentence againſt a brother of the order ſubject to their juriſdiction, that imports a deprivation of the habit, or of his commander, of any member, portion or benefice, or other eſtate, or of his right of ſeniority, or ſhall condemn him to perpetual impriſonment. If any perſon is guilty of any fault that deſerve ſuch a puniſhment, the prior and provincial chapter or aſſembly ſhall bring him to a trial, and give an account of it to the maſter and council, who ſhall do juſtice in the caſe: whatever is done contrary to this ſtatute, ſhall be null; and ſuch as are guilty of breaking it ſhall be deemed diſobedient.

Of the regiſters which the priors are obliged to keep.

Br. ELION DE VILLENEUVE.

11. The priors and caſtellan of Empoſta are obliged to keep two regiſters, containing an account of all the commandries, houſes, places, demeſnes, poſſeſſions and benefices depending on their priories, as well for the head as the members in particular; one of which ſhall be ſent to the maſter and convent; and the other ſhall be kept by the prior, who ſhall give every commander an extract out of it of what relates to his commandry.

Of the places for keeping records in every priory.

Br. CLAUDE DE LA SENGLE.

12. We enjoin every prior, on pain of loſing a year's revenue of his priory, which ſhall be forfeited to the treaſury, to pitch upon a ſafe place in the principal and moſt honourable houſe of his priory, and of the caſtellany of Empoſta, or in any other place, if it appears to them more ſecure and convenient, for a place of records, and fit it up at their own and the commander's expence, for that uſe. They ſhall lodge in it all the privileges, writings, inſtruments, and authentick records, as well of the priories and caſtellany of Empoſta, as of the commandries and benefices that lie within their diſtrict; and the commanders of the ſaid commandries, who have any ſuch writings in their hands, ſhall be obliged to bring them to the ſaid place or archive; and this the priors and caſtellan of Empoſta ſhall force them to do, by ſeizing their revenues, which ſhall be paid into the treaſury till they have obeyed. The commanders, however, may keep by them copies of theſe writings.

Of the ſeals of the priors.

Br. PHILIBERT DE NAILLAC.

13. To provide againſt frauds, we order the priors and caſtellan of Empoſta to ſend the maſter and convent the print of their ſeals in wax, put up carefully in a ſealed box, ſo that it be not ſpoiled, to be laid up and kept in the treaſury of the convent, under the ſeals of the maſter and conventual bailiffs, to be made uſe of in caſe of need, for the confronting and diſcovery of frauds, which are but too commonly practiſed.

Of

Of the keeping of the ſeals of the priories.

Br. ANTHONY FLUVIAN.

14. We order the ſeals of the priories to be kept carefully under the ſeals of the priors, the caſtellan of Empoſta, and the commanders of the provincial chapter or aſſembly, or of the greateſt part of them: ſo that no letter may be ſealed but in preſence of the prior and the commanders that ſhall be preſent at the provincial chapter, and four commanders at leaſt muſt ſign it under the fold, otherwiſe it ſhall be of no force. All bonds of the commanders and brothers ſhall be ſigned in the ſame manner, if they are not paid off before their death; ſuch as ſigned with them, ſhall be obliged to diſcharge them; that ſo no body may preſume to enter into ſuch obligations to the detriment of the common treaſury.

How many priors are obliged to reſide in the convent.

Br. PETER RAIMOND ZACOSTA.

15. We enact, that according to uſual cuſtom, three priors of the order, which the maſter ſhall ſummon, ſhall be obliged to keep a reſidence in the convent of two years, reckoning from the day of their arrival. If any body declines doing ſo, the revenues of the beſt and neareſt chamber of their priory ſhall be confiſcated to the benefit of the treaſury.

That the priors and bailiffs ſhall not enjoy their privileges, till they have made all the diſpatch they could to take poſſeſſion of them.

Br. ANTHONY FLUVIAN.

16. The priors, caſtellan of Empoſta, and the bailiffs, ſhall not enjoy the honours and privileges of their dignities, till they have firſt proved before the maſter and council, in an authentick manner, that they have loſt no time, and done their utmoſt to get into poſſeſſion of them: after which they ſhall enjoy the prerogatives of them, if the maſter and council think fit.

Of the duty of the Brothers.

TITLE XII.

That the offices of the order be given to none but brothers.

Br. PHILIBERT DE NAILLAC.

1. WE enact, that the offices of our order be given to ſuch of our brothers as are qualified to diſcharge them well; but if there be none fit to execute ſuch offices in a particular juncture, the maſter and council may depute ſecular perſons to execute them for a time.

That the brother ſervants be employed in the uſual offices.

Br. JOHN DE LASTIC.

2. We ordain, that the brothers, ſervants of arms, be put into the offices which belong to them by antient cuſtom, ſuch as the magazine, the ſtorehouſe, the little commandry, and other poſts uſually given to their rank. If a brother knight takes it into his head to demand them, he ſhall be deemed to reduce himſelf to the condition of a ſerving brother: and he may have the poſt he deſires conferred upon him, if the maſter and council think him fit for it. When theſe offices are filled, the comptrollers ſhall be choſe by thoſe who have the right of naming them, to overſee the conduct of ſuch as are put into them; if any body is defective in his duty, he ſhall be puniſhed as his fault deſerves. Theſe officers ſhall be changed every two years.

Of guarding the fortifications.

Br. PETER RAIMOND ZACOSTA.

3. Some brother knights and ſervants of the order ſhall be appointed for the guard of our caſtles and fortifications: in defect of ſuch they may employ ſecular perſons that are qualified for it.

Br. BAPTIST URSINI.

4. We order the commanders, when they provide for the guard of our caſtles and fortifications in the Weſtern parts, to prefer the brothers of the order, ſo far as is conſiſtent with the intereſt of our common treaſury.

That the brothers ought to be decent in their dreſs.

Br. PETER RAIMOND ZACOSTA.

5. It becomes a religious to be polite in body as well as mind, and therefore we enjoin our brothers to dreſs themſelves decently and handſomely, as becomes true religious, forbidding them expreſly, for the future, to wear any dreſs that is not fit for their condition, particularly ſhort cloaths, unleſs they are on a journey, on ſhipboard, or put to mount the guard. They are obliged to wear their long habit when they are in the convent and in the caſtle, or within a mile of them, unleſs they have a diſpenſation from the maſter or marſhal; who are not to grant it but in caſes of neceſſity, as for the exerciſe of a publick office, or in caſe of a ſiege, and ſupplying a town which they are to defend with the neceſſary ammunition and proviſions, or when there are apprehenſions of a war. Such as fail of their duty in this point, ſhall be puniſhed with the ſeptaine, and their unſtatutable garb be confiſcated for the profit of the treaſury.

Br. PETER D'AUBUSSON.

6. Tis very fitting that ſuch as are diſtinguiſhed by their dignity, ſhould be ſo likewiſe by their dreſs, ſo as not to be taken for ſeculars. We therefore, conformable to the ſtatutes of our predeceſſors, forbid our brothers to wear, in the convent, when they are not at the exerciſe of arms, any ſhort clokes, coats, robes, trowſes, jackets, ſtriped and of different colours, as ſeculars do: but all their dreſs ſhall be of the ſame colour, on pain of the ſeptaine, and their clothes being confiſcated to the treaſury.

How the brothers ought to behave themſelves in the inns.

Br. CLAUDE DE LA SENGLE.

7. We order our brothers to ſhew reſpect to the bailiffs or heads of the inns, and to be modeſt and temperate at their meals, without making any diſturbance or noiſe; not to riſe from table till the chaplain has returned thanks, (at which they ſhall ſtand up bare-headed,) and they have the prior's leave to go; on pain of the ſeptaine for the firſt time, of the quarantaine for the ſecond, and for the third time of being put in the tower as long as the maſter and council ſhall pleaſe.

That the brothers exerciſe themſelves in arms.

Br. JOHN L'EVESQUE DE LA CASSIERE.

8. That our brothers may apply themſelves with greater alacrity to the exerciſe of arms, we order two prizes to be propoſed every two months, one for the croſs-bow, and the other for the arquebuſs, which ſhall be given by turns every month to ſuch as ſhall diſtinguiſh themſelves moſt in theſe exerciſes.

That the brothers make their diſappropriation every year.

Br. CLAUDE DE LA SENGLE.

9. We order the priors, bailiffs, commanders and brothers, to make their diſappropriation every year, comprehending therein all their effects, and debts, whe-

ther owing to themſelves, or due to others, and an exact detail of their circumſtances. Such as are out of the convent, ſhall carry their diſappropriation to the provincial chapter, where it ſhall be put in a coffer ſet apart for this purpoſe, well ſhut and ſealed; thoſe that are in the convent, ſhall put it into the hands either of the maſter, or of one of the procurators of the common treaſury, but it ſhall not be opened till after their death.

Of Elections.

TITLE XIII.

The manner of electing the maſter of the hoſpital of Jeruſalem.

1. OUR anceſtors had great reaſon to proceed with great prudence and precaution in the election of the maſter, for 'tis the head and ſuperior that makes the ſtrength of the order, and 'tis of the greateſt conſequence to chooſe a proper preſident to govern ſuch a noble ſociety: ſo that not to be deceived in our choice, the following rules are to be obſerved.

As ſoon as the maſter is taken ill, he ought to take care of the ſteel and ſilver ſeals, and the privy ſignet he generally makes uſe of, and either confide them to a diſcreet and honeſt religious, or lock them up in a ſafe place, that no body may put them to any falſe deed. If the ſeverity of his ſickneſs, or any other impediment prevents his thinking of it, the seneſchal is obliged to take care of it. If the maſter happens to die, he that is entruſted with them ſhall deliver them up immediately to the ordinary council, who ſhall order them to be broke, for fear of their being employed by ſome body or other to an ill uſe.

THEN orders ſhall be given for every thing relating to the ceremony of the funeral, which ſhall be made with great decorum and devotion, as uſual; after which the compleat council ſhall meet to chooſe a lieutenant of the maſterſhip, whoſe office ſhall laſt till they have choſe a commander of the election. They ſhall debate in the compleat council, and regulate all affairs relating to the maſterſhip, and their reſolutions ſhall have the ſame force as thoſe of a chapter general.

THEY ſhall lay up the ſpoils of the maſter deceaſed in a ſafe place, but ſhall put off the dividing of them to another time. The council ſhall be ſummoned by a bell to meet again the next day at day-break. The lieutenant of the maſterſhip, and the brothers that are in the convent ſhall repair to the church, where, after maſs, the lieutenant ſhall take the place where he is uſed to ſit in the publick aſſemblies. The bailiffs, priors and ſeniors being ſeated, the lieutenant ſhall acquaint them with the occaſion of the aſſembly, and order all the brothers of the eight languages to aſſemble apart; every language according to its rank, except that which the lieutenant is of, which is always to march laſt, ſhall come, and every man ſhall take an oath upon the croſs of the order, before the lieutenant or vicegerent and the whole aſſembly, that he will give his vote to ſome brother of his language that is there preſent, a man of probity, and qualified for the truſt to be one of the electors of the commander of the election; and to three others, a knight, a chaplain, and a ſervant of arms, to be electors of the maſter, for which purpoſe he ſhall make uſe of ſecret ballots.

As ſoon as the eight electors of the commander or preſident of the election are named, they ſhall preſent themſelves with reſpect before the lieutenant, ſhall kneel down in preſence of the whole aſſembly, lay their hands upon the goſpel, and ſwear that they will rightly and truly make choice of a brother knight, a good and diſcreet man, either from among themſelves or the aſſembly, to be commander of the election. They ſhall next go into the conclave, where they ſhall proceed to the choice by way of balloting, and when it is made, they ſhall come and notify it to the lieutenant and the aſſembly. The perſon elected ſhall kneel down before the vicegerent, and take an oath that he will well and truly diſcharge the duty of the office of commander of the election: this being done, the vicegerent of the maſterſhip's office is ſuperſeded, and the commander takes his place.

THEN the eight electors preſent themſelves again before him, and take a new oath to elect a knight, a chaplain, and a ſervant of arms, good and fit men to be

to be electors of the collegues that are to join with them in chooſing the maſter. The commander of the election ſhall take the like oath before the vicegerent, if he be one of the electors, if not, he ſhall ſtay in the aſſembly to preſide there.

THE eight electors, after this, ſhall go into the conclave, where they ſhall chooſe by way of ballot a knight, a chaplain, and a ſervant of arms, to be electors with them, and name them to the commander and the aſſembly. Their office ſhall ceaſe from this moment, and then the knight, the chaplain, and the ſervant elected ſhall appear before the commander and the aſſembly, and take an oath as before; that they will well and duly chooſe a fourth perſon to be an elector of the maſter, out of a different language from their own. This fourth is to take the ſame oath, and then join himſelf to the three that elected him: theſe four ſhall next name a fifth, the five a ſixth, and ſo on, till they make up ſixteen, but ſo that there be always two of each language, and none of them a bailiff or great croſs. As ſoon as they have choſe the eight, they ſhall take the reſt out of the eight languages, every one in his order; and if there is a want of brothers in any language, they ſhall take them out of another.

AMONG theſe electors there muſt always be one chaplain and ſervant of arms at leaſt; there may be two chaplains and three ſervants of arms, but not more: all the reſt muſt be knights born in lawful wedlock. The knight that was choſe at firſt with the chaplain and ſervant of arms, is called the knight of the election, and preſides in it. 'Tis he too that declares the election to ſuch as are there; he has two votes to prevent an equality of voices, whereas the reſt have each of them but a ſingle one. He that has moſt votes is maſter, and acknowledged as ſuch.

As ſoon as the ſixteen are choſe, the commander of the election admoniſhes them to go to confeſſion, to hear maſs, and receive the communion, that the Lord may vouchſafe to cleanſe them from their ſins, and enlighten their minds to chooſe a good, virtuous and worthy maſter. They go afterwards and preſent themſelves before the commander of the election, and all the religious; and then bare-headed, and upon their knees, they lay their hands on the wood of the true croſs, the goſpel and the preface of the maſs, and take one after another an oath with an audible voice in theſe words.

" I N. promiſe and ſwear by this piece of the holy croſs, by the goſpel, and " by the holy words of the preface, that laying aſide all hatred, fear, friendſhip, " hopes of recompence, or any other ill affection, and having nothing before " my eyes, or in my thoughts, but God and our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, the glory " and praiſe of his holy name, the honour and advantage of our order, I will " name and elect duly and canonically, according to the dictates of my conſci- " ence, and the beſt of my judgment, out of all the brother knights of our order " either preſent or abſent, a brother knight born in lawful marriage, good, " virtuous, qualified and capable of filling the poſt, to be maſter of the hoſpital " of St. John of Jeruſalem, and head of our order. So help me God, the wood " of the true croſs, and the holy ſcriptures, which I lay my hand upon; and if I " act otherwiſe, let it be to the peril and damnation of my ſoul. He is afterwards " to kiſs the croſs, and the holy ſcriptures.

AFTER all the electors have taken their oaths, the commander of the election, and all the brothers of the aſſembly ſwear and vow upon the croſs of the order, to receive him for their ſuperior and maſter, that ſhall be choſe by plurality of voices, and to ratify the election that ſhall be made. Theſe ſixteen electors retire immediately, without ſpeaking a word to any body on any pretence whatever, and without giving any, even the leaſt ſign, into the conclave; and then the doors being ſhut, ſo that no body can come in, they treat between themſelves of the maſter's election. Every one of them is free to ſpeak his ſentiments, to make what propoſal he pleaſes, and give an advantageous or diſadvantageous account of the qualities and conduct of the perſon propoſed. After a full and ſerious examination, they proceed to the election of the maſter, by putting as many ballots, as there have been candidates propoſed, into covered boxes, juſt as is practiſed at the council, he that has a majority of votes carries it, and is declared duly elected by the knight of the election.

IMMEDIATELY after this, the electors go out of the conclave and go into the hall, where the commander of the election, and all the brothers are aſſembled;

and after demanding of them three times, whether they will ratify the election that they have juſt made, and being anſwered as often in the affirmative, the knight of the election, with an audible voice, names the perſon choſen, in preſence of all the electors. If he be preſent, they lead him with ceremony up to the high altar, and the book of ſtatutes being there laid, he makes oath upon it to obſerve the rule, the conſtitutions and laudable cuſtoms of the order, to regulate, direct, and manage all affairs with the advice of the chief of the order. If he be abſent, he ſhall take the ſame oath upon his return, before he enters upon the office of the maſterſhip; and they chooſe a vicegerent to exerciſe the authority of it in the mean time. If he is preſent, he is obliged to name a lieutenant.

Br. NICHOLAS DE L'ORGUE.

2. We forbid our brothers to wear arms in the place where the maſter's election is made, ſuch as do ſo, ſhall loſe their right of voting; and if any quarrel enſues, they ſhall be expelled the order.

That the election of the bailiffs and priors ſhall be made by the maſter and the ordinary council.

Br. PETER D'AUBUSSON.

3. The election of the priors, caſtellan of Empoſta, and bailiffs, is made by the maſter and ordinary council according to antient cuſtom. We therefore forbid all our brothers, of what quality ſoever, to proceed to the election of any body to thoſe dignities, and be preſent or vote at any aſſemblies that ſhall be called for that purpoſe. Such as are guilty of doing ſo, ſhall be deemed ipſo facto deprived of the habit, and made incapable of being ever re-admitted: the election ſhall be null, and the pretended elect expelled the order, according to cuſtom, if it appear that he either directly or indirectly made intereſt to be choſe; we except however ſuch as ſhall be named by the languages.

Br. JOHN L'EVESQUE DE LA CASSIERE.

4. We forbid all ſuch as have been admitted of grace, or are not of noble and legitimate birth, to aſpire to any dignity, or make any oppoſition to the graces or faculties that they are minded to grant in the languages: they ought to be content with their chevisſement and amelioriſſement: they can never be any of the ſixteen electors of the maſter, nor have their ballots, or give their votes in the election.

Of the manner of chooſing the priors and bailiffs.

Br. BAPTIST URSINI.

5. When the maſter and ordinary council proceed to the choice of a conventual bailiff, as ſoon as they have heard the perſons that are candidates for it, as uſual, and have examined their merit and conduct, we order the maſter, before they go to ballotting, to make the priors and bailiffs take an oath in their order, to chooſe a fit, ſerviceable, and deſerving perſon, without any regard to rank, and with a greater deference to merit than ſeniority. After which they ſhall put in their ballots, the number of which determines the election. The prior of the church, the other priors and capitulary bailiffs, ſhall be choſe in the ſame manner. They ſhall however always pay a regard to the mutition of the languages, according to antient cuſtom.

Of the choice of the prior of the church.

Br. JAMES DE MILLY.

6. The nearer relation any dignity has to ſpiritual things, the greater care ſhould be uſed to fill it well. We therefore ordain, that when the priory of our church is vacant, the maſter and ordinary council ſhall meet and proceed with great deliberation to the choice of a prior. They ſhall ſeriouſly examine into the life and converſation, the learning and capacity of our chaplains of all the languages: they ſhall make choice of a perſon of regular life, learned and well verſed in whatever relates to divine ſervice. After his election he ſhall reſide continually

in the convent; and if any urgent affairs require him to ſtir from it, the maſter and ordinary council ſhall fix him a time by which he ſhall be obliged to return.

Br. CLAUDE DE LA SENGLE.

7. We add, that no body ſhall be capable of being choſe prior of our church, unleſs he be born in lawful wedlock.

That the brothers who are abſent from the convent, ſhall not be elected great croſſes.

Br. PETER DU MONT.

8. As it is very neceſſary for the antient brothers to reſide in the convent, in order to be ſerviceable to the publick, we forbid any brother to be raiſed from the little to the dignity of great croſs, that ſhall be abſent from the convent without any office or employment from the order, unleſs he be detained by ſome known and lawful impediment, which muſt be ſignified to the maſter and council under a publick and authentick certificate of the provincial chapter, or of the prior and the aſſembly. From this regulation however we except the brothers of the venerable languages of England and Germany.

Of the ſtanding required in ſuch as are made priors or bailiffs.

Br. JOHN DE LASTIC.

9. 'Tis highly fitting that ſuch as are choſe to govern the order, ſhould have a proper knowledge and experience in our affairs, which is not to be acquired but by a length of time. We therefore forbid any brother to be elected either a prior or bailiff, but who is at leaſt fifteen years ſtanding in the order, reckoning from the day that he came into the convent, and has lived all the time in true obedience to the order without reproach.

Br. CLAUDE DE LA SENGLE.

10. And of theſe fifteen years, the candidate muſt have paſſed ten entire ones in the convent, either together or at different times.

That the brothers, when they ſtand for dignities, do not make uſe of reproachful language.

11. We forbid our brothers, when they ſtand for dignities, to publiſh the vices, faults, and irregularities of their competitors, to throw reflections and reproaches, or advance any thing to hurt one another's reputation: they may however object any unſtatutable defects that incapacitate their rival from being choſe, as the being indebted to the common treaſury; the not having kept the reſidence required by the ſtatutes, the letting of the commandries fall to ruin, the not having made their amelioriſſemens, and the like matters. Such as act otherwiſe ſhall be put by; and if any body that is not a candidate takes a liberty to uſe ſuch reproaches, he ſhall loſe two years of his ſtanding, and ſhall be declared put back for ſuch a term, before they go on with the election.

Of the election of the procurator-general at the court of Rome.

Br. JAMES DE MILLY.

12. The procurator of the order at the court of Rome is deemed of courſe to be recalled at every general chapter, which is obliged to put another in his ſtead. The maſter and council however may recall him without waiting for the chapter. They ought to be careful about the choice of a proper perſon for that employment: they ought to look out a religious of great wiſdom, prudence, and merit, who ſhall reſide at Rome in an honourable manner, and with a ſuitable equipage. He ſhall defend the privileges, graces, and liberties of the order, the conceſſions, grants, and proviſions of the maſter and council. He ſhall oppoſe refractory and diſobedient brothers, and proſecute them ſeverely: he ſhall aſſiſt and ſupport ſuch as continue obedient, without any view of intereſt to himſelf; he ſhall give the maſter and convent advice of every thing that paſſes; he ſhall be contented with the ſalary allowed him by the treaſury, and neither demand nor receive any thing from the brothers that employ him on their private affairs.

Of the election of the treaſurer-general.

Br. PETER D'AUBUSSON.

13. We ordain, that the treaſurer-general, a capitulary bailiff of the venerable language of France, ſhall be choſe by the maſter and council in the ſame manner as the other capitulary bailiffs are among the brothers of that language; in which the greateſt regard is to be paid to perſonal merit, without violating however the mutition of the language; and that this treaſurer bailiff may, without loſing his title, be abſent from the convent with the leave of the maſter and compleat council, as is uſually granted to the other capitulary bailiffs; and whether he be preſent or abſent, he ſhall enjoy the ordinary privileges of the bailiffs, and have the cuſtody of the ſteel bull or ſeal, which is kept under the uſual ſeals: when he leaves the convent, the maſter and council ſhall appoint him a lieutenant to take care of the bull, the ſafe keeping of which is of great importance to the order.

Of the election of the caſtellan.

Br. PETER RAIMOND ZACOSTA.

14. We ordain, that the office of caſtellan ſhall be diſpoſed of by the maſter and compleat council, who ſhall chooſe a religious of at leaſt eight years ſtanding that is fit for it, out of the language whoſe turn it is. The maſter, by the prerogative of his dignity, has the ſole right of naming him a lieutenant.

The manner of electing the caſtellan.

Br. FABRICIO DEL CARETTO.

15. The election of the caſtellan ſhall be made in the following manner. The pilier of the language, whoſe turn it is to have the poſt, ſhall deliver the maſter and compleat council, a liſt in writing of the names of all the brothers of his language of eight years ſtanding, that are in the convent: they ſhall be read over in council, where they ſhall examine their qualifications, and then proceed to ballotting for the choice of the perſon they think beſt qualified for the duty of the poſt: the language is forbid to make any mutition, as the brothers are to petition the council for it. The perſon elected ſhall come afterwards before the maſter and council to take the oath for the due diſcharge of his truſt, without affording reaſon for any complaint.

Of the election of the general of the land forces and the navy.

Br. PETER RAIMOND ZACOSTA.

16. The general of the forces ought to be diſtinguiſhed by his fidelity and experience in action, and whatever is ſerviceable for the defence of our iſland; we therefore ordain, that the maſter and council who have the right of nomination, but ſo that three parts in four of the votes agree in one perſon, ſhall, in their diſpoſing of theſe poſts, have more regard to merit and capacity, than to ſtanding, but without doing any injuſtice to the ſeniors. So that if the language of Auvergne affords any perſon fit to be general of the land forces, he ſhall be preferred before any body elſe; if there be none in it fit for the command, they ſhall ſeek elſewhere for this time, without hurting the rights of the language and of ſeniority. The ſame privilege belongs to the language of Italy, with regard to the election of a general of the fleet, in caſe it affords any body fit for it, in defect whereof, one may be taken out of another language for this time, ſaving ſtill the rights of that language and of ſeniority.

Of the election of the judges of the caſtellany.

Br. JOHN DE LASTIC.

17. The maſter and ordinary council ſhall chooſe men of probity, integrity, and learning, for the poſt of ordinary judge, and to be judges of appeals, who

ſhall be changed every two years, for fear a continuance in their employs ſhould tempt them to be guilty of ill practices.

Of the election of the procurators of the poor.

Br. BAPTIST URSINI.

18. THE maſter and compleat council ſhall depute two diſcreet and underſtanding religious to take care of the priſoners, the poor, the ſick, widows and orphans, to aſſert their intereſts, ſo that no trick, nor violence, nor injuſtice be done them in their affairs; and ſhall on their behalf have audience of the maſter and council in all places whatever, that the afflicted be not oppreſſed by calumny and injuſtice.

Br. CLAUDE DE LA SENGLE.

19. ONE of theſe procurators ſhall be a man of learning, and have a ſalary.

Of the guard that four brothers are to mount at the tower of the caſtle of Rhodes.

Br. AIMERY D'AMBOISE.

20. THE town of Rhodes being ſituated upon the frontiers of the infidels, great care ſhould be taken to guard it; we therefore ordain, that the venerable marſhal, or his lieutenant, ſhall chooſe from time to time, when they think proper, four brothers of different languages, to mount the guard every night in the tower of the caſtle of Rhodes, for a whole year together, one of which ſhall be named for the captain of it: they ſhall viſit them frequently, ſhall correct them if they do amiſs, turn out ſuch as are unſerviceable, and put others in their ſtead; ſuch as have neglected their duty above thrice, ſhall not be kept in any longer.

THESE four brothers ſhall have a ſalary of ninety ſix florins a year, twenty four a piece, to be paid out of the common treaſury, but at the expence of the venerable, conventual, and capitulary bailiffs and their lieutenants, when they keep their reſidence at Rhodes, (except the prior of the church,) ſo that the ſecretary of the treaſury, when he gives in the accompts of their table every three months, ſhall make a proportionable diſcompt to every one of the ſalary of theſe four knights for the quarter that he has paid them. This regulation ſhall take place on the firſt of March next, and ſhall continue to be put in execution for the future. We aboliſh the practice of making collections among the bailiffs and their lieutenants: no body ſhall be obliged to contribute any thing, nor other brothers be put upon mounting the guard, as has been hitherto practiſed.

Of the commandries and adminiſtrations.

TITLE XIV.

Br. RAIMOND BERENGER.

1. WE enact, that the commandries and eſtates of the order be adminiſtred by brothers of conſiderable ſtanding, and of known probity and merit.

2. WE incapacitate all brothers to enjoy two bailliages or priories at the ſame time: they ought to be ſatisfied with one, and take care of the management of it.

Br. DIEU-DONNE DE GOZON.

3. THE priors and caſtellan of Empoſta may not enjoy any commandry houſe, or member of a different priory, without the conſent of the maſter and convent, it being very fit that every body ſhould ſtick to his own diſtrict, and not hinder others from advancing themſelves.

What

What commandries may be retained by ſuch as are made priors.

Br. JAMES DE MILLY.

4. The bailiffs and commanders that are regularly and canonically choſe priors, are obliged to quit all the commandries that they held before. They may however keep the magiſtral chambers that were granted to them, with ſuch as they have retrieved out of the hands of ſeculars, or got by the deprivation of any body.

Br. CLAUDE DE LA SENGLE.

5. The priors are forbid to make any ſort of exchange whatever of their priorial chambers: they ought to keep ſuch as are annexed to their priory.

Such as have children ſhall not obtain any eſtate of the order.

Br. PETER DE CORNILLAN.

6. 'Tis reſolved, that no brother who was married before he entered into the order, and has children living at the time of his profeſſion, or when a promotion is to be made, ſhall be preferred to the adminiſtration of any priory, the caſtellany of Empoſta, or any bailliage or commandry.

At what time the brothers may get commandries.

Br. CLAUDE DE LA SENGLE.

7. It has been enacted, that no brother, of what quality ſoever, ſhall have any commandry of grace or *cheviſſement*, if after taking the habit, and making his profeſſion, he has not reſided five years, either together or at different times, in the convent; nor can he have either a penſion or a member, till after he has reſided three years, and paid his paſſage fees. We add further, that no brother ſhall have any commandry of cheviſſement, of grace, or amelioriſſement conferred upon him, unleſs he is actually in the convent, or has an expectative or faculty for his ſtanding.

Of the ſea-ſervice, or caravans neceſſary for getting commandries.

Br. JOHN DE LA VALETTE.

8. Whereas it highly concerns the order to grant no recompences but to ſuch as have deſerved them by their ſervices, we enact, that no brother knight or ſervant of arms ſhall be preferred to any commandry of grace or cheviſſement, till he has ſerved and made three compleat caravans, either in perſon, or by ſome body elſe, on board the galleys of the order; excepting always the brothers of the venerable languages of England and Germany, and ſuch as are employed in the order's or the maſter's ſervice.

Br. PETER DU MONT.

9. A whole year of ſuch ſervice is reckoned for a caravan, except with regard to the maſter's pages, who are obliged to make all the three at the time ſet them. No body ſhall be allowed to make them till he is full ſeventeen years old.

That the receivers in the priories ſhall enjoy their ſeniority.

Br. BAPTIST URSINI.

10. The receivers of our treaſury, that are in the priories and caſtellany of Empoſta, out of the convent, ſhall be deemed to enjoy their ſeniority, and may have commandries of cheviſſement, amelioriſſement and grace, from the grand maſter, or from others, but ſhall be utterly incapable of being promoted to any that have been taken away from others for want of paying the dues of the common treaſury, to prevent all manner of trick and fraud.

Br. CLAUDE DE LA SENGLE.

11. Such as are abſent, and have been ſent abroad for the affairs of the order,

ſhall keep their ſtanding whilſt their embaſſy or commiſſion laſts, as much as if they had reſided in the convent.

That a brother taken by the infidels ſhall, upon his return to the convent, enjoy his ſeniority for all the time of his captivity.

12. We ordain, that if any brother be taken by the infidels in his way from the Weſt to the convent, he ſhall be deemed reſident during all the time of his impriſonment. A commander too, that ſhall ſet out with the maſter's leave, in order to go to his commandry and reſide there, ſhall, if he be taken by the infidels, be deemed to have reſided all the time he is detained in their hands.

Of the obtaining of bulls of confirmation for a commandry got by right of ſeniority.

Br. PETER D'AUBUSSON.

13. We ordain, that all brothers that get priories, the caſtellany of Empoſta, bailliages or commandries, by any title of ſeniority whatever, ſhall get bulls of confirmation from the maſter and council, within a year afterwards, reckoning from the day of their being preſented to them.

In what time the brothers may ameliorate their commandries.

14. The brothers that have been preſented to a commandry, ſhall not be allowed to ameliorate themſelves with another till they have made a five years reſidence upon it, and have paid the mortuary, and the annate or vacancy.

Br. JOHN L'EVESQUE DE LA CASSIERE.

15. The priors, bailiffs and commanders, whilſt they actually reſide in the convent, or whilſt they are on the road from thence to their priories, bailliages, or commandries, and when they ſhall ſet out from thence, till their arrival in the convent, ſhall be deemed all the time to reſide.

That the brothers are obliged to ameliorate their commandries.

Br. PETER D'AUBUSSON.

16. None of our brothers preferred to any commandry of grace or chevisſement, can ameliorate himſelf with a better, or get a priory or bailliage, till he has brought good proofs that he has ameliorated the commandry he enjoys, by what title ſoever he poſſeſſes it.

Br. CLAUDE DE LA SENGLE.

17. The ſame rule ſhall be obſerved with regard to ſuch as have members of commandries, to engage them likewiſe to ameliorate and improve them.

Of the amelioration which the capitulary bailiffs are to make.

Br. PETER D'AUBUSSON.

18. The capitulary bailiffs that are in quiet poſſeſſion of their bailliages, are bound to ameliorate them; we therefore enact, that none of them ſhall ever be collated to a priory or conventual bailliage, till they have firſt clearly proved that they have ameliorated the capitulary bailliage they enjoy.

Of the amelioration of the magiſtral or priorial chambers.

Br. CLAUDE DE LA SENGLE.

19. Our brothers that enjoy any magiſtral chambers, either by leaſe or grant from the maſter, ſhall not be preferred to any commandry of chevisſement or amelioriſſement, or dignity, till they have ameliorated thoſe magiſtral chambers; nor ſhall the priors be capable of any commandry that belongs to their prerogative, except the fifth chamber, till they have made the neceſſary ameliorations on their four priorial chambers. But this objection, of not having made their ameliorations, ſhall be made to no body till after they have enjoyed the revenues of their bailliages, commandries and members, for five whole years, except it be

with regard to the magiſtral chambers, the two firſt years being there deducted, during which the revenue belonged to the maſter.

Of the amelioration that the brother chaplains and ſervants of arms ought to make.

Br. JOHN L'EVESQUE DE LA CASSIERE.

20. WHEREAS ſome brother chaplains and ſervants of arms, after getting commandries of cheviſſement, take little care to make ameliorations on them; we ordain them, within two years, after the five, reckoning from the day that they took poſſeſſion of them, to make the ameliorations preſcribed by our ſtatutes, upon their commandries, and ſend an exact and authentick account thereof to the convent; and in failure they ſhall loſe a year's revenue, which ſhall be confiſcated to the treaſury.

To what brothers the priors ought to grant commandries.

Br. JOHN DE LASTIC.

21. WE, forbid the priors and caſtellan of Empoſta to diſpoſe of the commandries, which by our ſtatutes are in their gift, to any body but to brothers that have been admitted in the convent, and paid their paſſage fees: otherwiſe their collation ſhall be null, and ſhall fall to the maſter and convent, who ſhall diſpoſe thereof, according to the cuſtoms of the order.

Of the manner how the priors confer commandries.

Br. CLAUDE DE LA SENGLE.

29. WHENEVER the priors and caſtellan of Empoſta collate to commandries that depend on them, they ſhall do it in the following method: every five years, if from one feaſt of St. Philip and St. James to another next following, ſeveral commandries fall vacant out of the convent, by the death of two or more commanders, the maſter, if the collation of them belong to him, ſhall make uſe of his prerogative; then the convent, and afterwards the priors and caſtellan of Empoſta ſhall make uſe of theirs: or, to explain the matter in a clearer manner, if there be one commandry vacant, it ſhall be in the maſter's diſpoſal; if there be two, the maſter ſhall diſpoſe of one, and the convent of the other; if there be more, and ſeveral commanders be dead out of the convent, within the language that the priory is of, after the maſter and convent have had their turns, the prior, as well as the caſtellan of Empoſta, ſhall have one to diſpoſe of, in virtue of their prerogative, provided the priory and caſtellany of Empoſta be not actually under the mortuary and vacancy. In caſe any other diſpoſition be made of it, it ſhall be null, and thoſe that offered to diſpoſe thereof, ſhall be deprived of their privilege and power of diſpoſal for a year.

Br. JOHN DE LA VALETTE.

30. WE declare, that the bounds of the priories of the kingdom of France take in the whole kingdom, as far as the commandries that depend on them extend: thoſe of the priories of Spain, take in all the kingdoms of Spain: thoſe of the priories of Italy, all the provinces of that country, and Sicily: thoſe of Germany, all High and Low Germany: thoſe of England, the kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland. The commanders that die at ſea, and out of the bounds of their priories, ſhall be deemed to die in the convent.

That the priors, when they collate to commandries, may not detain or receive any thing whatever for themſelves.

Br. ANTHONY FLUVIAN.

31. WE forbid the priors, and caſtellan of Empoſta, when they collate to commandries, in virtue of their prerogative, to detain any member or houſe belonging to it, or to receive any preſent of any kind whatſoever. Such as ſhall break this ſtatute, ſhall be deprived of the priorial privileges for a year, the diſpoſition

poſition they have made ſhall be null, and the commandry that they collated to ſhall devolve to the maſter and convent.

That the priors may change the commandry they have to diſpoſe of for another.

Br. JAMES DE MILLY.

32. We allow the priors and caſtellan of Empoſta to confer the commandry which belongs to them by the ſtatutes, upon a commander that enjoys another of leſs revenue, which he ſhall reſign into the hands of the prior, to enjoy that which ſhall be granted to him under the ſame title as the firſt; and the prior may confer that which has been ſo reſigned into his hands, upon any body that he pleaſes, who ſhall hold it as in vertue of the prior's prerogative, without intrenching on the rights of the common treaſury.

Of the fifth chamber, which the priors may retain.

Br. RAIMOND BERENGER.

33. We allow the priors and caſtellan of Empoſta, beſides the four priorial chambers, to accept in lieu of the fifth, and retain one of the commandries that fall to their diſpoſal, in order to provide the better for ſupporting their dignity.

Of the commandries that have a juriſdiction in criminal matters.

34. We refer it to the prudence and diſcretion of the maſter, bailiffs, and members of the ordinary council, to confer commandries that have a juriſdiction in criminal matters annexed to them, upon our brother chaplains, in hopes that when ſuch caſes happen, they will judge of them according to their conſcience, and with regard to the quality of the perſons, and nature of the fact.

Br. PHILIP DE VILLIERS DE L'ISLE-ADAM.

35. The commanders that enjoy commandries of cheviſſement, may retain them in conſideration of their ameliorations, provided it be fully proved that they have ameliorated them.

Br. CLAUDE DE LA SENGLE.

36. After having accepted them for their amelioration, and made other improvements upon them, they may if they pleaſe, after the expiration of five years, accept another, for their ſecond amelioration.

Of reſignations.

Br. JAMES DE MILLY.

37. We forbid the brothers of the order to reſign any commandries of cheviſſement, grace, amelioration, or of any other kind whatſoever, to any perſon but into the hands of the maſter and convent, on pain of the reſignation's being deemed null.

Of the penalties incurred by ſuch as reſign.

Br. PETER D'AUBUSSON.

38. Besides the nullity of the reſignation, thoſe that make it ſhall be likewiſe deprived of the commandries, members, and other eſtates of the order that they enjoy, which ſhall, without any other notice or citation, be in the diſpoſal of the maſter and council as ſoon as ſuch reſignation is duly proved, tho' it be null in it ſelf.

Of the condition in which the commandries are to be left.

Br. ANTHONY FLUVIAN.

39. We ordain that when the commanders ſhall paſs from one commandry to another in virtue of their amelioration, they ſhall leave that which they go from in the ſame condition in which they found it. Such as act otherwiſe, and

do not reſtore what they have taken away within a year, they ſhall be deprived of the commandries they have got, and be diſabled from having any other for five years.

Of the exchange of commandries and members.

40. We forbid the priors and caſtellan of Empoſta to receive the exchanges of commandries and members within their priories, from any brother or commander whatſoever. If any brothers be diſpoſed to make ſuch exchanges, the prior ſhall give notice of it to the maſter and council, and ſend them the terms of the exchange, with an account of the age of the brothers that are for making it, and the value and nature of the commandries, that they may be duly apprized of the reaſons of the exchange; and after it has been examined in the language that the brothers who make it are of, if the language conſents to it, the maſter and convent may confirm it, and the prior may order it to be executed. The priors, caſtellan of Empoſta, and other ſuperiors that do not obſerve this method, ſhall be deprived for one year of the revenue of their priorial chambers, and commandries, which ſhall go to the treaſury, and every thing done contrary to the preſent ſtatute ſhall be null.

If the commanders or brothers think to make exchanges of their commandries or houſes in a different manner, and attempt to get poſſeſſion of them before the maſter, the convent and the language have confirmed them, they ſhall be ipſo facto deprived of the commandries and houſes ſo exchanged, which ſhall devolve to the maſter and convent, to be diſpoſed of by them to ſuch brothers as are of ſtanding ſufficient, and appear to deſerve them: the pretended exchangers ſhall be diſabled to have any others till five years afterwards.

Of the uniting of members to the commandries.

41. We authorize the priors and caſtellan of Empoſta to unite, annex, and incorporate together two commandries of a ſmall revenue, with the advice and conſent of the provincial chapter, and not otherwiſe, provided that ſuch unions be of no prejudice to the common treaſury.

And whereas there are ſeveral members ſo remote from the commandry that they depend on, that the commander cannot take care of the management of them, we allow the priors and caſtellan of Empoſta to unite theſe ſcattered and diſtant members to other commandries that lie nearer them, with the conſent of the provincial chapter; provided however that the commandries to which they ſhall be annexed, pay a greater rent to the treaſury, in proportion to the augmentation made to them, and thoſe from which they are diſmembred, be eaſed in the ſame proportion, which union ſhall take place when either of them fall vacant, after the time that they are ſo united; and upon ſuch vacancy, the poſſeſſors of the commandries to which they are thus annexed, ſhall take poſſeſſion of them immediately.

That they proceed to the mutition of commandries without any delay.

Br. CLAUDE DE LA SENGLE.

42. We order the maſter and convent, as ſoon as they hear of the death of any prior, bailiff, or commander, to proceed to the mutition of the priory, bailliage, or commandry, and provide for the adminiſtration thereof; and to prevent any doubt about the certainty of the news, it ſhall be ſufficient, if it be certified by letters from the prior, receiver, or procurator of the priory within which he died; or of ſome other brother that certifies he ſaw him dead, provided he has no intereſt in averring it, or aſſerts it after his arrival in the convent, and likewiſe by an authentick inſtrument under the hand of a judge or publick notary.

Of ſuch as are incapable of having commandries.

43. Whoever at the time of the mutition of a priory, bailliage or commandry, is diſqualified on any account whatſoever to enjoy it, cannot be collated to it at that time, even though his incapacity ſhould be removed after the mutition. Such as did not demand it ſhall be in the ſame caſe.

Of the grants of members.

44. THE priors and caſtellan of Empoſta are not allowed to grant above one member of each chamber of their priories, nor the bailiffs of their bailliages, nor the commanders of the commandries, which they hold in virtue of their amelioration. Theſe laſt cannot diſmember any of thoſe which they enjoy by right of chevisſement, or by the grace of the maſter, language or prior.

Br. PHILIP DE VILLERS DE LISLE-ADAM.

45. PROVIDED however that the commandry from which ſuch member is taken, be worth at leaſt 400 crowns or ducats a year communibus annis, and that they only cut off a fifth part of the income.

That no grant be made of members during the mortuary and vacancy.

Br. PETER D'AUBUSSON.

46. WE enact that if any brothers are minded, agreeable to the ſtile of the order, and the tenor of the ſtatutes, to paſs to another priory, to the caſtellany of Empoſta, or another commandry, during the mortuary and vacancy of ſuch priory, caſtellany of Empoſta or commandry, which they are deſirous either to quit or accept, they can make no grant of any member or members thereof; if they do, the grant is ipſo facto null.

Of the moderation to be obſerved in the ſevering of members.

47. No grant ſhall be made of any members but ſuch as lie at a diſtance from the commandries: if they proceed otherwiſe, the diſmembring ſhall be null, though it have the confirmation of the provincial chapter. We do not allow above one member of a commandry to be granted at a time: and after one is granted, the commander cannot diſpoſe of any other, till that which he granted away is united to the commandry again.

That the commanders do not reſerve to themſelves the revenues of the members they have granted away.

Br. PHILIP DE VILLERS DE L'ISLE-ADAM.

48. IF the commander that grants away a member of his commandry, reſerves himſelf the revenues of it under any pretence whatſoever, beſides the nullity of this reſervation, we decree that he be deprived for three whole years of all the revenue of his commandry, which ſhall be paid in to the treaſury: the perſon that accepts the member on ſuch a condition, ſhall be for the like number of years incapacitated to have any commandry or poſt whatever.

Of Penſions.

Br. CLAUDE DE LA SENGLE.

49. CUSTOM does not allow any body to impoſe penſions on the commandries but the maſters; and ſuch perſons as the general chapter have expreſſly granted a ſpecial authority to for that purpoſe.

Br. JOHN D'OMEDES.

50. EVEN though it ſhould be done by a ſpecial grace or faculty of the language or maſter, for he cannot grant any licenſe in this point; if it does, it ſhall be deemed null.

Of the manner obſerved in confirming the grants of members.

Br. JAMES DE MILLY.

51. To provide againſt frauds and colluſions, we enact that the prior, caſtellan of Empoſta, and provincial chapter, may confirm the grants of members or houſes made by commanders to the brothers or donats of the order, for a term of years or for life, the dues of the treaſury being always reſerved.

THIS confirmation ſhall not have the ſeal of the priory put to it, till after the commander, and the brother or donat, to whom the grant is made, appear before the prior and chapter, and make oath that it was made without any fraud or colluſion. If either of them be at the convent, he ſhall make this declaration by his proxy; otherwiſe the grant ſhall be null.

Br. CLAUDE DE LA SENGLE.

52. THE ſame formalities ſhall be obſerved, when the members are diſpoſed of, or confirmed in the aſſembly of the languages and priories.

That no members nor Demeſnes be granted to ſeculars.

53. WE forbid the priors and caſtellan of Empoſta, in the provincial chapters, or aſſemblies, or elſewhere; and likewiſe all commanders and brothers, to grant or exchange any commandries, members, farms, demeſnes, or rents depending on their benefices, with ſeculars or other perſons that are not of our order, whatever quality they be of, and we utterly incapacitate them for any ſuch act; ſuch as ſhall attempt it, ſhall be immediately deprived of their benefices, and be diſqualified to enjoy any other for ten years to come, and all that they ſhall have done ſhall be null.

That the members, on the poſſeſſors deceaſe, be re-united to the head.

Br. FABRICIO DEL CARETTO.

54. WE declare, according to the antient cuſtoms of the order, that upon the death of ſuch as enjoy any members of commandries, they ſhall be re-annexed to the commandries they depend on, and be incorporated together as formerly.

Of eſtates retrieved by the brothers out of the hands of ſeculars.

Br. ELION DE VILLENEUVE.

55. WE enact, that if any brothers recover to the order any commandries, rents, eſtates, and poſſeſſions, that had been ſeized on and detained by ſeculars or other perſons ſtrangers to our order, they ſhall enjoy them the reſt of their life, by a grant from the maſter and convent, without paying the treaſury any other reſponſion but what the ſeculars paid.

Br. CLAUDE DE LA SENGLE.

56. THEY ought however to advertiſe the commanders, to whoſe commandries the eſtates uſurped belong, to loſe no time in taking meaſures to recover them, who ſhall be obliged within two months to make their declaration before the maſter and council, or before the prior and provincial, whether they are reſolved to undertake it, in which caſe they are bound within a year after their declaration, to commence a ſuit againſt the perſons that detain them: but in failure thereof the brother that will undertake it, ſhall be allowed to ſue for the reſtitution thereof, being authorized to do ſo by the maſter and convent, or by the prior and provincial chapter.

That acquired eſtates be annexed to the neareſt commandry.

Br. RAIMOND BERENGER.

57. WE enact, that all immoveable goods and eſtates given by ſeculars to the brothers of our order, or acquired by themſelves, ſhall not be ſold nor alienated without a licenſe from the maſter and general chapter; and that after the deceaſe of the brother that acquired them, they ſhall be united to the bailliage or commandry, within the bounds of which they are ſituated, notwithſtanding he lived or died out of the commandry. If they are not ſituated within the diſtrict of any commandry, they ſhall be united to that which lies next them, and be charged with a ſum payable to the treaſury.

Of rents purchaſed by the brothers.

58. WHEREAS it happens very often that our brothers, either out of their own inclination, or forced by ſome particular circumſtances, purchaſe annual rents, redeemable at the pleaſure of the ſeller or otherwiſe, and doubts have riſen whether they ſhould be conſidered as moveable or immoveable goods: We therefore declare, that unleſs it appear by the purchaſe deed that they are redeemable, they ſhall be deemed immoveables, and be annexed to the neareſt commandry. But if it appears by the terms of the deed, that the rent is redeemable, it ſhall be deemed a moveable, and devolve to the treaſury after the deceaſe of the purchaſer: this is to be underſtood of all rents acquired or to be acquired.

Of the preſentation to eccleſiaſtical benefices.

CUSTOM.

59. THE priors in their priorial chambers, the bailiffs and commanders in their commandries, have the right of collation or preſentation to eccleſiaſtical benefices, whether they be ſimple, or are charged with a cure of ſouls; unleſs it appear that this right belongs to any body elſe by cuſtom or privilege.

Br. JOHN D'OMEDES.

60. BUT if they chance to fall vacant by death, reſignation, deprivation or otherwiſe, in the convent or out of it, and the maſter be on the ſpot, the collation or preſentation thereof belongs to him according to cuſtom, even though they were elective, unleſs they were aſſigned, or uſed to be given in way of chevisſement.

Br. CLAUDE DE LA SENGLE.

61. IF a benefice fall vacant in the time of the mortuary or vacancy, before any body has been preſented to the adminiſtration of the priory or commandry, and before the prior, bailiff, or commander, have taken poſſeſſion thereof, and are arrived there, or have ſent a proxy thither, with power to collate or preſent to benefices, the prior, the caſtellan of Empoſta, or in their abſence, the receiver of the treaſury within the commandry, ſhall collate or preſent to them, purſuant to the power which we grant them to do ſo by the preſent ſtatute.

62. WE enact, that the maſter ſhall preſent to the benefices that fall vacant in the convent, within eight days after the day of the vacancy. The priors, bailiffs, and commanders, as ſoon as ever they have notice thereof, ſhall be obliged to preſent to them ſome brother of the order, or other perſons, after preſenting them with the habit in the provincial chapter or aſſembly, and their being approved there, according to the form of the ſtatutes.

63. WE ordain that no body ſhall be collated or preſented to any eccleſiaſtical benefice, the collation or preſentation of which belongs to the order, but brothers that have made their profeſſion in it.

That the brothers neither ſue for nor hold any commandries or benefices but from the order.

Br. ANTOINE FLUVIAN.

64. WE forbid our brothers, of what rank ſoever they be, either to ſolicit or obtain in publick or in private, by themſelves or by others, directly or indirectly, the priories, caſtellany of Empoſta, commandries, dignities, offices, benefices, houſes, eſtates or other poſſeſſions depending on our order, from any perſon whatever, but from the maſter and convent, and the religious of the order, according to the ſtatutes: ſuch as obtain, ſue or ſolicite for them otherwiſe, ſhall be obliged immediately to renounce them and all rights they can pretend to in relation to them, before the maſter, or before a publick notary and witneſſes; in failure whereof they ſhall be deprived of the habit, without any further formality of proſecution or trial, and be condemned to perpetual impriſonment.

That

That no ſecular be employed in the adminiſtration of the commandries.

Br. DIEU-DONNE DE GOZON.

65. We forbid all commanders and adminiſtrators of the eſtates of our order, on pain of being deprived of their commandries, to entruſt them to the management of ſeculars. We require them to give the adminiſtration of them to a brother of the order, or elſe to a donat, who ſhall have a brother aſſociated with him, that the commandry may be managed with the greater care.

Of Viſitations.

TITLE XV.

Of the viſitations of the commandries.

Br. CLAUDE DE LA SENGLE.

1. We enjoin the priors and caſtellan of Empoſta to be careful in making every five years a viſitation in perſon, of the bailliages, commandries, houſes, members, hoſpitals, churches, chapels, and other places within their juriſdiction, and provide againſt all male-adminiſtration, that no inconvenience enſue from thence, and tranſmit to the maſter and convent an authentic tranſcript in due form of the account which they are to draw up of their viſitation, in writing.

If by reaſon of ſickneſs, or any other impediment, they cannot go in perſon, they ſhall pitch upon two brothers, the one a commander, and the other a chaplain, who ſhould be a commander too, if there be any ſuch; but if not, ſome other brother chaplain, both of them qualified for the truſt, to make the viſitation for them: but if in the interval of ſuch fifth year, any commandry is going to ruin, we enjoin the priors and caſtellan of Empoſta not to wait for that term, but to ſet immediately about retrieving and repairing it. They may likewiſe, if they think it either neceſſary or ſerviceable, depute ſeveral brothers, one after another, to make the ſaid viſitations, who ſhall go two at a time to viſit different commandries, that the viſitations may be made with greater expedition.

Of the viſitation of the priorial chambers.

2. Since the priors and caſtellan of Empoſta are truſted with the authority of viſiting others, we enact, that they ſhall be viſited themſelves, for every religious ought to be ſubject to authority, and no body ſhould have a licenſe to do amiſs. They ſhall therefore, every fifth year, in the provincial chapter, make choice of two brothers, one a commander, and the other a chaplain, as is ſaid above, both of them men of diſcretion, and duly qualified for the poſt, to viſit, in vertue of our authority, the priorial chambers, their members and their houſes; after which they ſhall draw up an authentick account in writing, of the condition in which they found them, and give notice of it to the priors, fixing them within a time by which they muſt finiſh the repairs that they judge neceſſary to be made.

Of the manner of the viſitation.

CUSTOM.

3. The priors, the caſtellan of Empoſta, and the viſitors, ſhall take with them the ſecretary of the provincial chapter, a publick notary, or elſe a brother of the order, if they think proper: when they arrive at the place which they are to viſit, their firſt enquiry muſt be in relation to divine ſervice, the relicks, jewels, ornaments of the church and chapels, the books, and other things deſigned for their uſe: they ſhall examine whether it be performed with decency, whether the church be a parochial one, whether the incumbent or chaplain adminiſter the ſacraments duly; whether he is a man of learning, and of good life

and converſation; how the income and lands of the commandry are managed, and what ſort of life the commander leads: they ſhall write down the name and value of every eſtate, of the granges and manors, as well in towns as in the country, and take an account of the terriers, juriſdictions, prerogatives, faculties, privileges, belonging either to the commandry or its members; and likewiſe the charges or incumbrances thereon, the law-ſuits that are carrying on and not determined; the things that have been uſurped and ſeized on, the perſons that have ſeized them, and whatever has been alienated or damaged. They ſhall rectify what is wanting, and fix a time for making the repairs which they think requiſite. They ſhall draw up an authentick account in writing of what they have found, and ſend a copy of it in due form, under their hands and ſeals, to the maſter and convent, that they may be duly apprized of the condition of the eſtates of the order, and provide proper remedies where they are wanting.

Of the penalties incurred by ſuch as do not make their viſitations.

4. If the prior or caſtellan of Empoſta neglect to make their viſitations, they ſhall be deprived immediately of all ſort of priorial authority and juriſdiction. The deputies of the provincial chapter, if they have no lawful excuſe, ſhall loſe a year's profits of their commandries, which ſhall go to the treaſury: if they are brothers, they ſhall loſe a year's ſtanding. The viſitors ſhall incur the like penalties, if it appear that they have favoured the priors and caſtellan of Empoſta in their viſitations, or have any ways concealed or palliated their neglects, or the faults of their adminiſtration.

Of the penalties incurred by ſuch as do not make the repairs ſpecified in the reports of the viſitation.

5. The priors, the caſtellan of Empoſta, and the commanders, that neglect making the repairs ſpecified in the accounts of the viſitation, purſuant to the injunction laid upon them, ſhall be deemed diſobedient and ill adminiſtrators, and be deprived of their priories, caſtellany of Empoſta, bailliages, commandries, and all other adminiſtrations of the eſtates of the order.

That the viſitors be moderate in their expences.

Br. ANTHONY FLUVIAN.

6. We enjoin the priors, and caſtellan of Empoſta, in the viſitation of their priories, and the commanders, in the viſitation of their commandries, to be moderate in their expences and travelling equipage, ſo as not to put the commanders to exceſſive charges; but to live with ſuch temperance and modeſty that the commanders may have no reaſon to complain: if they occaſion any damage, the prior and other viſitors ſhall be obliged to make it good.

That the dilapidations and decay of commandries be provided for without loſs of time.

7. We enjoin the viſitors of the commandries and priorial chambers, to be careful and diligent in their viſitations, that the neceſſary repairs be made: in order to which, after deducting the charges of the treaſury, and what is neceſſary for the keeping up divine ſervice, for hoſpitality, alms, and the clothing and ſubſiſtence of the commander, all the reſidue ſhall be employed in buildings and repairs. If the viſitors, priors, caſtellan of Empoſta, or commanders, neglect their duty in this point, they ſhall be deprived of their dignities, which ſhall devolve to the maſter and convent.

That the priors name a chaplain to viſit the churches.

Br. JOHN DE LASTIC.

8. The priors and caſtellan of Empoſta may chooſe a chaplain of the order to viſit, reform and regulate every thing relating to divine ſervice in the churches and chapels of the priories, as the relicks, holy euchariſt, and the like; we inveſt the perſon choſen with our own authority, and he ſhall likewiſe have that of the prior of the church.

Of the manner of viſiting commandries in relation to ameliorations.

Br. CLAUDE DE LA SENGLE.

9. In viſiting the commandries of ſuch as pretend to make their ameliorations, the commiſſaries deputed by the prior and caſtellan of Empoſta, and the provincial chapter, after taking the oath, are to uſe all poſſible care in the viſitation as well of the head as of the members and houſes of it; to ſee themſelves what has been either improved or neglected by the commander that pretends to have ameliorated the commandry ſince it came into his hands; the ſtate likewiſe of the ſuits and proſecutions relating to it muſt be ſpecified in the inſtrument giving an account of the viſitation; as likewiſe what ſuits about the poſſeſſions and eſtates of the commandries and the members ſtill remain undetermined; and whether the commander has carried them on or made his defence as he ought; that after a mature examination of the advantages and damages that the commandry has received, a true judgment may be made on which ſide the ballance lies.

Of the oath to be taken by the viſitors of the commandries.

10. That there may be nothing left unviſited in the commandries, we enjoin the prior, bailiff or commander, whoſe commandry is viſited, or their procurator, when the viſitation is over, to make oath, that he has faithfully ſhewed all the members, houſes, demeſnes and poſſeſſions thereof, and that they have been duly viſited. If it appears afterwards that any thing has been ſecreted, and not viſited, the viſitation ſhall be null, and the inſtrument drawn of it ſhall ſtand the commander in no ſtead towards obtaining an amelioration.

Of Bargains and Alienations.

TITLE XVI.

Br. ALPHONSUS of Portugal.

1. We forbid all brothers that have not the adminiſtration of ſome bailliage or commandry, either to buy or ſell, to lend or borrow any thing whatever, without leave from their ſuperior.

Br. CLAUDE DE LA SENGLE.

2. Whatever is done to the contrary, ſhall be null, and the perſons guilty of it ſhall be puniſhed at the diſcretion of the maſter and council.

That the brothers do not meddle in trade.

Br. ANTHONY FLUVIAN.

3. We forbid all our brothers, of what rank ſoever they be, to engage in any traffick, or to buy and ſell any merchandize ſoever to get by it. Such as ſhall be convicted of it, ſhall be condemned to the quarantaine; and half of their merchandize ſhall be confiſcated to the treaſury, and the other half go to the informer, if he makes good proof of his denunciation. But if any of them on their road to the convent, find themſelves incumber'd with things which they cannot carry with them, or may be loſt and ſpoiled in their voyage, they may, in ſuch caſe, either exchange or ſell them, without incurring any penalty for ſo doing.

Prohibition of uſury and lending money at intereſt.

4. We forbid our brothers, of what quality ſoever they be, to lend money at intereſt, to practiſe uſury, or make any uſurious and unlawful contract: there

is nothing more ſcandalous and unbecoming a religious. If any body in breach of this ſtatute, which is founded upon the law of God, is proved guilty of doing ſo, if he be a commander, he ſhall be deprived of his commandry, and be incapacitated for ten years to obtain any other, tho' it be one of cheviſſement: his commandry, and the money he has employed in this ſhameful commerce, ſhall be confiſcated to the benefit of the treaſury: and what is got clear by this odious way, more than the principal, ſhall be reſtored to ſuch as were engaged with him in this commerce of uſury.

That the poſſeſſions of the order be not alienated.

Br. HUGH REVEL.

5. ALL the brothers of the order, of what quality, and in what neceſſity ſoever they be, are enjoined not to ſell, pledge, leaſe for ever, mortgage, or otherwiſe alienate to ſeculars, or other agents and perſons not of the order, any manors, eſtates, vineyards, lands, dues or effects, of the priories, commandries or members, or to grant them in any manner whatever, for life, or a term of years, without leave from the maſter and general chapter. Such as break this ſtatute ſhall be deprived of the habit, and all that they have done declared to be null and invalid.

That no brother engage or mortgage the eſtates and effects of the order.

Br. RAIMOND BERENGER.

6. No brother, of what quality ſoever he be, may, under colour of the ſeal of the priories, or on any other pretence whatever, ſell, mortgage or alienate, or otherwiſe engage, the goods and poſſeſſions of the order, either moveable, or immoveable, or make any grant of them for life, or years, to any ſeculars or perſons that do not belong to our order, without the licenſe and conſent of the maſter and general chapter; excepting however the penſions given to the advocates of the order, which ought to be handſome, but moderate, and not perpetual nor payable by the treaſury. Such as tranſgreſs this ſtatute ſhall be deprived of the habit, and all that they have done ſhall be null.

Br. PETER DE CORNILLAN.

7. NONE of our brothers are allowed to mortgage or engage the commandries or benefices of the order, on pain of being deprived of the habit, and their contract or mortgage being declared null.

That no treaty be carried on in provincial chapters or aſſemblies, for alienating the eſtates and effects of the order.

Br. PETER D'AUBUSSON.

8. AGREEABLE to the ſtatutes made by our predeceſſors, in regard of alienations, which we deſire to follow, and make more effectual proviſion to anſwer the end of them, we forbid all priors, the caſtellan of Empoſta, all bailiffs, commanders, and brothers of the order, on pain of deprivation of their reſpective priories, bailliages, commandries and other dignities, to preſume, either in the provincial chapter or aſſembly, or elſewhere, to conſult, propoſe or treat of any alienation, mortgage, ſale, conveyance, grant, leaſe for life or for years, on any terms or condition whatſoever, of the commandries, farms, demeſnes and poſſeſſions of the order, of what nature ſoever they be. Whoever tranſgreſſes this ſtatute ſhall be deprived of his commandry or benefice, which ſhall devolve to the maſter and convent, to be diſpoſed of by them; if he be a brother of the convent, he ſhall loſe all his ſtanding.

9. BUT this is no way deſigned to reſtrain the liberty and authority which the priors and caſtellan of Empoſta have of letting in the provincial chapter, according to the cuſtom of the country, any farms or lands that bring little or no revenue to the commandries and the order, at a yearly rent, in order to ameliorate and improve them, provided it be for a certain time, not exceeding twenty nine years, after which the farms and poſſeſſions ſo let ſhall return, with their improvements, to the order.

That

That the brothers do not alienate the eſtates they have acquired.

Br. ODON DE PINS.

10. EVERY thing that a religious acquires, he acquires for the order, we therefore forbid the brothers of the order to ſell, alienate, mortgage, or part in any manner whatever with any eſtates, poſſeſſions, rents, or juriſdictions that they acquire, either by purchaſe, gift, or in any other manner whatever, without the conſent of the maſter and general chapter: They ſhall enjoy them for their lives, but may not lay any incumbrance upon them, or ſubject them to hold under any lord either eccleſiaſtick or ſecular, or make any other conveyance whatever for their advantage.

Br. CLAUDE DE LA SENGLE.

11. WE enact that for the future all brothers that ſhall purchaſe in the iſles of Malta or Goza, and ſhall acquire there by any title whatever, any farms, lands, gardens, vineyards, or other eſtates, ſhall be incapacitated to ſell, give, alienate, bequeath, or otherwiſe diſpoſe of them, without the expreſs leave of the maſter and council, which muſt be produced in writing in due form, and ſhall be deemed null if granted at the time of the ſickneſs of which the brother who makes ſuch conveyance dies, unleſs there be a particular proviſion to the contrary by an act of the general chapter.

Repeal of alienations.

12. WE vacate, repeal, and annul all ſales, gifts, conveyances, ceſſions, mortgages, leaſes for ever, and for a long term of years, made by our brothers contrary to the tenor of our ſtatutes, to any ſeculars or other perſons, without the authority of the general chapter, we declare them all null and invalid.

That the brothers make no pretended contracts.

13. WE forbid our brothers to make on any occaſion or pretence whatever, any ſham contracts, promiſes, bonds, or grants of any thing, or to any perſon whatever, if any thing of this nature happens, and the perſon in whoſe favour ſuch pretended contract is made, be not paid in the life-time of the brother that made it, he cannot recover any thing after his death: The treaſury ſhall not be obliged to make ſuch contracts good, becauſe they are juſtly deemed to be fraudulent.

Br. HUGH DE LOUBENX VERDALE.

14. WE add that no brother ſhall, when he is ſick, have power to make any abſolute deed of gift, or other diſpoſal, promiſe or aſſignment either of money or lands in his poſſeſſion, becauſe they all belong to the order. If any body offers to do ſo, and does not live above forty days afterwards, we declare all ſuch deeds, promiſes, and aſſignments of his to be null and of no force.

Br. JOHN DE LA VALETTE.

15. WE ordain, that the thirteenth ſtatute above recited, ſhall be ſtrictly obſerved in every particular; and if any brothers make ſuch ſham contracts, they ſhall be deemed infamous; if they be commanders, they ſhall loſe their commandries; if only brothers, they ſhall loſe their ſtanding. The ſame penalties ſhall be inflicted on ſuch as ſign and ſeal blank notes and writings of any denomination, to the prejudice of the order, and to defraud the treaſury.

Br. HUGH DE LOUBENX VERDALE.

16. The ninth article of the title of bargains and alienations allows the priors and caſtellan of Empoſta to grant in the provincial chapter, according to the cuſtom of the country, leaſes at a yearly rent of ſuch eſtates, lands and poſſeſſions, as bring little or no revenue to the commandries and the order, in order to ameliorate and improve them, provided it be done for a certain time not exceeding twenty nine years, after which the lands are to return to the commandries and the order: but as ſuch a length of time has ſince occaſioned ſeveral

grievances and ſuits, we forbid for the future any letting of ſuch lands and eſtates at a yearly rent for above nine years, at the expiration of which term, they ſhall return to the commandries and the order with their improvements: we repeal and annul the old ſtatute which allowed them to be let for twenty nine years.

Of Leaſes and Farms.

TITLE XVII.

That the mortuaries and vacancies be let in the provincial chapter.

Br. PHILIBERT DE NAILLAC.

1. WE forbid our receivers to preſume in any manner whatever to let to farm, or ſet the mortuaries and vacancies of our commandries any where but in the provincial chapter, in the preſence of the prior and four antient commanders; and we forbid the priors, caſtellan of Empoſta, and receivers to take ſuch farms to themſelves, either openly or privately, in their own or in other peoples names. Such as tranſgreſs this ſtatute, ſhall be deemed diſobedient, and puniſhed as ſuch.

Of the ſale of the ſpoils of the brothers; how the receivers are to ſet leaſes.

Br. AIMERY D'AMBOISE.

2. WE order the ſpoils of the brothers to be ſold publickly by auction, to the higheſt bidder, except the gold and ſilver plate and jewels, which muſt be delivered as they are to our receivers and procurators to be ſent to the convent; expreſſly enjoining at the ſame time that nothing be reckoned among the ſpoils that belongs to the commandries, as is provided by the ſtatute in that behalf.

WITH regard to the dues of the vacancy, that our treaſury may not be wronged in the ſetting of them, we order the receivers to put up publick advertiſements in the place of the commandry vacant, and other places in the neighbourhood, giving notice of the day and place of holding the provincial chapter, in which they are to be let to the higheſt bidder. The like advertiſements ſhall be put up in the place where the chapter is to be held, and in the places about it, and the receiver ſhall bring with him thither the perſon who has made him the moſt conſiderable offer.

THE vacancy ſhall be ſet to the perſon that offers moſt, though he be a ſecular, who ſhall not be poſtponed to a brother that offers the ſame ſum. If the perſon that the receiver brings with him is out-bid, and does not get the leaſe, the receiver ſhall pay him all the charges of his journey thither, and his return home.

Br. PETER D'AUBUSSON.

3. A leaſe of a commandry ſhall not hinder the perſon preſented to it by the order from taking poſſeſſion of it, though the fruits and revenues of it belong to the leſſee.

That no leaſes of mortuaries and vacancies be made in the convent.

Br. JOHN DE LA VALETTE.

4. WE expreſſly forbid the making of any leaſes of mortuaries and vacancies in the convent, by the maſter and council, the procurators of the common treaſury, or any other perſons whatever.

That no repairs be made in the commandries during the mortuary and vacancy.

Br. ANTHONY FLUVIAN.

5. WE forbid our brothers, as well as others that have leaſes of commandries in the time of the mortuary and vacancy, to make any repairs of the buildings

which are not abſolutely neceſſary, and in ſuch caſe the expence ſhall be ſmall in proportion to the revenue of the commandry, and made upon the judgment of two or three commanders; that the brothers preſented thereto, may not be ſo overcharged with theſe repairs, as to be out of condition to pay the expence of them: ſuch as preſume to make them without this precaution, ſhall not be reimburſed either by the treaſury, or the brother preſented to the commandry.

Of the expences that may be made in relation to commandries, during the mortuary and vacancy.

Br. JOHN DE LA VALETTE.

6. We order the receivers to be careful and diligent in carrying on ſuch ſuits as are already commenced, or may commence, in relation to the lands and poſſeſſions of commandries and their members, which ſhall be done at the expence of our treaſury, and ſhall be afterwards made good to the treaſury by the perſon preſented to the commandry, within ſix months after he has begun to receive the profits of it: in failure whereof he ſhall be conſtrained to pay it, as in the caſe of other debts of the treaſury.

Whoſe licenſe is neceſſary for ſetting commandries.

Br. CLAUDE DE LA SENGLE.

7. We forbid the brothers of the order, of what quality ſoever they be, to leaſe out or ſet the priories, bailliages, commandries, members, or other eſtates of the order under their adminiſtration, without the maſter's licenſe, which ſhall be granted only for three years, without any fine in hand, except in the caſe of ſuch as are actually in the convent, or are minded to come thither, who are allowed to receive one year's advance and no more, which however is not to take place till after the mortuary and vacancy are out.

Br. JOHN DE LA VALETTE.

8. If they do not repair to the convent within a year after making the leaſe, they ſhall loſe a year's revenue of their commandry, which ſhall be forfeited to the treaſury, unleſs they are hindered by ſickneſs, or ſome affair of conſequence, which they ſhall ſend advice of to the maſter. As ſoon as the impediment is over; they ſhall be obliged under the like penalty, to return within the ſame ſpace of time to the convent.

What perſons commandries may not be let to.

Br. CLAUDE DE LA SENGLE.

9. They may not be let to powerful lords, either eccleſiaſtick or ſecular, to univerſities or colleges, nor may ſuch as take them in their own names aſſign them over to others, on pain of loſing a year's revenue of the thing ſo let, which ſhall be paid to the treaſury, and the leaſe or farm ſhall be null and void; and all licenſes granted for ſuch leaſes ſhall have theſe clauſes of reſtriction inſerted in them.

Br. JOHN L'EVESQUE DE LA CASSIERE.

10. We order all commanders, when they have ſet their commandries, to ſend copies of their leaſes to the receivers: in failure whereof, the leaſes, in caſe they happen to die, ſhall be annulled, though made with the maſter's licenſe.

Of farming or leaſing out the commandry of Cyprus.

Br. CLAUDE DE LA SENGLE.

11. We ordain, that in caſe of the deceaſe of the tenant or leſſee of our great commandry of Cyprus, it may be leaſed out to one of our brothers, or other perſon that offers moſt for it, in conſideration of ſuch a ſum as the maſter and council ſhall think fit. All the produce and rent of it ſhall go to the common treaſury.

Of

Of Prohibitions and Penalties.

TITLE XVIII.

Our brothers are not allowed to make wills, conſtitute heirs, or bequeath legacies.

Br. HUGH REVEL.

1. THE vow of poverty requires that we give up the liberty of diſpoſing of our eſtates and effects; the priors therefore, caſtellan of Empoſta, bailiffs, commanders, or other brothers of the order, are not allowed to make any will, conſtitute any heir, diſpoſe of any legacy, give or leave any thing to their ſervants or others, except ſuch ſalary and wages as are due to them; they may however declare what debtors and creditors they have, and if they have the maſter's leave, may diſpoſe of a moderate portion of their effects.

Br. CLAUDE DE LA SENGLE.

2. WHICH portion ſhall not exceed the fifth part of their ready money and goods, after making a deduction of all that is due to the treaſury or others, and of all debts owing to the teſtator, which are reſerved entirely to the treaſury. The maſter may diſpoſe of only a part of his effects, but he muſt have the leave of the general chapter to do ſo, or that of the compleat council, if he be at the point of death.

Br. NICHOLAS DE L'ORGUE.

3. NONE of our brothers are allowed, without leave from their ſuperior, to ſtand godfather to any child, unleſs it be the ſon of a baron, or ſome lord of greater quality.

That the brothers do not intermeddle in the affairs of ſeculars.

Br. HUGH REVEL.

4. WE forbid all the brothers of our order to buſy themſelves in the affairs of ſeculars that are proſecuted in the iſland for capital crimes, or ſolicite for them in any reſpect. Such criminals ought to be left to the ſecular courts, to be puniſhed as their crimes deſerve.

Br. JOHN L'EVESQUE DE LA CASSIERE.

5. WE however allow the accuſed liberty to defend themſelves, what crime ſoever they are charged with.

Br. CLAUDE DE LA SENGLE.

6. OUR brothers are likewiſe forbid to concern themſelves either publickly or privately, by themſelves or by others, in the civil cauſes of ſeculars, on pain of being ſeverely puniſhed, at the diſcretion of the maſter and council.

That the brothers do not intercede for ſuch as have neglected their duty.

Br. JOHN DE LASTIC.

7. WHEN any brother is to be puniſhed for his faults, we forbid all the reſt to intercede for him, till after ſentence is given: they may then ſolicite to have the puniſhment of the perſon condemned, moderated; notwithſtanding which, the perſon who has that power veſted in him, may, as he pleaſes, either moderate it, or cauſe the ſentence to be executed in its rigor.

Br. ELION DE VILLENEUVE.

NONE of our brothers, nor any ſecular, may carry any horſes or equipage out of the convent, without expreſs leave from the maſter, who yet ſhall not grant it without the advice of diſcreet perſons.

That the brothers do not oblige themſelves to any body by oath or alliance.

Br. RAIMOND BERENGER.

9. NONE of our brothers are allowed to engage themſelves to any perſon whatever by way of homage, oath or confederacy, as is practiſed in Spain, or elſewhere, without leave from the maſter, prior, or caſtellan of Empoſta, nor enter into any combination, or form any private aſſemblies among themſelves, on pain of loſing the habit, and not being reſtored, but upon condition of being incapacitated to enjoy any bailliage or commandry for ten years afterwards.

That the brothers accept no conveyance of things that are conteſted.

10. WE forbid all brothers and donats of our order, to purchaſe, receive or accept from ſeculars, any grant, conveyance or ceſſion of things that are litigated and in diſpute, on pain, if they are brothers, of being deprived of the habit, and if donats, of being expelled the ſociety, and put in priſon.

That the brothers do not ramble out of the commandries or priories.

Br. PHILIBERT DE NAILLAC.

11. WE enjoin the commanders and brothers of our order, not to ſtir out of the priories, caſtellany of Empoſta, or commandries that they are ſubject to, without leave from the maſter, prior, caſtellan of Empoſta, or commander, when the neceſſity or ſervice of the order require it. The priors are likewiſe forbid to go out of their priory, without leave from the maſter or his lieutenant, unleſs they are obliged to do ſo for affairs of conſequence that concern the order, or for ſome other important and indiſpenſable reaſon.

THE commanders may not ſtir from their commandries, but in order to repair to the convent for the ſervice of the order, or to execute the office of embaſſador, or ſome other commiſſion from the order, or unleſs they cannot ſtay with ſafety in their commandries: if they act otherwiſe, they ſhall loſe all the revenue thereof during their abſence, which ſhall be paid in to the treaſury.

Of rambling brothers.

Br. ANTHONY FLUVIAN.

12. WE enjoin all commanders and brothers that ſhall find any of our religious wandring about, out of the bounds of the juriſdiction they belong to, without leave from their ſuperiors, to ſeize and impriſon them, and give notice thereof to the prior and caſtellan of Empoſta, that they make proper proviſion in the caſe, and treat them as irregular and diſobedient perſons, according to the tenour of the ſtatutes.

That the brothers do not ſtir from the convent without leave.

Br. JAMES DE MILLY.

13. NONE of our brothers, what dignity ſoever he enjoys, is allowed to go out of the convent, either openly or ſecretly, without an expreſs leave from the maſter in writing. Such as do otherwiſe, ſhall be immediately deprived of the habit, and of their commandries and benefices.

That the brothers do not ſeize on commandries.

Br. ANTHONY FLUVIAN.

14. WE enact, that ſuch of our brothers as preſume to ſeize on and detain any commandries, members, houſes, or other eſtates and benefices of the order, by force and violence, or againſt the will of the maſter, prior, caſtellan of Empoſta, or brothers to whom they belong, ſhall be deprived of the habit, and put in priſon: and if grace ſhould be ſhewn them ſo far as to leave them the habit,

habit, they ſhall not be capable of having any commandry or other benefice for ten years. The prior or caſtellan of Empoſta ſhall, at the requeſt of the brother to whom the commandry or other eſtate belongs, be obliged to uſe force to drive out the uſurper, and put the perſon who is duly preſented to it in peaceable poſſeſſion thereof: and if this is impracticable, the prior and the brother it belongs to ſhall apply to the ſecular power for that purpoſe. The prior is obliged to execute what is ordered by the preſent ſtatute, on pain of forfeiting one of his priorial chambers, if it appear that he has been required to do ſo, and has neglected it.

And whereas there are in the priory of England few or no fortreſſes upon our commandries, ſo that no violence can be uſed there, the prior of that priory, at the firſt inſtance of the perſon preſented by the maſter and convent, is obliged to put him in poſſeſſion of the commandry or benefice. If it be clearly proved that he has ſummoned the ſeizer of the commandry to quit it, and leave him in poſſeſſion, and the prior to ſettle and ſupport him in it, and both have refuſed to do ſo, the prior ſhall be deprived of his priorial chambers, which ſhall be diſpoſed of by the maſter and convent, to the perſon whom they declined putting in poſſeſſion of his commandries.

That the brothers do not ſollicit letters of recommendation to get commandries.

Br. ELION DE VILLENEUVE.

15. Our brothers are forbid, on pain of diſobedience, to ſollicite letters of recommendation or threats from any body whatever, in order to get any commandries or benefices of the order: they may however deſire them of perſons that are profeſſed in the order, to atteſt the ſervices they have done it, and their refuſal ſhall be no detriment to them.

Br. PETER D'AUBUSSON.

16. If any brother gets ſuch forbidden letters, he ſhall loſe ten years of his ſtanding: every body has free liberty to accuſe him of it, and prove it, that an effectual ſtop may be put to the inſolence of the brothers.

That the brothers who enjoy any office in the order, may not fit out any veſſel.

Br. EMERY D'AMBOISE.

17. We forbid all brothers of the order, what dignity ſoever they enjoy, if there be any juriſdiction annexed to it, as our ſeneſchal, caſtellan, and the officers concerned in the management of the revenue of the order, as the conſervator general, the maſter of our chamber, our receiver, the commanders of the ſtores, the arſenal and the artillery, or ſuch as are employed under them, to fit out ſhips, in their own name or by the intervention of other perſons, either ſecretly or openly, under any pretence whatever, to cruize or make war upon the Infidels; or to be concerned in partnerſhip in ſuch equipments as are made by others, on pain of loſing their poſts, which ſhall be immediately filled up, as if their time was expired, and of confiſcation of the value of ſuch equipment, and all the profits made of it, which ſhall be forfeited to the treaſury, except only a third part, which ſhall be delivered to the informer, without any diminution or deduction whatever.

The ſame ſtatute ſhall be in force againſt all captains of galleys, and their officers, that ſhall fit out ſhips for cruizing: they may however fit out fuſts or brigantines, to attend their ſhips, and to ſend with diſpatches, or to get advice on any important affair, or in caſes of neceſſity, without incurring any cenſure or penalty. If after all any brother or ſecular ſhall preſume fraudulently to lend his name to ſuch equipment, or to make a private agreement for a ſhare with ſuch officers, beſides the confiſcation of what he has laid out in it, he ſhall be puniſhed as a falſifier and perjured perſon.

That no body fit out veſſels in the convent, without leave from the maſter and council.

Br. BAPTIST URSINI.

18. We forbid all perſons, as well brothers as ſeculars, to fit out in the convent either galleys, galiots or other veſſels, of any ſort whatever, without leave from the maſter and ordinary council, on pain of confiſcation of the veſſel, and forfeiture of it to the treaſury.

Br. RAIMOND ZACOSTA.

19. This leave ſhall be given in writing: ſuch as make uſe of it to fit out ſhips, ſhall be obliged to give ſufficient ſecurity, that they will do no harm to Chriſtians, or their effects. It ſhall be granted to none but brothers that have reſided five years in the convent. Such however as come from the Weſt to the aſſiſtance of the order, may fit out ſhips without any ſuch licenſe.

Br. CLAUDE DE LA SENGLE.

20. Such brothers as fit out ſhips with leave from the maſter and council, ſhall keep their ſeniority, as much as if they were reſident in the convent.

That no ſafe conduct be given to corſairs.

Br. PETER RAIMOND ZACOSTA.

21. We forbid all perſons whatever, except the maſter and council, to give for the future any paſs or ſafe conduct to corſairs, (and they ſhall not do it unleſs in caſes of neceſſity): nor ſhall any be granted to deſerters and bankrupts, unleſs there be very important reaſons for ſo doing.

That no truce be made but by the maſter and council.

Br. BAPTIST URSINI.

22. To avoid ſcandal, and other inconveniences that may happen, we forbid any peace or truce to be made in the order, with the Turks, Moors, and other Infidels, unleſs it be firſt reſolved on by the maſter and council: if any be made otherwiſe, it ſhall be null and void.

That no engines or artillery be carried out of the iſland.

23. We ordain, that no cannon, culverins, engines, artillery, powder and ſalt-peter belonging to the treaſury be carried out of the iſland, and other places of the order, in any manner, or under any pretence whatſoever. The maſter and compleat council, however, may take them out in caſe of neceſſity, and ſend them to other places, as the caſe ſhall require.

That the brothers do not engage in wars between Chriſtian princes.

Br. JOHN FERDINAND D'HEREDIA.

24. We forbid all and every of our brothers to engage in wars made by Chriſtians upon one another, on pain of being deprived of the habit; and tho' the offender be afterwards reſtor'd it by ſpecial grace, he ſhall be for ten years excluded from the adminiſtration of the commandries, eſtates and benefices of the order, none of which can be conferred upon him till after the expiration of the ten years. We likewiſe forbid the priors, caſtellan of Empoſta, and commanders, to allow any brothers to ſerve in the armies of Chriſtian princes, unleſs they have received an expreſs order from the prince whoſe ſubjects they are; in conſideration whereof they may grant them leave to go, but not to carry the arms or colours of the order; yet if it be in defence of the order, or they attend the great prior in ſuch wars, they have leave to carry them.

That no body aſk for any office in the council.

Br. CLAUDE DE LA SENGLE.

25. We forbid our brothers for the future to come into council to petition for offices, as we do the maſter and council to admit ſuch petitions: they ſhall of themſelves diſpoſe of poſts to ſuch as they judge fit to diſcharge them well. Such as offend againſt the preſent ſtatute, ſhall be diſqualified to be put in any for the whole year afterwards.

That no body go abroad without the habit.

26. Such as ſhall go abroad without the habit, or do not wear the linen croſs ſewed upon it, in ſuch a manner as to be ſeen by all the world, ſhall be condemned, for the firſt time, to the quarantaine; for the ſecond offence they ſhall be impriſoned in the tower for three months; and for the third, they ſhall be deprived of the habit.

That no exception be made to a brother under proſecution, ſo as to hinder his getting a commandry, till after he be condemned.

27. If any brother be informed againſt, or accuſed of any offence, fault or negligence, he ſhall not be deemed a criminal, to hinder his obtaining any commandry that might fall to him, till after his condemnation, tho' he ſhould be actually in priſon on ſuch account. A perſon that is condemned is diſqualified to have any commandry, benefice, or other office of the order, till he is either pardoned, or has ſuffered the penalty inflicted on him.

That the brothers make no noiſe in their inns.

28. If a brother be guilty of any inſolence or indecency in the inn where he eats; if he break the doors, benches, tables, or any thing of the like nature, or fling them away careleſly, he ſhall be puniſhed by the maſter and council, in proportion to the fault he has committed, ſo far as to be deprived of his ſtanding incluſively. Whoever ſhall ſtrike the piliers, pages, ſervants or ſlaves, tho' he draws no blood, ſhall be puniſhed with the quarantaine for the firſt offence, with ſix months impriſonment for the ſecond, and with the loſs of two years of his ſtanding for the third. If blood be drawn, but the hurt ſlight, he ſhall lie ſix months in priſon for the firſt time; but if it be conſiderable, he ſhall loſe his ſtanding.

Br. JOHN L'EVESQUE DE LA CASSIERE.

29. Such as ſhall give ill language to a brother in the maſter's palace, ſhall loſe three years ſtanding, acquired, or to be acquired; if it be in an inn, they ſhall loſe only two years. If they draw their ſword, or give a box or kick, they ſhall be expelled, without a poſſibility of pardon. If the perſon that is wounded die, they ſhall, beſides the loſs of the habit, be delivered over to the ſecular arm.

Crimes for which the brothers are deprived of the habit.

Br. NICHOLAS LORGUE.

30. 'Tis a ſhame to ſee our habit worn by perſons infected with crimes: it ſhall therefore be taken away from ſuch as ſhall be guilty of the following ones, viz. hereſy, ſodomy, murder, robbery, or deſertion to the Infidels. Thoſe likewiſe ſhall be deprived of it that abandon our banner or ſtandard, when it is diſplayed againſt the Infidels, or deſert their brothers in an engagement: ſuch likewiſe as deliver up any caſtle or other place to the Infidels, or are in any wiſe adviſing or aſſiſting to ſuch ſurrender; which caſe however is reſerved to the cognizance of the maſter and council. Such likewiſe as ſhall go out of a caſtle that lies on the frontier of the Infidels, any other way than by the gate.

Such

SUCH as ſhall voluntarily and without leave have quitted the order three times to enter into any other, ſhall never be admitted to it again. Such as have given falſe teſtimony, or have in time of war gone about marauding and pillaging, on horſeback or on foot, ſhall loſe the habit, and not be reſtored for a year. Such as accuſe others of any of theſe crimes, and undertake to prove them, ſhall be deprived of the habit, if they do not make good their charge.

Br. CLAUDE DE LA SENGLE.

31. SUCH as ſhall forge any letters of our order, or of other perſons, and ſuch as are convicted of perjury, ſhall be expelled the order.

Br. PETER DE CORNILLAN.

32. IF any brother kills a man, he ſhall be deprived of the habit for ever, and put in priſon, to deter others from committing the like crimes, and to preſerve peace and quietneſs in the order.

Br. CLAUDE DE LA SENGLE.

33. WHOEVER, either in ſecret or deſignedly, wounds another, be he a brother or a ſecular, tho' never ſo ſlightly, he ſhall loſe the habit for ever.

Br. JOHN L'EVESQUE DE LA CASSIERE.

34. SUCH as have been condemned in the office of the inquiſition, and wore the habit of penance, ſhall never be admitted to wear ours: if they have been already admitted, we forbid them to wear it.

Of ſuch as ſtrike others.

CUSTOM.

35. IF any brother ſtrikes another, he ſhall be put to the quarantaine: if he draws any blood of him, otherwiſe than at the noſe or mouth, he ſhall loſe the habit: if he offers to ſtrike him with a knife, a ſword, or a ſtone, he ſhall ſuffer the quarantaine, tho' he did not hit him.

Moderation of the foregoing ſtatute.

Br. JOHN L'EVESQUE DE LA CASSIERE.

36. WHEREAS it ſeems to us too ſevere to deprive a brother of the habit for a ſlight hurt that may have drawn blood from any other place than the noſe or mouth; and it is ſometimes proper to temper the rigour of the laws, we allow the maſter and council to moderate the puniſhment of a brother that ſhall have hurt another, according to the nature and circumſtances of the fault.

Of the puniſhment of ſuch brothers as kill others treacherouſly.

Br. PETER DU MONT.

37. IF any brother ſhall kill another brother, or a ſecular, treacherouſly, with any ſort of weapon whatever, or cauſe him to be ſo killed, he ſhall be deprived of the habit, and delivered over immediately to the ſecular arm. The accomplices of his crime ſhall be puniſhed in the ſame manner.

Of the penalties to be inflicted on ſuch as either ſend or accept a challenge to fight a duel.

Br. JOHN L'EVESQUE DE LA CASSIERE.

38. As we are deſirous to put a ſtop to the impiety of ſuch, as without any regard to the welfare of their ſouls, fight duels, and expoſe their bodies to be killed, we enact, that if any brother ſhall give a challenge to another, by word or by writing, by a meſſenger, or in any other manner whatever, tho' the challenge be not accepted, he ſhall be deprived of the habit for ever, without hopes of pardon, beſides the penalties decreed by the council of Trent, and the bull of Pope Gregory XIII. of bleſſed memory.

If the perſon challenged accepts it, though he ſhould not appear on the ſpot, they ſhall both be deprived of the habit without hopes of pardon: if they come to the place appointed, though no blood be ſhed, they ſhall be delivered over to the ſecular arm. Whoever ſhall give occaſion for a duel, ſhall adviſe, aſſiſt, or abet it, either in fact or right, or ſhall in any manner whatever perſuade any body to offer a challenge, or ſhall ſerve for a ſecond in a duel, or ſhall be called to be by as a ſpectator, or ſhall poſt up the challenge, or cauſe it to be poſted up in any place whatever, ſhall likewiſe be deprived of the habit.

Of brothers that cauſe any diſturbance by night or day.

Br. CLAUDE DE LA SENGLE.

39. We enact, that if any brother raiſes a tumult againſt another brother, or any body elſe, in the day or in the night time, with any ſort of arms whatever, in the convent or in any other part of the iſland whatever, he ſhall be deprived of the habit. Such too as ſhall be found maſked in the night time, with offenſive weapons either upon or under their cloaths, going about by themſelves, or in company without arms, ſhall be impriſoned in the tower for ſix months.

Of profane ſwearing.

CUSTOM.

40. If any brother ſweats publickly, he ſhall be reprimanded for the firſt time, and admoniſhed to do ſo no more; if he repeats his crime, he ſhall be put to the ſeptaine, and for the third offence to the quarantaine; and if he ſtill perſiſt in it, he ſhall be expelled the order.

Of blaſphemy.

Br. PETER D'AUBUSSON.

41. We enact, that ſuch as deny or blaſpheme the holy name of God, or thoſe of the bleſſed virgin, or the ſaints, ſhall be put to the quarantaine for the firſt offence, confined two months in the tower for the ſecond, and for the third ſhall be impriſoned there till it ſhall pleaſe the maſter and council to ſet them at liberty.

Of affronts.

Br. CLAUDE DE LA SENGLE.

42. If any brother ſhall, in a diſpute with another, give him ill language, he ſhall be put to the quarantaine, though he owns he lied, and is ſorry for it. If he gives him the lie, he ſhall loſe two years of his ſtanding. If he ſays ſcandalous things of him, he ſhall be puniſhed at the diſcretion of the maſter and council, according to the quality of the perſon, and groſſneſs of the ſcandal. Whoever ſhall ſtrike a brother with a cane or ſtick, give him a box or any blow of the like nature, ſhall loſe three years of his ſtanding.

Of ſuch as ſtrike ſeculars.

Br. PETER RAIMOND ZACOSTA.

43. We enact, that if any brother of the order happens to ſtrike a ſecular with a ſtick, ſword, or any other inſtrument, in private or in publick, of himſelf or by any other perſon, he ſhall be ſhut up in the tower for two months. If the hurts are conſiderable, he ſhall loſe his ſtanding: which penalty ſhall be inflicted on ſuch as act the highwayman or gladiator in behalf of any body that has challenged another. If he happens to kill a man, he ſhall be deprived of the habit, without a poſſibility of being reſtored to it, and ſhall be impriſoned for the reſt of his life. In ſuch caſes the offender ſhall not get off for the ſeptaine or the quarantaine, and though he has gone through both of them, he ſhall ſtill be puniſhed as is here enacted.

Of ſuch as inſult or diſturb the people.

Br. EMERY D'AMBOISE.

44. We enact, that whoever ſhall, without being invited, or the good liking of the father of the family, enter into the houſe of any citizen or inhabitant, at their entertainments, dancings, marriages, or other amuſements, ſhall loſe two years of his ſtanding for the benefit of his juniors, without hopes of reſtitution. Such as ſhall either in the day or night time offer any violence to the doors or windows of our ſubjects, beſides the penalties above-mentioned, ſhall be put in cloſe priſon for ſo long as the maſter and council pleaſe. The accuſer may bring ſeculars to atteſt it; and ſuch as make maſquerades ſhall incur the like penalty.

Br. CLAUDE DE LA SENGLE.

45. Whoever breaks any doors or windows in the night time, walls them up, or daubs them with any naſtineſs, or throws ſtones at them, ſhall loſe three years of his ſtanding; beſides which, the maſter and council may inflict any farther penalty on him that they ſee fit. If he ſets them on fire and burns them, he ſhall be deprived of the habit; if no damage was done, he ſhall come off with the loſs of three years of his ſtanding.

That no body offer to take up or ſeize the ſpoils of brothers deceaſed, or other dues of the treaſury.

Br. ELION DE VILLENEUVE.

46. The ſpoils of our brothers belong of right to our treaſury: ſo that none but ſuch as are commiſſioned by it, are allowed to take, ſeize, or carry off the ready money, gold and ſilver plate, jewels and other effects left by our deceaſed brothers. If any body elſe ſhall take above the value of a mark of ſilver, he ſhall be deprived of the habit: if what he has taken does not amount to ſo much, he ſhall only be put to the quarantaine. Such as ſhall preſume to touch the reſponſions and dues belonging to the treaſury, the maſter and the convent ſhall loſe the habit, and what has been taken away, ſhall be made good to the treaſury out of the delinquent's effects.

Moderation of the foregoing ſtatute.

47. Whereas it ſeems too ſevere to deprive a religious of the habit for any ſum whatever exceeding a mark of ſilver, becauſe faults appear more or leſs heinous, according to the circumſtances that attend them, and the nature thereof, which ought to be duly conſidered, we enact, that whenever the maſter ſhall complain, that the order has been wronged of more than a mark of ſilver, his complaint ſhall be firſt laid before the council, where they ſhall carefully examine into the nature of the fault: and if it be proved by good depoſitions, by facts well circumſtantiated, or by the confeſſion of the perſon accuſed, the complaint ſhall be brought before the publick aſſembly: the perſon accuſed ſhall be heard before the egard, where the affair ſhall be duly examined, they ſhall there weigh the nature and circumſtances of the fault on one ſide, and the behaviour and manner of life of the accuſed on the other, and after a ſerious examination of the whole, ſhall judge of it according to equity.

Br. JOHN DE LA VALETTE.

48. Besides the penalty inflicted by the foregoing ſtatutes, we enact, that if any body has carried off the ſpoils, or other dues of the common treaſury, and his juniors can prove it, they ſhall be preferred before him in the diſpoſal of commandries and other eſtates: but if after having charged him with the fact, they cannot make proof of it, they ſhall incur the ſame penalty.

Br. DIEU-DONNE DE GOZON.

49. To put a ſtop to the inſolence of the perverſe, we enact, that if any brother whatever ſhall fly in the face of his ſuperior, or revolt and ſeize on a caſtle or other fortreſs to oppoſe the prior or caſtellan of Empoſta, or any other that

is his proper ſuperior, he ſhall be condemned to loſe the habit, and be put in priſon.

Of ſuch as keep concubines.

Br. ANTHONY FLUVIAN.

50. It has been very wiſely enacted that no brother, of what quality ſoever he be, ſhould be allowed to have, keep, or maintain, concubines in his own houſe or elſewhere, or to have any commerce with them. If any one, forgetting his reputation and honour, ſhall offer to do ſo, and is publickly taken notice of for it, or convicted of it, either by irreproachable witneſſes, or by his own confeſſion; and after being thrice admoniſhed by his ſuperior to put away that ſcandal from him, ſhall ſtill continue in the ſame manner of life for forty days, reckoning from the firſt admonition given him, he ſhall, if he is a commander, be deprived of his commandries without any other formality; if he be a brother of the convent, he ſhall loſe his ſtanding immediately; and both of them, if convicted thereof, ſhall be deprived of it: and in caſe they ſhould be afterwards reſtored, they ſhall be for ten years incapable of having any commandry, reckoning from the day of their being reſtored to the habit. The brothers of obedidience ſhall be deprived of the habit, and all ſorts of adminiſtration. The priors too, and the caſtellan of Empoſta, if they are convicted of this crime, and do not reform after being admoniſhed three times in the manner above-mentioned by the maſter and convent, ſhall loſe the habit and their priories, as has been determined with regard to others.

Br. PHILIP DE VILLERS DE LISLE-ADAM.

51. If any brother is impudent enough to own publickly, and breed up a child born out of lawful wedlock, (which the laws exclude from being deemed of his family,) and call him by his own and family's name, as if he was his own ſon, he ſhall be excluded for ever from all dignities, poſts, and offices in our order. We enact that ſuch publick keepers of concubines, which ought rather to be ſtiled inceſtuous, adulterous, and ſacrilegious wretches, ſhall be incapacitated to have any eſtate, dignity, office, or benefice whatever. If they be already preſented to any, we order them to be deprived thereof, and expelled the order.

By publick keepers of concubines we mean, not only ſuch whoſe concubinage is known, as the canons ſay, by any ſentence, or by a confeſſion judicially made, or becauſe the thing is ſo notorious, that it cannot be diſguiſed, but likewiſe ſuch as without any fear of God or man, and without any regard to their profeſſion, keep and maintain women ſuſpected of incontinency, or ſcandalous for it, live with them, or elſe ſee them frequently and familiarly.

Caſes in which the brothers are to be puniſhed with the ſeptaine.

CUSTOM.

52. Whoever does not come to the aſſemblies, or ſtays away from divine ſervice; whoever, when he is coming out of the ſeptaine, does not return thanks to God; whoever interrupts the debates of counſellors in the council, or eats without his habit, and ſuch as their ſuperior complains of for throwing reflections upon others, ſhall be puniſhed with the ſeptaine.

Caſes in which the brothers incur the penalty of the quarantaine.

CUSTOM.

53. Such as do not obey orders in war, cannot be puniſhed with a leſs penalty: ſuch as play at cards, or dice, to win or loſe money: ſuch as intrench upon other peoples offices, and brothers that eat at publick houſes and taverns, are likewiſe to be puniſhed with it.

The manner of executing the ſeptaine.

CUSTOM.

54. The brother condemned to it, ſhall faſt for ſeven days together: they ſhall on Wedneſday and Friday give him nothing but bread and water, and ſhall receive the diſcipline every day in the following manner. After taking off his mantle, he ſhall kneel devoutly before the altar, in the preſence of a prieſt of our order, who ſhall laſh him with a rod over the ſhoulders, ſaying the pſalm, Deus miſereatur noſtri &c. Kyrie eleiſon, Chriſte eleiſon, Pater noſter &c. Salvum fac ſervum tuum. ℟. Deus meus ſperantem in te. ℣. Mitte ei auxilium de ſancto. ℟. Et de Sion tucre eum. ℣. Eſto ei Domine turris fortitudinis. ℟. A facie inimici. ℣. Domine exaudi orationem meam. ℟. Et cum ſpiritu tuo. Oremus Deum cui proprium, &c. The brother ſhall afterwards riſe up, put on his mantle again, and kiſs the bailiff or ſuperior.

The manner of inflicting the quarantaine.

55. He that is condemned to it, ſhall faſt forty days together, and on Wedneſdays and Fridays ſhall have nothing but bread and water; he ſhall eat upon the ground, and undergo the diſcipline in the following manner. He ſhall appear before the prieſt without any cloaths on, naked and barefoot: and whilſt the prieſt is laſhing him over the ſhoulders with a rod, he ſhall ſay the pſalm, Miſerere mei Deus, and the prayers above-mentioned.

Such as paſs through the ſeptaine and quarantaine are not allowed to ſtir from home, unleſs it be to go to church, where they are to be preſent at all the offices. Such as ſhall be condemned to two or three ſeptains or quarantains, ſhall receive the diſcipline for only one ſeptaine or quarantaine. Such as ſhall be condemned to the quarantaine and the ſeptaine, ſhall undergo only the diſcipline of one of them; but they are not to wear arms all that time, but muſt go dreſſed in a long robe with the mantle of the order.

Of perſons condemned three times to the tower.

Br. PETER D'AUBUSSON.

56. We ordain, that if any brother be condemned three times to be impriſoned in the tower, he ſhall loſe three years of his ſtanding: if the maſter and council do not think fit to moderate the penalty, in regard to the nature of the offence.

That the languages or priories ſhall have no authority to reſtore any body to his ſtanding.

Br. PETER DU MONT.

57. We enact that ſuch as have been condemned to loſe their ſtanding, ſhall not be reſtored to it by the grace of the languages or priories: the maſter ſhall have no power to give them a licenſe to treat of it; and if he does ſo, it ſhall be null, as well as any ſuch grace, if they offer to grant it.

Of ſuch as quit the habit out of the convent.

Br. ELION DE VILLENEUVE.

58. If any brother out of the convent, by the force of any temptation, or out of the inconſtancy of his nature, quits the habit of the order, and repenting afterwards, deſires to reſume it, he may come with ſafety and freedom to the convent, and go into the hoſpital of the ſick, where the director of the infirmary ſhall take care to ſupply him with every thing that is neceſſary for him, till the maſter and council have come to a reſolution either to grant or refuſe him pardon. In this latter caſe he ſhall have his liberty to retire where he pleaſes.

Of obedience.

Br. CLAUDE DE LA SENGLE.

59. THERE is nothing that we ought to keep up with greater care than obedience, without which every ſociety muſt fall to ruine: we therefore order, in conformity to our old ſtatutes, that all our brothers in general, and every one of them in particular, obey the juſt and lawful commands and commiſſions of the maſter or their ſuperior, without excuſing themſelves from doing ſo on any account whatever. The brothers of the convent that do not obey their orders ſhall be puniſh'd with the ſeptaine for the firſt offence, and with the quarantaine for the ſecond. If any one be obſtinate enough not to obey at the third command, he ſhall be deprived of the habit, in caſe he was regularly complained of every time that he diſobeyed.

THE ſame method ſhall be obſerved out of the convent in the priories; provided ſtill that the penalty of deprivation of the habit be reſerved always to the maſter and convent, whither the priors are to ſend an account of their proceedings againſt ſuch contumacious rebels. If any of our brothers that are out of the convent, receive an order from the maſter and convent, and refuſe to obey it the moment he receives it, he ſhall, as ſoon as they have notice of his diſobebedience, be deprived of the habit, without any other form of proſecution, citation, or admonition, unleſs within nine months from the time that their command is ſignified to him, he acquaints the maſter with the reaſons of his refuſal, and alledges juſt and ſufficient impediments for his excuſe.

The priors and caſtellan of Empoſta are obliged at their own expence, within their ſeveral diſtricts, to take care of the execution of the ſentences and ordinances of the maſter and council, and the general and provincial chapters, and the proviſions, mandates, citations, and reſcripts ſent by the maſter and convent, which ſhall be directed to them for the publick affairs of the order: ſuch as relate to the particular affairs of the priories, ſhall be executed at the expence of ſuch as are intereſted in them. If they refuſe to execute them, after being duly required to do ſo, they ſhall loſe a year's revenue of one of their priorial chambers for the firſt time; two years revenue for the ſecond, and for the third offence the revenue of the chamber ſhall be forfeited to the treaſury for the reſt of their life. In caſe they perſiſt in their contumacy, or negligence, they ſhall be deprived of their priories, and all other adminiſtrations whatever.

WE enjoin our receivers in the priories, in caſe the priors refuſe to be at this expence, to advance it out of the money of our treaſury, and put it down in their accompts to the charge of the priors. In caſe the orders are directed to the bailiffs, commanders, or other brothers, the bailiff or commander for the firſt refuſal or default of executing them, ſhall loſe the third of a year's revenue of his bailliage or commandry; for the ſecond two thirds; and for the third a whole year's revenue, which ſhall be paid into the treaſury. For the fourth, they ſhall be deprived of their bailliage and commandry, which ſhall devolve to the maſter and convent to be diſpoſed of by them. The brothers of the convent ſhall for the firſt refuſal loſe one year of their ſtanding, two for the ſecond, three for the third, and for the fourth ſhall loſe it for ever, unleſs the execution of theſe mandates be enjoined under higher penalties: they ſhall be likewiſe obliged to make good the damage occaſioned by ſuch delay.

Of ill adminiſtrators.

60. SUCH as by their fault or negligence ſhall let the priories, caſtellany of Empoſta, commandries, houſes or other eſtates entruſted to their adminiſtration, fall to decay, ſhall, as ſoon as ſuch decay is perceived, be deprived for ever of the adminiſtration thereof, as ill adminiſtrators, without hopes of ever obtaining any other. Such as ſhall fell and make waſte in foreſts and woods of large trees, ſhall be puniſhed with the ſame penalties, unleſs they employ the timber in reparing the buildings which they are to keep up, or for the uſe of the houſe they dwell in; in which laſt however they are to uſe none but decayed wood,

that is of little or no profit. As for copſe woods, which are cut after a certain number of years, they ſhall conform to the ordinary cuſtom of the country.

Br. JOHN DE LA VALETTE.

61. We further enjoin the priors and caſtellan of Empoſta, as ſoon as they perceive themſelves, which it is their duty to look after, or are informed by others, of the negligence or ill œconomy of any adminiſtrator, to take away the adminiſtration from them, and give it to ſome diſcreet and truſty brother, to order and manage it, till they have examined well into the matter, and ſent an account of it to the maſter and convent, to make proper proviſion in the caſe.

If the prior, caſtellan of Empoſta, or bailiff, are themſelves guilty of the like fault, the provincial chapter or aſſembly, after being fully informed and convinced of the fact, ſhall at the inſtance of the receiver or procurator of the treaſury, chooſe one or two commanders, men of probity, and of tried fidelity, to manage the priory or bailliage, till the maſter and convent, to whom they ſhall tranſmit the informations, ſhall take ſuch order in the caſe, as in their prudence they ſee fit.

Of the puniſhment of ſuch as ſtay away from divine ſervice.

Br. CLAUDE DE LA SENGLE.

62. Our brothers that ſhall upon holy days neglect to go to the church of our convent, to hear divine ſervice, and particularly to be at maſs, veſpers and proceſſions, ſhall, if they had no lawful impediment, be puniſhed with the ſeptaine: ſuch as ſhall be found, at the time of divine ſervice, in the ſtreets, or ſquares, or walking in other churches, ſhall undergo the quarantaine.

That the brothers ſhall not uſe any ill language in their pleading.

63. We forbid all our brothers to give ill language to one another, in the preſence of the maſter and council, or before any other court of the order, or commiſſaries deputed by it. Such as are guilty of this fault, if what they ſay be of a ſhocking nature, they ſhall loſe their cauſe immediately, without any other proof or allegation, and be impriſoned for ſix months: but if it be a ſlight matter, they ſhall get off with a confinement of three months.

That no brother wear arms in the convent at the time of a general chapter.

Br. JOHN L'EVESQUE DE LA CASSIERE.

64. We forbid the brothers of our convent to wear, either offenſive or defenſive, arms in the palace at the time that a general chapter is held, except the maſter's ſervant, and ſuch as he ſhall give leave to wear them, on pain of loſing three years ſtanding, whether they are actually ſo much, or are ſtill to acquire it.

Of

Of the Meaning of Terms.

TITLE XIX.

Br. CLAUDE DE LA SENGLE.

1. BY the name of Brothers, we mean all persons that have made profession in the order.

2. THE Convent is the place where the master or his lieutenant, the church, the infirmary, and the inns, or eight languages, are together.

3. THE Statutes and regulations of our order, are such decrees as are made to be observed for ever, unless repealed by a general chapter. The Ordinances are only observed from one chapter to another, unless they are expressly confirmed there.

4. AN Auberge is a term well known to the French, Spaniards and Italians; it signifies an inn, and is the usual name of the houses where the brothers eat together, according to their languages, and assemble in.

5. THE Piliers are the eight conventual bailiffs, who are the head, presidents, and pillars, as it were, of their respective nations, and are therefore stiled Piliers.

6. UNDER the name of Bailiff, are comprehended the conventual bailiffs, the capitulary bailiffs, the priors and castellan of Emposta. The term Baillie, in old French, signifies the prefect, or administrator of houses or other estates; on which account our predecessors called commandries by the name of Baillie, or Bailliage. And the French still use the word Bail to signify leases of lands for a certain time, and on certain conditions.

7. MARSHAL, which is the title of the conventual bailiff of the venerable language of Auvergne, is a military term which the French have borrowed from the Germans, to signify the Tribune or commander of a good body of soldiers.

8. TURCOPOLIER, which is the title of the conventual bailiff of the venerable language of England, takes its name from the Turcopoles, a sort of light horse that we read of in the history of the wars of the Christians in Palestine.

9. WHEREVER the Council is mentioned simply and absolutely in our statutes, and in the books of the chancery, it is always meant of the ordinary council.

10. EGARD is a French word, that signifies consideration or respect. 'Tis a very ancient court, and the first that was established in the hospital.

11. RENFORT is a word taken from the same language, and signifies fortifying or re-inforcement: so that Renfort de Renfort, is the same as to say, re-inforcement of the re-inforcement.

12. EVERY thing that is said of the priors, is to be understood likewise of the castellan of Emposta: and whenever priories are mentioned, that castellany is understood to be comprehended under that term.

13. THE French terms of Assembly, or Congregation, signify the same thing. The first is used to specify when our brothers meet together to treat about the affairs of the order.

14. IN all assemblies of the priories out of the convent, there must always be three brothers that have been received in the convent, besides the president.

15. UNDER the term Commandry, are comprehended the priories, castellany of Emposta, bailliages, demesnes, members, houses, lands, and estates of all sorts, belonging to the order.

16. WHENEVER our statutes or bulls use the term Benefice, they mean an ecclesiastical benefice, either with or without a cure of souls.

17. BY the term Mortuary, is meant all the produce of a commandry, from the commander's decease, to the first of May following.

18. THE Vacancy is the produce of the commandry for one year, after the mortuary is expired, and belongs to the treasury.

19. ARREARS are old debts, or what is still left unpaid.

20. BY

20. By the Treaſury-dues, are meant the ſpoils of brothers deceaſed, the mortuary, vacancy, the reſponſions, impoſts, penſions, paſſage fees, and arrears.

21. In default of paying theſe dues, our brothers are deemed Debtors, ſo as to be deprived of their commandries and adminiſtrations, and diſqualified to have any others. They are not for other ſort of debts deemed debtors to the treaſury for ſuch an effect, unleſs they have been firſt duly admoniſhed to pay them, by the receivers and procurators in the priories, and by the conventual conſervator in the convent, and have either been condemned to do ſo, or have confeſſed the debts.

22. Chevissement comes from the old French word Cheveir, which ſignifies to undertake an enterprize one hopes to go thro' with. 'Tis uſed to ſignify the firſt commandry a brother gets in right of his ſeniority.

23. Mutition is another old French word, which ſignifies a naming or pronouncing; Meutir in old French being the ſame as to name or pronounce. The brothers uſe this term in the languages to declare the perſon upon whom the vacant commandry is conferred.

24. By Fiarnauds are meant ſuch as were laſt profeſſed in the order, and may be called Freſhmen. 'Tis likewiſe an old French word, commonly uſed in the Holy Land, where ſuch as were born of Chriſtian parents in that country were called Polans; but ſuch as come to them from countries beyond the ſea, where they were born, were termed Fiarnauds.

25. The term Languages, expreſſes the different nations in our order.

26. The term Collect, which is taken from the Latin colligere, and ſignifies to get together; is uſed when our brothers aſſemble together to treat of ſomething that concerns their language or inn.

27. Such as are deprived of the habit, are deemed to be deprived likewiſe of their commandries, benefices and ſtanding, tho' it be not ſo particularly expreſſed, and are to be kept in priſon for the reſt of their lives.

28. When the ſtatute ſpecifies no particular puniſhment, it is to be underſtood to leave it to the diſcretion of the ſuperior.

29. Plainte is a French word, eaſy enough to be underſtood.

30. Caravane, in the Syriac and Arabic tongues, ſignifies a company of men that form a ſociety for trafficking together. Our predeceſſors made uſe of this term when they picked out brothers to diſtribute them into garriſons, and on board the galleys, or to ſend them in companies to other places.

31. Solde comes from Sol, a term uſed by the French, Spaniards and Italians, to ſignify a ſort of money which was the pay of the ſoldiers.

32. Gigliats, ſo called from the Italian Giglio, which ſignifies a lily, are a ſilver coin marked with a flower-de-lis, the arms of France. Six of them go to make a florin of Rhodes. Some have fancied this coin was ſo called from the maſter Robert de Juli, who ordered a Gigliat to be given annually upon Shrove-Monday to every brother, but this is not very certain.

33. The Florin of Rhodes is worth twenty Turkiſh Aſpres; an aſpre is worth ſixteen Rhodian pence; three florins of Rhodes. Six aſpres and eight pence make a crown of the ſun.

34. The Janets were likewiſe a ſilver coin, ſo called from Janus King of Cyprus, whoſe effigies was ſtamped on them.

35. The Diſappropriation, or giving up ones property is, when the brothers make a declaration of all the furniture, goods and effects they have.

36. All brothers that die in coming to the convent, or in returning thence, are deemed to die in the convent.

Br. JOHN D'OMEDES.

37. The term Parents, in the proofs of the brother knights, takes in the father, mother, grandfathers and grandmothers on both the father's and mother's ſide.

CONCLU-

Concluſion of the STATUTES.

Br. HUGH DE LOUBENX VERDALE.

THE preſent chapter does not order, intend or mean by this renewing, reformation, and new publication of the ſtatutes, to derogate from, or prejudice in any manner, either directly or indirectly, the dignities and prerogatives of any perſon whatever. We therefore, by the authority of the chapter joined with our own, do enact, decree, eſtabliſh, ordain, and expreſly declare, that the preſent renewal, ordering and new edition of the rule, ſtatutes, cuſtoms and uſages of our order ſhall not be made uſe of, under any pretence whatſoever, to make any alteration in the ranks, order, ſeats, precedence, authority, prerogatives and privileges of the maſter, the church, the hoſpital or infirmary, the common treaſury, the conventual and capitulary baillis, the priors, the caſtellan of Empoſta, the eight languages, or the brothers that compoſe them, knights, chaplains or ſervants, or of the collations of priories, or the agreements, conventions and concordats about the collations of grace, which belong to the languages, priories, or caſtellany of Empoſta, made by the brothers that compoſe them with the priors and caſtellan. But our will is, that the ſaid privileges, prerogatives and concordats made with the ſaid priors and caſtellan, with regard to the ſaid collations, ſhall be and remain really, and in fact, in the ſame condition, force and obligation as they were before this renewal, which is made with this expreſs reſerve and intention, that it do not affect or prejudice them in any reſpect.

WHICH laws and ſtatutes, after having carefully and diligently peruſed, examined and conſidered them, we do, by theſe preſents, commend, approve, accept and confirm, as holy, juſt, uſeful and neceſſary to our order, with the authority of the general chapter, and eſtabliſh them anew, expunging, repealing, vacating, cancelling and annulling all other ſtatutes, egards and uſages contained in the old collections of our ſtatutes whatever.

WE declare however and enact, that the preſent renewal ſhall no ways affect the privileges and exemptions of our order, the dignities, ranks, ſeats, preeminences and prerogatives of the maſter, baillis, priors, caſtellan of Empoſta, languages or brothers, of what degree and condition ſoever they be; and we enjoin them, in virtue of their holy obedience, to obſerve the ſaid ſtatutes and every thing therein contained, for the future, inviolably for ever; to obey them ſincerely, to deem and keep them as true laws, and take care that they be obſerved as ſuch. In witneſs whereof we have put our ordinary leaden ſeal to theſe preſents. Given at Malta in our convent, during the ſeſſions of the general chapter, on the twenty third day of July, 1584.

Br. DIEGO DE OVANDO, Vice-chancellor.

ORDINANCES.

Of the general chapter held A. D. 1631. by the moſt eminent and moſt reverend grand maſter,

Br. ANTHONY DE PAULE.

IN the name of the moſt holy and undivided trinity, father, ſon and holy ghoſt, Amen. The ſixteen moſt reverend capitulary lords, choſen by the eminent and moſt reverend lord brother Anthony de Paule grand maſter, and the ſacred general chapter on Wedneſday May 14, 1631. the third day of the chapter being no holy day, and deputed commiſſaries to conſult, decree, and ordain every thing that may promote the honour and ſervice of the ſacred order and knights of the hoſpital of St. John of Jeruſalem, being retired the ſame day into the uſual conclave, in preſence of the moſt illuſtrious lord Louis Seriſtorio, inqui-

ſitor general in this iſland, deputed by our holy father pope Urban VIII. and the holy apoſtolic ſee, and preſiding there, for the obſervation of his holineſs's brief, which was there read and publiſhed the ſame day, after taking the oath and receiving the charge of the moſt eminent and moſt reverend lord grand maſter, having their own duty, and the tenour of the ſtatutes before their eyes, void of all paſſion and intereſt, and looking up to our lord Jeſus Chriſt ſuffering and dying for us, they have continued their ſeſſion from the ſaid third day to the twentieth capitulary day, being no feſtival; and the moſt illuſtrious lord preſident having then, at the deſire of his eminence, prolonged the chapter by his apoſtolical authority, the ſaid ſixteen lords meeting again on the ſeventh of the preſent month of June, at the ſound of the bell, as uſual, at the motion of the venerable lord brother, Touſſaints de Terves Boiſgirant, hoſpitaller, as the principal perſon of their number, being all united in brotherly love, after ſeriouſly weighing and debating every particular point referred to them, and making uſe of ballotting wherever it was neceſſary, have ordained, conſtituted and decreed as follows.

Of the RULE.

TITLE I.

1. THE reverend lords the ſixteen, after duly weighing the difficulties that have been always found in the execution of what was ordered formerly about the collachio, and how conducive it is to the ſervice of God and the good of the order to erect a place for the novices in the manner begun lately, purſuant to the decree of the venerable council on January 7, 1629. for the knights and ſervants of arms, viz. by dividing them into three different colleges for each of the three nations, the French, Italian and Spaniſh, leaving the Germans to make uſe of which of them they pleaſe; and to erect likewiſe a cloiſter or habitation for the brother chaplains, clergy, ſubdeacons, deacons and prieſts reſiding in the convent, who ſhall be all obliged to live there, purſuant to the tenour of the third article about the church made by the precedent general chapter, except ſuch as are actually employed in the publick offices of the order and treaſury, or in the ſervice of the moſt eminent the grand maſter, and the magiſtral palace, and the two chamberfuls of them belonging to the biſhop of Malta, and the two others depending on the prior of the church, provided they dwell in their houſes: As for all the reſt, we require them to go and live there under the authority of the reverend prior of the church and his ſubprior, on pain of being puniſhed as diſobedient perſons, according to the tenour of the fifty ninth article of the title of prohibitions and penalties.

AND whereas, by reaſon of the low condition of the treaſury, which is in a manner quite drained at preſent, it has not been practicable as yet to put theſe regulations in execution, it has been therefore now ordained, by way of ballot, that the firſt paſſage fees that ſhall be paid to the ſervants of the order for diſpenſations of minority, granted by the preſent chapter, or to be granted hereafter, as far as the ſum of thirty thouſand crowns, ſhall be appropriated and employed in building the colleges for the novices, and the cloiſter for the clergy; enjoyning and commanding that all this money be brought to the convent, and put into a coffer in the tower of the palace, locked up under ſix keys, one of which ſhall be kept by the moſt eminent the grand maſter, and the others by each of the five commiſſioners, named with his eminence's conſent, to put the preſent ordinance in execution, viz. the right reverend brother Sauveur Imbroll, prior of the church, and the commanders brother Peter Louis de Chantillot la Cheſe, brother Alphonſus Caſtel S. Pierre, brother Don Juan de Villaroel, and brother William Henry de Valſperg, but ſtill under the direction and with the intervention of his eminence. We empower likewiſe the venerable council to appoint and ſubſtitute others in their ſtead in caſe of need, and to give the neceſſary orders for the well carrying on ſuch an important work, and to expedite from time to time, at the requeſt of the ſaid commiſſioners,

proper warrants and aſſignments for delivery of the money. We refer it to his eminence and the commiſſioners, to chuſe which of the two works they will ſet about firſt.

2. THEY have likewiſe reſolved, by way of ballot, to grant to ſuch knights as ſhall be deputed by the venerable council, to govern one of the three colleges of the novices, and ſhall have duly diſcharged his truſt for three years together, and kept the novices in regular diſcipline, furniſhed their tables, and given them their pittance, as the piliers do in the inns, the privileges of good ſervice, all one as if they had been captains of the gallies; provided their conduct be approved by the venerable council in the way of ballot, without any ſuch declaration by word of mouth, as is neceſſary to give the captains the benefit of it.

3. THE ſaid lords likewiſe, that our brothers may know and practiſe the rule and regulations with the greater eaſe, and, being free from the trouble of ſuits, may attend more quietly on divine ſervice, and give themſelves up to hoſpitality, and the duties of their warfare in defence of the catholick faith, after conſidering that they have been long uſed to read the regulations in the Italian tongue, as being the moſt generally underſtood in the general chapters, aſſemblies, egards, councils, and other courts of judicature in the order, have appointed the right reverend brother Sauveur Imbroll prior of the church, the venerable brother Juſte de Fay Gerlande prior of Auvergne, brother Signorin Gattinara, prior or bailli of St. Euphemia, and the bailli brother James Chriſtopher d'Andlopour, jointly with me the vice-chancellor, to look to and execute duly all that the ſaid ſixteen have decreed, ordained and promulged in the preſent general chapter, to collect the ſtatutes and ordinances of chapters together, under certain titles, and tranſlate them all into Italian, without adding any thing new to them; to retrench what appears uſeleſs or is repealed, to leave nothing therein but what is ſerviceable and neceſſary, to diſtribute and range under their reſpective titles the new ſtatutes which have the greateſt connexion with one another, and to annex to thoſe perpetual regulations certain ordinances, which, through cuſtom and obſervation, have obtained the force of law, as the ſaid reverend lords the ſixteen have declared, but without any power given to the ſaid commiſſioners to do or undo any thing that the ſaid ſixteen have ordained and decreed, which they ſhall be bound to execute punctually, and put the regulations in the name of the moſt eminent the grand maſter. They ſhall make a volume thereof, leaving out ſuch ordinances as concern the auberges (or inns) and moſt of thoſe that ſpeak of the gallies and other things of little conſequence, which are put under different titles, and were made on different occaſions by the venerable councils, that they may be obſerved at the diſcretion and by the authority of his eminence and the council.

As ſoon as they have drawn up this volume of regulations, which they ſhall be bound to do within a year, they ſhall preſent it to his eminence and the venerable compleat council, to be reviſed, approved, publiſhed, and, in vim capituli generalis, expedited under the leaden ſeal of the convent, to be afterwards printed and tranſlated into elegant Latin, with the good liking and confirmation of the pope and the holy apoſtolick ſee; empowering the maſter and compleat council to ſubſtitute, in caſe of need, one or more other commiſſioners for the execution of the preſent commiſſion, and to prolong the time fixed for it. Declaring further, that every thing which ſhall be done, digeſted and ordained by the ſaid commiſſioners, or ſuch as are ſubſtituted in their ſtead, ſhall, after being approved by the venerable compleat council, have the ſame force and authority, and be as inviolably obſerved, as if the whole was made by the ſaid ſixteen reverend lords, and publiſhed in the preſent general chapter; the apoſtolical confirmation however being always reſerved.

Of

Of the Reception of Brothers.

TITLE II.

The ſixteen lords have corrected the following ſtatute, and have given it this title with the conſent of the grand maſter and council neceſſary for the reception of brothers.

Br. ALOPHE DE VIGNACOUR, Maſter.

WE ordain by the preſent perpetual and irrevocable ſtatute that ſuch as are candidates to be received and admitted knights, though their proofs are above ſuſpicion, have been allowed as good, and valid, and been judicially approved upon a full hearing in any court whatſoever, yet they ſhall not be admitted to the habit or to make their profeſſion, without the conſent of the grand maſter and council given in the way of ballot, and two thirds of them voting in favour of the candidate. The grand maſter and council ſhall not be obliged to declare the reaſon why they will not give their conſent, which ſhall be ballotted for in the venerable Council, after the year of noviceſhip and probation is out.

THE ſame ſhall be obſerved with regard to the admiſſion of brother chaplains and ſervants of arms, ſo that ſuch as ſhall have the habit given them or be allowed to make their profeſſion, without this formality, ſhall enjoy no right or privilege of ſeniority, whereas ſuch as have been afterwards legally admitted with this conſent ſhall be conſidered as their Seniors, and object the want of it to them on all occaſions.

1. THE ſixteen reverend lords for good reaſons and conſiderations, have in the way of ballot reſolved to admit no ſiſter into the monaſtery of our ſiſters of S. Urſula in our city Valette, till the firſt general chapter.

2. THE ſixteen reverend lords of the chapter declare, and forbid the admiſſion of any body whatever for the future, in the convent or out of it, and the giving of them the habit of our order, in any rank but the three which are diſtinguiſhed and declared in the ſecond, twenty ninth and thirtieth ſtatutes of the reception of brothers, after having produced good and ſubſtantial proofs of their gentility and legitimacy, according to the tenour of the ſaid and other ſtatutes. That whatever ſhall be done contrary thereto, ſhall be null to ſuch a degree that it may be urged againſt them on all occaſions, as a ſufficient reaſon to ſet aſide their profeſſion, and force them in a judicial way, to quit the habit that has been given them ſo irregularly.

3. THE ſame lords have after a due ballotting ordained, that they ſhall ſtrike out of the Regulations, all the terms that make mention of brother ſervants, of ſtage or office, and that no ſuch brothers ſhall be admitted into the order for the future: they thinking fit to ſuppreſs them for certain reaſons that concern the reputation and advantage of the order.

4. THE ſame lords have confirmed and ordained that ſuch as have been once admitted in a rank of grace, ſhall not be received into a rank of juſtice; on pain of their reception being null.

5. THE ſame lords having examined the twenty fourth ſtatute of the title of the reception of brothers, have declared it ſuperfluous, on account of the five years preſcription, and have ordered it to be ſtruck out of the collection of the new ſtatutes.

6. THE ſame lords have ordained, that if any brother of what condition and rank ſoever he be, has been received in one language or priory, he cannot be afterwards received in another, unleſs he firſt renounces the language and priory wherein he was received at firſt, though he ſhould have a grace from the language or priory for it.

7. THE ſame lords to put a ſtop to the preſumption of ſome candidates for reception, contrary to the laudable conſtitutions of the order and the

cuſtoms introduced in favour of the true nobility, have ordained that ſuch as deſcend from a father or grandfather, by either the father's or mother's ſide, that has been either a regiſter, publick notary, or ſcrivener, ſhall never be admitted into the order in quality of a brother knight.

8. The ſame lords have ordained that the proofs of gentility for the knights ſhall be received and carefully examined by commiſſioners deputed for that purpoſe, not only in the place of their birth, but likewiſe in that of the origine of their families, of their father, mother and grandfathers; and in failure thereof ſhall be rejected as null, and the commiſſioners be obliged to make or cauſe new ones to be made in the ſaid places, at their own expence.

9. The ſame lords have at the requeſt of the venerable priory of Catalonia, and the Catalan and Majorquin brothers, ordained that the proofs of gentility ſhall be for the future made there, as well as in the other priories of the order in the manner and form following, and with the declarations therein contained, viz.

That the Majorquin knights ſhall with the certificate of their baptiſm, preſent to the provincial chapter, their genealogy and coat of arms, and the chapter appoint two perſons for commiſſioners, one a Catalan and the other a Majorquin, of ſuch as are actually in the kingdom of Majorca, to make the proofs according to our ſtatutes; for which purpoſe they ſhall conſign an hundred crowns into the hands of the Catalan knight, to go to Majorca to make the proofs. He is however obliged to declare whether he will go thither immediately or no, that the ſame chapter may name another, and the Majorquin knight if he does not go out of the city of Majorca, ſhall have no right to demand a ſalary.

In caſe they are obliged to go out of that city for the proof of ſome quarters that are neceſſary, they ſhall give each of them twenty five reals of Caſtile a day, reckoning from the day of their ſetting out from the city of Majorca, till their return into the ſaid city. If there be no Catalan knight in Majorca that cares to take the journey, the provincial chapter ſhall name ſome other knight that is in the city, to go thither without claiming any ſalary: The proofs may be made by any knight whatever that is profeſſed.

If there is not any knight of the order at Majorca, and there be a Majorquin in Catalonia, proper to receive the proofs and willing to go thither, he ſhall have the ſame ſalary as the Catalan, to go to Majorca. If there be none at all, they may make uſe of ſome chaplain of the order that is at Majorca provided he has made his profeſſion, though he has not reſided altogether ſo long as is requiſite to qualify him duely to receive the proofs.

The Catalan knights ſhall make their proofs with the ſame formalities as the Majorquins, according to the ſtatutes of the order. Before the commiſſioners ſtir from Barcelona, to go and receive the proofs, they are to have each of them conſigned them twenty five reals of Caſtile a day, reckoning from the time of their ſetting out till their return. If the proof be made in Barcelona, no conſignation ſhall be made there any more than at Majorca. The commiſſioners ſhall pitch on a publick notary ſuch as they think proper, at Barcelona, as well as at Majorca.

The candidates ſhall offer themſelves only from May to May, and from one provincial chapter to another.

Witnesses ſhall not be admitted to depoſe till they are at leaſt forty years old, that the proofs, may be made according to the ſtatutes of the order. As ſoon as they are finiſhed, the commiſſioners ſhall add their own opinion thereof, and make all up in a packet, which they ſhall ſeal with their arms, and ſend it to the provincial chapter at Barcelona. They are not to deliver them to the party till then. If nothing appear to the contrary within the year following, and the candidates can come to the convent, they ſhall deliver them to them, whether they be Catalans or Majorquins, making oath that they could not give them during the ſaid year, as knowing well the obligations they were under, of giving them to the chapter or of making oath in it, that the reception of the candidate may be made as is required by the ſtatutes.

To put an end to the differences between the Catalans and Majorquins with regard to the quarters of citizens, they ſhall be obliged to prove that they have been ſo for above one hundred years, by the records and regiſters of the towns. If there be none to be found, the proof ſhall be made by witneſſes.

Such as meet in the provincial chapter to examine the proofs, ſhall all take an oath upon their habit, that they will reveal nothing at all of what ſhall be ſaid upon the examination of the ſaid proofs.

As ſoon as the commiſſioners that made them, if they be preſent, have ſpoke ther ſentiments, they are obliged to withdraw, being not to be preſent, or vote at the examination that is to be made of them.

The commiſſioners when they make the proofs are obliged to draw up two originals thereof ſigned with their own hands and ſealed with their arms, with their opinions annexed thereto, one of which ſhall be kept in the archive of Barcelona, that in caſe the other be loſt by any accident, the candidate may have a copy of it, and not be obliged to begin again.

In the point of proofs, ſuch as vote in the provincial chapter ſhall do it with ſecreſy, in the way of ballotting, and not otherwiſe.

With regard to the proofs of clergy, their poverty hinders the making any innovation therein.

The notary of the provincial chapter ſhall have no more than fifty reals for all fees of commiſſion and expedition of the proofs.

The hundred crowns ſalary given to the Catalan knight to go to Majorca to receive the proofs, and to the Majorquin knight to go to Barcelona ſhall be paid, viz. fifty at the provincial chapter when he ſhall be named commiſſioner, and the other fifty when the Catalan ſhall arrive at Majorca, on pain of nullity of the proofs.

10. The ſixteen reverend lords for ſecuring the peace and tranquillity of the convent, have reſolved in the way of ballot, and ordained, that all the brothers of our order, of what condition ſoever they be, and novices too that are already received, ſhall enjoy their ſeniority according to the time and order of their reception, before the holding of the preſent chapter; ſo that they cannot make any alteration at all therein to the prejudice of any body elſe under any pretence whatever, not even in caſe of any ſpecial grace from the preſent general chapter. They have moreover reduced all and every the graces granted or to be granted with regard to receptions and ſeniority, to the mere point of right and juſtice, according to the tenour of the ſtatutes, and enjoin them to be ſo regulated for the future by the venerable council.

11. They have enacted and ordained that for the future every knight ſhall in his proofs inſert the genealogy of his family, and extraction of his anceſtors by the father's and mother's ſide, with their coats of arms painted with their different enamels and colours, viz. thoſe of their father and mother, their grandfather and grandmother, by the father's ſide and their grandfather and grandmother by the mother's ſide, vocal and literal proofs ſhall be produced to ſhew, that for at leaſt an hundred years laſt paſt, the families they are deſcended from, bore the reſpective arms aſcribed to them, and in failure thereof, the proofs ſhall be rejected as null.

12. They have decreed and ordained that according to the twenty firſt article of the title of the reception of brothers, no brother knight, conventual chaplain or ſervant of arms ſhall be received out of the convent, notwithſtanding any diſpenſation whatſoever; that they ſhall be all obliged to paſs a year's noviceſhip there, and receive the habit and make their profeſſion there in the uſual forms: declaring every thing null that ſhall be done contrary to the preſent ſtatute, and that the brother knights, chaplains and ſervants of arms that receive the habit out of the convent, ſhall have no right to any ſtanding on that account.

They have likewiſe revoked all faculties of reſervation, for receiving the habit, and going through the noviceſhip and making profeſſion out of the convent, either granted or to be granted, by the preſent chapter or by ſubſequent ones, to all novices and others that have been or ſhall be admitted into our order, except that which has been granted to Don Michel de la Cueva,

natural

natural and legitimate ſon to the moſt illuſtrious and excellent lord the duke of Albuquerque, viceroy of Sicily.

13. They have after ballotting decreed and ordained, that conſidering how indecent it is for ſeculars to wear the habit of our order, juſt as if they were religious, no body whatever ſhall be allowed to wear it, unleſs he has actually made his profeſſion and vows in our order to be a ſovereign prince. If any body elſe is minded to wear it, or has been allowed to do ſo under pretence of devotion, he ſhall not have leave to wear it, unleſs he pays four thouſand crowns of gold, of the value of fourteen tarins each, into our common treaſury for his paſſage fees, and proves at the ſame time that he is deſcended from noble parents, as well by the father as the mother's ſide in lawful marriage, and not ſprung from any Jew, Sarazen, or other Mahometan.

14. The ſaid ſixteen reverend lords, in conformity to the foregoing general chapter, have reſolved by way of ballot, and revoked all permiſſions for wearing the habit of our order, granted under pretence of devotion to any ſecular perſons, of what quality and condition ſoever they be, by the preſent general chapter, or that might be granted by the compleat council of reſervation; as alſo all permiſſions for receiving the habit of obedience granted by the preſent general chapter, contrary to the tenour of the ſtatutes, or to be granted by the compleat council of reſervation.

Reserving however to the moſt eminent lord the grand maſter the privilege of giving the habit of knight of his magiſtral obedience to four perſons, ſuch as he ſhall pleaſe to chuſe, provided there are not above two of them Italians, and that they make proof of their legitimacy; that they have not been guilty of murder; that they have not led a looſe life; that they have not conſummated marriage; that they have not made profeſſion in any other order; that they are not in debt; that they are not deſcended from Jews, Sarazens or hereticks, and that they have never been mechanicks. They ſhall each of them pay an hundred crowns of gold, of fourteen tarins value, to our treaſury for their paſſage fees.

15. They have, for explaining the twenty fifth article of the reception of the brothers, enacted and ordained, that, for the future, no objection ſhall be made to brother knights, chaplains, or ſervants of arms, with regard to their condition or ſtanding, after five years are paſſed from the time of their admiſſion, the rights of the treaſury always reſerved, unleſs they are charged with being deſcended from Jews, Marans, Sarazens, or other Mahometans, which may be judicially called in queſtion, and determined at any diſtance of time whatever.

In reforming and correcting the ſeventh article of the ſame title, they have enacted and ordained, that no perſon, deſcended in any manner whatever from Jews, Marans, Sarazens, or other Mahometans, or from any body ſo reputed by common fame, ſhall be admitted to the habit, or allowed to profeſs himſelf of the order in any rank whatever: If any ſuch perſon has been received of grace, and made his profeſſion accordingly, his reception ſhall ſtill be null and of no force. If the fact be well proved, he ſhall be expelled the order, and condemned to reſtore all the revenue he has received from it, directing this preſent ordinance to be read to all novices received or to be received before they are admitted to profeſſion, that they may not at any time plead ignorance for excuſe.

16. The ſaid ſixteen reverend lords have, at the requeſt of the venerable languages, repealed all other ſtatutes and ordinances made upon this ſubject, except the following one made by the venerable language of Germany, and have corrected the ſtatute afterwards as follows:

Such as are born out of lawful wedlock.

Br. ALOPHE DE VIGNACOUR, Maſter.

We forbid any perſon to be received into our order for the future that is born out of lawful wedlock, except the ſons of kings and ſovereign princes, excluding all other illegitimate ſons, though of dukes and peers of France, or grandees of Spain.

17. The

17. The ſaid ſixteen reverend lords, at the inſtance of the venerable language of Germany, have decreed and ordained, according to the ancient and laudable cuſtom which has been obſerved at all times, that no body ſhall be admitted into it but who is born in lawful wedlock, though he ſhould be the ſon of a ſovereign prince; enjoyning that all baſtards in general ſhall be excluded from it for ever.

18. The ſaid lords, agreeable to the precedent general chapter, have ſpecially and expreſly revoked all faculties or graces of reception, granted or to be granted, by any authority, and under any pretence whatever, to baſtards and illegitimate perſons, it being our reſolution to exclude them for ever from entering into the order, and to make them incapable of being admitted either as knights, chaplains, or ſervants of arms, on pain of nullity of their reception, not deſigning however to alter the ſtatute above made in relation to them.

19. The ſaid lords have ordained, that the commiſſioners which ſhall be deputed in the convent by the venerable languages, or priories, and the caſtellany of Empoſta, to examine and make their report of the proofs of gentility and the legitimacy of candidates, ſhall make the report to the language, priory, or caſtellany of Empoſta, within a month at fartheſt, after the day they are named, on pain of being fined twenty five crowns, to be paid to the venerable language, priory or caſtellany, and of ſeeing others named for that commiſſion, who ſhall be ſubject to the ſame obligation and penalty.

20. The ſaid lords, at the inſtance of the venerable language of Provence, have ordained, that the proofs of the gentility of the knights ſhall be made there juſt as they are in the venerable priory of Caſtile: Beſides which, the commiſſioners ſhall have the proofs written and taken by a royal notary; and ſhall be drawn by lot out of a box, where they ſhall put tickets with the names of all the knights of either of the languages that are qualified to be ſo, and are actually in the province, and have reſided five years in the convent, where they ſhall draw likewiſe by lot the commiſſioners of the candidates that ſtand to be received in that language.

21. The ſaid lords, at the inſtance of the venerable languages of the provinces of Auvergne and France, have ordained, that ſuch as would be admitted in quality of brother knights, ſhall prove that their great grandfathers and great grandmothers, by both the father's and mother's ſide, were gentlemen of name and arms, and their deſcendants; which proof ſhall be made by teſtimonies, patents, writings, contracts, and inſtruments of ſeignioral rights: They ſhall likewiſe have the arms of the four lines blazoned, and the commiſſioners that are to take theſe proofs, muſt be ten years ſtanding, and have reſided five in the convent.

22. As the venerable language of France conſiſts of three priories, and it may happen that there are not knights enough in one of the priories qualified to receive the proofs, they ſhall in ſuch caſe be allowed to take them out of another, whoſe names ſhall be likewiſe drawn by lot, to execute that ſingle commiſſion.

23. The ſaid lords, at the inſtance of the venerable language of Italy, have reſolved a new, and ordained, that they ſhall obſerve in it for the future in what regards the choice of commiſſioners, the examination of witneſſes, the reviſing of the proofs in the provincial chapter, and the proceedings in the convent, the following formalities, beſides what is common to the other languages.

The candidates ſhall preſent to the provincial chapter a memorial, containing their own name and ſurname, and thoſe of their father and mother, grandfathers and grandmothers by father and mother's ſide, and their countrey. In order to chuſe the commiſſioners, the chapter ſhall cauſe the names of all the commanders and knights of juſtice within the priory, that are twelve years ſtanding at leaſt, and have reſided five in the convent, to be wrote upon diſtinct tickets, except that of the lieutenant of the priory, which is not put into the box: All the reſt ſhall be put in, and two ſhall be drawn by lot, to receive all the proofs that are to be made. The box ſhall be locked with two keys,

and

and remain in the hands of the prior or his lieutenant, who ſhall keep one of them, the other ſhall be delivered to the knight of the longeſt ſtanding, that in caſe one of the commiſſioners ſhould not be able to act by reaſon of ſickneſs, or ſome other impediment, the prior or his lieutenant may call an aſſembly, and draw out another, to ſupply the place of him that cannot act in the very ſame manner that he was choſen.

THE prior or his lieutenant ſhall oblige the candidate to depoſite a reaſonable ſum for the charges of the commiſſioners, the expence and attendance of the notary. As ſoon as the commiſſioners have received the commiſſion, they ſhall repair to the place of the birth and extraction of the candidate, where they ſhall take care to collect the proofs, and inform themſelves of witneſſes, which they may examine privately, and muſt chuſe out of the moſt noble and honourable perſons for their quality, and the oldeſt inhabitants of the place, men of probity, reputation and good conſcience, and conſtant frequenters of the ſacraments: After which they ſhall ſtick to the model here preſcribed, and examine them upon the following interrogatories.

Interrogatories for the examination of the witneſſes produced for the proofs of the knights which ſhall deſire to be admitted in the venerable language of Italy.

1. THEY ſhall aſk the witneſs, whether he has ſtood godfather with Mr. N. whoſe proofs are making, or is any way related to him? Whether he knew that he was to be examined? or has had it ſuggeſted to him what he ſhould depoſe?

2. WHETHER he knows Mr. N.? how long he has known him? where he was born? whoſe ſon he is? what age he is of?

3. WHETHER the ſaid N. has been always reputed, treated and owned by his father and mother as their common, legitimate and natural ſon? whether ſuch as knew him believed him ſuch?

4. WHETHER the ſaid N's father and mother were lawfully married together? whether all that knew them believed that they were really married?

5. WHETHER the ſaid N. is deſcended of a family that has been always Chriſtian, without any mixture of Jews, Moors, Sarazens, or other infidels?

6. WHETHER the ſaid N. is ſound both in body and mind, without any defect or unſtatuableneſs in his perſon? whether he is fit to carry arms?

7. WHETHER he has worked himſelf at any mechanick employment? whether he has been engaged in any traffick or merchandiſe of wool, ſilk or other ſtuff? whether he has ever been a banker, caſhier or book-keeper? whether he has followed any, and what trade? what ſort of perſons he converſes with?

8. WHETHER he has committed any murders? whether he has been under proſecution for any crime? whether he has lead a ſcandalous and looſe life?

9. WHETHER he has not profeſſed himſelf of ſome religious order? whether he is married? whether he has conſummated his marriage? whether he is deeply in debt?

10. WHETHER he is born and deſcended nobly on the ſide of his father, grandfather, and other anceſtors of the family of N.?

11. WHETHER Madam N. his mother was born and deſcended on the ſide of N. her father, her grandfather, and other anceſtors of the family of N.? if that family be noble of name and arms, at leaſt for two hundred years laſt paſt?

12. IF Madam N. his grandmother by the father's ſide, was born and deſcended nobly on the ſide of N. her father, her grandfather and her anceſtors of the family of N.? whether it be noble and ancient as above?

13. IF Madam N. his grandmother by the mother's ſide, was born and deſcended nobly on the ſide of N. her father, her grandfather, and her anceſtors, of the family of N.? whether it be noble and ancient as above?

14. WHETHER he knows that any of theſe four families, or even the ſaid candidate N. are in poſſeſſion of any lands, juriſdictions, revenues, or other eſtates and effects belonging to the order?

15. WHETHER the ſaid four houſes, N. N. N. and N. from which the ſaid candidate N. deſcends, be noble of name and arms? whether they be deemed ſo in the world? for how long time have they been ſo deputed? whether they are all originally of the town of N.? or if he knows from what place they come?

16. WHETHER the ſaid N's father, mother, and grandfathers by the father's and mother's ſide, be legitimate and natural, generally owned as ſuch by all that knew them?

17. WHETHER the men of thoſe families have always lived, and do ſtill live like gentlemen on their revenues, and in ſuch a manner as to diſtinguiſh themſelves from the people, without having ever followed any mean and mechanick trade?

18. WHETHER they have been from time to time, and ſtill be in any poſt, magiſtracies, dignities and employments of diſtinction in the town, which are generally given only to true gentlemen, which of them have been or now are ſo? what coats of arms they gave? where they have ſeen them? and for how long time?

19. WHETHER in the nomination, election and diſpoſal of ſuch poſts, magiſtracies, dignities, and employments of conſequence, there do not ſometimes get in men of mean birth, that are gentlemen on no account.

20. WHETHER the father, mother, grandfathers and grandmothers of the ſaid Mr. N. ever were guilty of any crime, that would taint and derogate from their gentility?

21. WHETHER in ſuch city, they do not ſometimes take plebeian families into the body of their gentry? whether the four families in queſtion are not of the number of thoſe that have been ſo taken in, and how long ſince?

22. WHETHER the witneſs knows what he has depoſed, of his own certain knowledge by hereſay, or by having ſeen it in writing, what other gentlemen there are qualified to give information in the caſe:

AFTER the notary has drawn up and ſigned all theſe depoſitions with his own hand, the commiſſioners ſhall annex their own opinion to it in clear and intelligible terms, without referring themſelves for it to the chapter; if they do not care to do ſo, they muſt ſpecify at leaſt the reaſon why they decline it: They ſhall lap up and ſeal them on the in and out ſide with their ſeals that no body may know the contents but the provincial chapter, after they have been read there and ſigned by ſuch as aſſiſted at it, they ſhall be ſealed up again and ſent to the convent, to the language of Italy, with a diſtinct letter or certificate importing that the proofs were read and examined in the provincial chapter: without which certificate they could not be admitted either in the langnage or the council.

ALL proofs made without theſe formalities ſhall be null, and ſhall not be admitted in any manner whatever. If a brother wants the qualifications requiſite in a commiſſioner to make the proofs, or has not duely obſerved the contents of this preſent ſtatute, or not put the interrogatories above preſcribed, he ſhall pay all the expences that have been made in that commiſſion or ſhall be made in the new one that is to be iſſued out, and be fined an hundred crowns of gold to the treaſury, and till he has paid it, ſhall be deemed a perſon incapacitated for preferment as being a debtor to the treaſury.

As ſoon as the proofs are preſented to the language, commiſſioners ſhall be deputed by it and drawn by lot; who ſhall peruſe them and afterwards read the proofs in the aſſembly of the language.

WE declare further that the contents of the cardinal grand maſter Verdale's ſtatute in relation to merchandiſe, does not extend farther than the perſon of the candidate, and ſhall not regard in any manner the commerce which his father or anceſtors may have carried on in the cities of Genoa, Florence, Piſa and Lucca.

23. THE venerable language of Italy has likewiſe deſired a further proviſion to be made, that in the provincial chapters and aſſemblies, before they depute commiſſioners to take the proofs, they ſhall appoint others to examine the inſtruments and writings produced by the candidate in proof of his gen-

tility: As ſoon as they have been ſummarily examined, they ſhall chuſe the other commiſſioners.

24. The ſaid lords have confirmed the capitulary ordinance made in the foregoing chapter which allows the venerable language of Italy not to receive any brother ſervant for ten years; and have prolonged the privilege till the firſt general chapter, before which they ſhall not admit any brother ſervant.

25. The ſaid lords, at the inſtance of the ſame language, have ordained that no more than three crowns of gold a day, ſhall be paid to each of the commiſſioners deputed to go and receive the proofs, for their own and their ſervants expences, and the half of that ſum to the notary, who is to write them. The commiſſioners at the bottom of their account of the execution of their commiſſion, ſhall ſpecify what they have received: When it is brought to the convent, the preſident ſhall repreſent what has been advanced them, and if it appear that they have received more than the ſtated allowance, the commiſſioners, or he that is found guilty, ſhall not only pay back that overplus, but ſhall be deemed for the future incapacitated to make either proofs or ameliorations, and the candidate that does not diſcover the truth, ſhall loſe three years of his ſtanding, for the benefit of his juniors.

Enjoining this ordinance to be inſerted in all commiſſions for receiving the proofs, that no body may plead ignorance for excuſe, with regard to the priory of Lombardy, where by reaſon of the war, proviſions are become very dear, the commiſſioners who ſhall make the proofs, may take a crown of gold more a day, till the firſt general chapter.

The ſaid lords, at the inſtance of the venerable priory of Caſtile and Leon, have ordained that ſuch as ſhall offer themſelves to the prior and the provincial chapter to be admitted in it, ſhall repreſent their deſign in a petition, after the reading of which they ſhall declare the place where they are born, the names and ſurnames of their fathers, mothers, and their grandfathers and grandmothers on both ſides, and the place from whence they derive their extraction, and ſhall leave a memorial thereof in the hands of the ſecretary of the chapter, who is obliged to ſecreſy, with ſuch a ſum of money to pay the charge of making the proofs, as the priour and chapter ſhall regulate.

The priour and chapter ſhall then, with ſuch ſecreſy, that the candidate ſhall know nothing of it, depute two brother knights for commiſſioners, one of which muſt be a commander, diſcreet and exact men, to receive the proofs, enjoining them under ſuch penalties as they ſhall think fit, to go immediately after taking the oath for the due and faithful execution of their commiſſion without any excuſe or delay, to the birth place of the candidate his parents and grandfathers, to inform themſelves with all poſſible ſecreſy of his gentility and whether he has all the qualifications required by our ſtatutes, and to draw up an exact account in writing of all that they have diſcovered, ſign it with their own hands, and ſend it in a packet ſealed with their coats of arms by a ſafe hand to the priour and chapter, where the whole ſhall be read and examined. If the chapter find the proofs ſubſtantial and duely made, they ſhall deliver them to the candidate to go on with his reception, and give him back the overplus of his money, in caſe he depoſited too much; all which formalities ſhall be obſerved on pain of nullity. We require likewiſe the ſame forms to be obſerved that have been hitherto uſed, in regard of making the proofs, and that the preſent ſtatute be inſerted in all commiſſions that ſhall paſs hereafter for this purpoſe.

Enjoining the ſaid commiſſioners not to leave imperfect ſuch as they have once begun, nor to lodge, eat or drink in the houſes of the candidate, his relations or any body ſuſpected to favour him: They are on the contrary obliged to diſguiſe themſelves as much as may be, ſo as to execute their commiſſion without affording the leaſt ground for ſuſpicion. Finally they leave the prior and provincial chapter authority to regulate the allowance of the ſaid commiſſioners, which however ſhall not be leſs than forty reals of Caſtile a day to each of them, in proportion to the time that this affair will neceſſarily take them up.

27. The

27. THE ſame lords, at the inſtance of the ſaid priory of Caſtile and Leon, have ordained, for the ſaid priory only, that from henceforward no commander or knight ſhall be commiſſioned to receive the proofs of knights, chaplains, or ſervants of arms, unleſs he is twelve years ſtanding, and has reſided five in the convent: That the original of theſe proofs ſhall be ſent thither, and a copy thereof in due form kept there, to prevent any doubts and difficulties that may ariſe in relation thereto; which copy ſhall be put in the archives, as uſual, to be conſulted upon occaſion.

THAT the commiſſioners deputed to receive the proofs of gentility and amelioration, ſhall be drawn by lot out of the brother knights only, and the conventual priors ſhall ſend every year to the ſecretary of the ſaid chapter, a liſt of ſuch as are qualified to be choſen.

29. THE ſame lords, at the inſtance of the venerable priory of Portugal, have forbid the delivering, in provincial chapters or aſſemblies, of any commiſſion for receiving the proofs of knights, till the candidate has preſented to them his own genealogy, or that of his father or brother, as he chuſes, notwithſtanding the ordinance made in the general chapter of 1578; that he ſhall be obliged to prove at leaſt four degrees of gentility on the father's ſide, well juſtified by the king's book; and if any preſident ſhall ſign the commiſſion without having firſt ſeen ſuch a genealogy as is ſpecified above, he ſhall forfeit two hundred crowns to the common treaſury.

30. THE ſame lords, by way of amendment to the twentieth article of the ſame title, have ordained, that the commiſſions for the proofs of knights, chaplains, and brother ſervants of arms of all the venerable languages, ſhall be demanded and iſſued out in the provincial chapters, or in the provincial aſſemblies to be held ſix months after, in which chapters or aſſemblies they may likewiſe admit and paſs the ſaid proofs entirely.

IF by chance a year paſſes without a chapter being held in a priory, they may call there two aſſemblies for the ſame purpoſe, one in the month of May, the other in November; taking away from the venerable ordinary council all authority of delivering out any commiſſion for making proofs, on pain of nullity. As for ſuch as have been already made and examined by the aſſembly, they ſhall ſtand good, provided they are duly and regularly made in all other reſpects.

31. THE ſame lords have ordained, that if any proofs of gentility or legitimacy be rejected in the provincial chapter or aſſembly, and the candidate demands them back, they ſhall make no difficulty of delivering them, after however having taken a copy of them, collated at his expence, to be put in the archive of the provincial chapter, and ſealed them up with the ſeal of the ſame chapter, provided however that nothing herein any ways alter the old uſage obſerved in the language or priory of Germany.

32. THE ſame lords have forbid the granting, for the future, in provincial chapters or aſſemblies, any commiſſions for receiving the proofs of knights, chaplains, or ſervants of arms, till the candidates have preſented themſelves there, that it may be known whether they are ſound of body and mind, are in good health, and no way maimed in any member, and whether they are fit to be employed in divine ſervice or the exerciſe of arms, for which they offer themſelves. If they want any one of theſe qualifications, it will be in vain for them to pretend to make their proofs.

33. THE ſame lords have forbid the delivering out, for the future, any commiſſions for making proofs of the gentility of the knights, or of legitimacy for the ſervants of arms, unleſs they are at leaſt ſixteen years old, and have produced an authentick copy of the regiſter of their baptiſm in due form to prove their age; declaring that the age of ſeventeen and eighteen, mentioned in the thirteenth article of the reception of the brothers, is a competent one for the making of the proofs, and the examination and review of them in the provincial chapters and aſſemblies to which they are to be preſented; in conſequence whereof the candidate may carry them himſelf to the convent in due form.

34. BUT whereas, notwithſtanding the copy of the regiſter of baptiſm, which ſhould certainly ſpecify the age of the gentleman candidate, he ſeems ſometimes

ſometimes to be a great deal younger, from whence it follows, either that the copy of the regiſter is forged, or the candidate is a dwarf not fit for military employments, the ſame lords, to prevent this incovenience, have ordained, that the preſidents of the provincial chapters or aſſemblies, who are not upon the credit of the copy of the regiſter very certain, that the candidate is really ſixteen years compleat, and yet give out commiſſions to make the proofs, ſhall be fin'd three hundred crowns to the treaſury, and commiſſioners that accept them, each of them a hundred, and till they have actually paid their fines, ſhall be deemed debtors, and incapacitated to receive any favour from the order.

As ſoon as the candidate arrives at the convent, before or after he has been preſented to the language or priory, he ſhall be preſented likewiſe, by the pilier of his language, to the firſt council that ſhall be held for the affairs of the order; and if he does not ſeem, by his figure, to be really of the age ſpecified by the copy of the regiſter of his baptiſm, he ſhall not have either his ſtanding, table or ſtipend, till a certain time fixed by the venerable chapter. His fiarnauds, or juniors, ſhall be for five years at liberty to make this objection to him, and to prove it, in order to make him loſe ſo much of his ſtanding. Beſides, in the three venerable languages of France, with regard to the proofs of baptiſm, an order ſhould be obtained from the biſhop, his vicar general or official for producing the pariſh regiſters, which ſhall be preſented to the commiſſioners who are enjoined upon their conſciences to examine them carefully.

35. The ſame lords, by way of confirmation of the twenty eighth article of the ſame title, forbid the giving the habit of the order to any novice, who has behaved himſelf ill, and lived diſorderly during his noviceſhip; and for an account thereof, they rely on the conſcience of the commiſſaries of the novices.

36. The ſame lords, conſidering the inconveniences ariſing from the precipitation with which the habit of the order is given to children, have forbid the giving it, for the future, to any child, of any rank or condition ſoever, though even page to the grand maſter, who ſhall not, at the end of his noviceſhip, be old enough to make his profeſſion; without which let none preſume to wear the linen croſs on his habit in the convent or out of it, on pain of loſing two years of his ſtanding for the advantage of his fiarnauds, except ſuch pages as are actually in the convent in the grand maſter's ſervice.

37. The ſame lords have ordained, that all perſons that come to the convent in order to receive the habit, ſhall receive it as ſoon as their year of noviceſhip is expired, and make expreſs profeſſion that they will live and dye in the order, but they cannot begin their noviceſhip till they are full fifteen years old. If it appears by the regiſters of the chancery, that they had notice given them a month beforehand by the maſters of the novices, that they were to make their profeſſion a month afterwards, which is regulated entirely by the grand maſter, and it was purely their own fault if they did not make their profeſſion, and receive the habit, they ſhall be deemed, after the expiration of that term, to have loſt all the ſtanding they had then acquired, which ſhall afterwards be reckoned with regard to them, only from the day of their receiving the habit, which they ſhall not be admitted to till they have firſt performed all the conditions required by the ſtatutes and ordinances of the chapter.

38. The ſame lords, agreeable to the pope's laſt bull, have ordained, that the noviceſhip of the brothers of the venerable language of Germany ſhall be made entirely either in that countrey or in the convent, without ſplitting it between both.

39. The ſame lords, for ſeveral evident reaſons, have given permiſſion for all that came from the frontiers of the venerable priory of Bohemia to the convent, in order to enter themſelves as knights, chaplains, or ſervants of arms in the order, to make only a ſix months noviceſhip, reckoning from the day of their arrival.

40. The ſame lords, by way of explaining the thirteenth article of the ſame title, where mention is made of the moſt eminent the grand maſter's pages, have reſolved by ballot, and ordained, that the number of them may be in-

creaſed to ſixteen, who ſhall be full twelve years old, and cannot be received till they come to the convent to ſerve in perſon continually about his eminence, till at the age of fifteen compleat, they go out of their poſt of page and enter upon their noviceſhip. His eminence may take in others in proportion as they go off. Though they ſhould be paſſed twelve, they may however be admitted pages, and ſerve his eminence till they are full fifteen, to enter upon their noviceſhip, provided ſtill that there never be more than ſixteen pages, and that the admiſſion of every one be enter'd in the regiſters of the chancery; declaring every thing null that is done contrary to this ordinance, and whoever is otherwiſe received ſhall have no benefit of his ſtanding, or the pretended privileges of the maſter's pages.

41. The ſame lords have reſolved, by way of ballot, to moderate the confirmation made in the preſent general chapter, with regard to the receptions of the grand maſter's pages, made ſince the promulgation of the general chapter of 1612, and obſerved till this time, which they have confirmed only ſo far as relates to their ſtanding and reſidence. With regard to the tax of two hundred and fifty crowns of gold, which they are to pay to the treaſury, beſides the ordinary paſſage fees, for the privileges of minority, according to the conſtitution of the precedent general chapter, this is to be underſtood ſo as not to be of any prejudice to the treaſury, which is already in poſſeſſion of a right againſt ſuch, as not having ſerved the grand maſter during all their fifteenth year, have loſt ſo much of the privilege of the maſter's pages, according to the terms of the foregoing ordinance.

In conſideration whereof the ſaid lords have decreed and ordained, that all the ſaid pages, who have not entirely accompliſhed the time of their ſervice, ſhall be obliged, notwithſtanding the ſaid confirmation, to pay the tax of three hundred and fifty crowns of gold, over and above the ordinary paſſage fees, within three years, reckoning from the day that this preſent ordinance is publiſhed, in the convent, into the hands of the conventual conſervator, or in the priories, into thoſe of the truſtees and receivers of the common treaſury; and in failure thereof, they ſhall be deemed debtors, and be utterly diſqualified, till they have entirely diſcharged the debt.

Reserving however to the moſt eminent the grand maſter the power of extending ſuch grace as he ſhall ſee fit to twelve of the ſaid pages, whether preſent about his perſon or abſent, with regard to the preſent ſtatute; appointing the venerable brother Juſte de Fay Gerlande prior of Auvergne, and the brothers Jerome Zati, Melchior Duretta, and Everard de Stein, to act in conjunction with his eminence with all proper care and diſpatch in drawing out of the regiſters, or other books relating thereto, the names and ſurnames of ſuch pages as have not entirely done their ſervice, in order to make a catalogue of them, which they ſhall enroll in the court of exchequer, that every one of them may be taxed what they are obliged to pay, according to the preſent ordinance.

42. The ſame lords have forbid the receiving in the languages or priories, of any perſon that ſhall offer himſelf to be admitted a brother chaplain, till he has been firſt approved by the venerable aſſembly of the chaplains upon good and due information of his ſufficiency: Provided however that when he ſhall have the votes of three fourths of the members of the aſſembly for his admiſſion, he ſhall be deemed duly received, though the other fourth oppoſe him, but not otherwiſe.

43. The ſame lords have repealed and annulled the ordinances that preſcribe the formalities to be obſerved in the admiſſion of chaplains and ſervants of arms, with regard to the proofs, and have ordered the eighteenth article of the ſame title to be obſerved, obliging them to prove that their paternal and maternal grandfathers and grandmothers were deſcended of lawful marriages.

44. The ſame lords have ordained, that the habit of the order, which was formerly allowed to be given to chaplains of obedience to ſerve the churches of the commanderies, according to the twenty ninth and thirtieth articles of the ſame title, ſhould not for the future be given to any body but prieſts approved by their ordinaries of good life and converſation, who ſhall be obliged, in the priories of the venerable language of Italy only, to paſs through a year of noviceſhip

viceſhip in ſuch manner as ſhall be preſcribed them by the priors, before they are admitted to the regular profeſſion.

45. The ſame lords, for good reaſons and conſiderations, concerning the general good of the order, have forbid the receiving of any brother chaplain or ſervant of arms out of the limits of the nation he is of, till the holding of the next general chapter, ſo that they cannot, either in the convent or out of it, receive any brother chaplain or ſervant of arms, unleſs it be in the language or priory where they are born. For which reaſon they have rejected and ordered to be rejected all petitions that have been preſented to the preſent general chapter, and have ſet aſide all its power to maintain them, and debarred all other courts from taking cognizance of them till the next general chapter: Revoking expreſly all graces that may have been granted of ſuch a nature by the preſent general chapter to chaplains and ſervants of arms, which they declare to be null.

46. And whereas various abuſes in granting the habit of obedience to brother chaplains, have been introduced, under pretence of the ſervice of the commanderies, particularly in ſome priories of the venerable language of Italy, where they have admitted too great a number of them, the ſame lords have appointed the venerable brother Nicholas della Marra prior of Meſſina, and brother Signorin Gattinara prior of St. Euphemia, to inform themſelves exactly, as ſoon as poſſibly they can, of the number of chaplains diſperſed over this priory, and in the commanderies and dependancies thereof, as well as of the number which is neceſſary to ſerve them. They ſhall make their report thereof to the compleat council of reſervation, who ſhall limit their number, which ſhall not be exceeded, nor others admitted, except only to ſupply vacancies as they happen. They ſhall moreover obſerve the capitulary ſtatutes.

47. The ſame lords have ordained, that when the knights of the magiſtral obedience, and other brothers of obedience, ſhall ſue for any poſt of conventual brother, they ſhall be obliged to prove that they have all the qualifications neceſſary for it, according to the capitulary ſtatutes and ordinances, without which they ſhall not be removed from their firſt condition.

48. The ſame lords have revoked all the graces given by the preſent general chapter, or which may hereafter be given by the compleat council of reſervation, for any reception whatever to the degree of knight, either to ſeculars or to brother ſervants, admitted in their languages or priories to the rank of brother knights; requiring them all to continue in ſubmiſſion to the regulations of the ſtatutes, and keep in their preſent ſtation. They have, for this end, rejected all the ſupplications that may be left undecided, prohibiting any mention to be made of them in the council of reſervation or elſewhere, excepting only the grace granted to brother Sebaſtian Proſt, at the inſtance of the venerable language of Auvergne.

49. The ſame lords have ordained, that all perſons that ſhall be admitted knights by authority of the preſent general chapter, or that ſhall be hereafter admitted, in any manner whatſoever, with a diſpenſation for their age, or before they are full ſixteen years old, except the pages of his eminence the grand maſter, that have paid their paſſage fees as uſual, ſhall pay to the treaſury, as well for their diſpenſation as their paſſage, a thouſand crowns of gold, of fourteen tarins each, or their value, into the hands of the conventual receiver, or of the truſtees, and receivers of the priories, within a year after the grant of ſuch diſpenſation, (which term may however be prolonged by the compleat council of reſervation for one year more) and produce an acquittance thereof made before a notary; in failure whereof they ſhall have no benefit of their diſpenſation, nor of their reception. If they have paid that ſum, it ſhall from that time belong abſolutely to the treaſury, which ſhall not be obliged to give it back, in any caſe, or on any account whatever. Declaring withall, that the ſaid minors ſo diſpenſed with are not obliged to come to the convent, till they are full ſixteen years old; if they come before, the treaſury ſhall not furniſh them either their table or their pay. They ſhall pay likewiſe fifty crowns of twelve tarins each, to the language for their reception.

Whereas the general chapter has referred to the ſame lords all the petitions of ſuch as ſtand to be received knights with diſpenſations for their age, of

of which they have made a liſt, they have granted them all the grace that they aſked, on condition of making their proofs, according to the ſtatutes of the preſent chapter; ſo that their ſtanding in the language or priory in the diſtrict of which they were born, ſhall go on from the time that they were full ſix years old, upon paying to the treaſury a thouſand crowns of gold, of fourteen tarins each, for their paſſage fees, according to the terms of the foregoing declaration: Enjoyning withal, that as ſoon as they ſhall have preſented in the convent to the court of exchequer the acquittance for that ſum paid within a year, reckoning from this day June the ſeventh, the day of the publication of the preſent chapter, and their proofs of gentility have been allowed in the convent, they ſhall have the privilege granted them of wearing the little gold croſs of our order about their neck.

DECLARING further, that all ſuch as ſhall have paid their thouſand crowns paſſage within the ſaid term, and ſhall appear to be ſix years old compleat, ſhall be all of a paſſage, and reckon their ſtanding from this day: Requiring alſo the priors, or their lieutenants, as ſoon as they have ſeen the acquittance, to convene the aſſembly for admitting the candidates, to whom they ſhall deliver an inſtrument purſuant to the regulations, ordinances of the chapters, and laudable cuſtoms of the venerable languages and priories, for they can give them no manner of grace with regard to the proofs, and limits, but only as to age, and they have ordered the new admitted brothers to come to the convent in the twenty fifth year of their age, in order to make their noviceſhip and profeſſion in their twenty ſixth: In failure whereof they ſhall loſe their ſtanding in favour of their fiarnauds or juniors.

51. THE ſame lords, after coming to a reſolution by way of ballot, have likewiſe received all perſons, that gave in petitions to the preſent chapter to be received with a diſpenſation for age, into the rank of brother ſervants of arms, in the languages where they were born, all whoſe names and ſurnames are contained in a liſt, upon paying the officers of the treaſury eight hundred crowns of gold, of fourteen tarins each, for their diſpenſation, and their paſſage fees in a year or two: If their term be prolonged by the compleat council of reſervation, (upon whoſe acquittance, and their performance of the other conditions explained in the two foregoing ſtatutes, they ſhall begin to have the benefit of their ſtanding) they ſhall not grant them the privilege of wearing the gold croſs about their neck. They ſhall be likewiſe obliged to pay to the venerable languages the tax of fifty crowns, at twelve tarins, to the crown, as the children that ſhall be admitted brother knights.

52. THE ſame lords, at the inſtance of the venerable language of Germany, have ordained that the proofs of gentility for brother knights ſhall not only be made upon the genealogy formerly ſent by the provincial chapter, but ſhall be carried on as far as the ſixteen quarters of the grandmother's, according to the ancient and laudable cuſtom of this venerable priory.

53. THE ſame lords, after a ſcrutiny in way of ballot, have ordain'd, that for the future all ſuch as ſhall be admitted into the order as brother conventual chaplains, prieſts, deacons, or ſubdeacons, ſhall pay two hundred crowns of gold as the brother ſervants of arms pay, and the clergy of the leſſer orders ſhall pay one hundred crowns a man. Forbidding either prieſts, deacons or ſubdeacons to be received in any language or priory whatever, till the next general chapter, but only the inferiour clergy to the number of one and twenty, who ſhall be not leſs than ten, nor more than fifteen years of age, ſeven whereof ſhall be French, five Italians, ſix Spaniards, and three Germans, who, in proportion as they are promoted to holy orders, may be ſucceeded by others, without ever going beyond the ſaid number of one and twenty. They have excuſed from this payment ſuch as actually officiate in the great conventual church, viz. Francis and Stephen Pradal, John le Grand, Michael Dupas, and Philip Ortiz, whom they would have comprehended in the number of the one and twenty, and in the number aſſigned to each nation.

54. THE ſame lords have revoked all graces granted by the preſent general chapter, or to be granted by the venerable councils of reſervation for the reception of brother chaplains, prieſts, deacons, ſubdeacons and clergy, except thoſe that have been granted to Dominic la Hoz and Michael Pomar, Arragonian

nian prieſts, and to Bernard Nicher nephew to the chamberlain major of his eminence, who ſhall nevertheleſs be compriſed in the one and twenty, and to Antonio Faria de Magallais a Portugueſe on condition however of their making the neceſſary proofs and of paying their paſſage, as it is regulated by the preſent ordinance.

Of the CHURCH.

TITLE III.

1. THE ſame lords have confirmed to the venerable languages the diſtribution of the chapels in the great conventual church of S. John Baptiſt our patron, as it was made in the general chapter of 1603, together with the declaration made in the following and laſt chapter, in regard of the chapel which is on the right hand, called formerly the chapel of the pillar of the lord and at preſent the chapel of the three kings. If England ever returns into the boſome of the holy catholick church, the venerable council may provide chapels for the venerable language of that nation, according to its ancient privileges, by authority of the general chapter, referring it to the conſcience of the piliers and procurators of the venerable languages, to provide for the execution and obſervation of the ſtatutes made by the ſaid general chapter for the diſtribution of the chapels.

2. THE ſame lords have ordained that whenever the priour of the church or his vice priour are minded to make complaint in the aſſembly of the chaplains, of any one among them that neglects the divine ſervice or is accuſed of offending againſt the good and laudable cuſtoms of the order of having refuſed to obey the priour or vice priour or of having done ſomething elſe that deſerves puniſhment, the ſaid right reverend priour or vice piour, ſhall not be obliged to withdraw from the aſſembly after they have made it, becauſe they have no private intereſt therein: they ſhall aſſiſt at the trial and judgment, that they may render the accuſed the juſtice which is due to them according to the ſtatutes of the chapters, prohibiting however the right reverend priour, and the vice priour to meddle in any affair that belongs properly to the cogniſance of the grand maſter and council.

3. THE ſame lords, after a ſcrutiny in way of ballot, have revoked all the graces granted by the preſent general chapter, or that may be granted hereafter by the councils of reſervation, to diſpenſe with chaplains for their attendance at the choir: all which diſpenſations ſhall be of no force.

4. THE ſame lords have ordained that all propoſitions in the venerable aſſemblies of the chaplains, ſhall be made by the right reverend priour of the church, who ſhall have likewiſe the nomination of the officers, that are to be choſen, changed, confirmed, or put in the ſtead of others; and ſhall propoſe other affairs of a like nature, declaring every thing null that is contrary to his rights.

5. THE ſame lords have enjoined the right reverend priour to make or cauſe to be made every year a viſitation of the church and infirmary, and of every thing dedicated to divine ſervice, to inform himſelf whether the ſacraments are duly adminiſtred to the ſick, whether maſs is regularly ſaid there, and to correct every thing that he ſhall find amiſs and deficient there.

6. THE ſame lords have ordered the brother chaplains of our conventual church, to go at leaſt once a month, if the weather is favourable, in proceſſion to the infirmary, as has been the cuſtom formerly; no body ſhall be excuſed from doing ſo, and whoever neglects it ſhall loſe his week's portion, which ſhall go to the poor priſoners; enjoining the right reverend priour and his comptrollers, to ſee to the execution of this ſtatute.

7. WHEREAS the holy fathers have wiſely introduced indulgences into the church, which ought to be ſtrictly complied with and carefully gained, the ſame lords have ordained, that every Sunday, when they give notice of the feaſts and faſts, they ſhall likewiſe give notice of the indulgences which the

brothers may gain either in our Church, or that of the convent and in other places of devotion.

8. As the holy ſcripture mentions the honour paid to the bodies and relicks of ſaints, from the very beginning of the church, the ſame lords have ordained, that ſuch as we have ſhall be treated with all honour and reverence, and ſhall not be removed from one place to another, without expreſs leave from the general chapter. And whereas the ſhrines of moſt of them are in a ſorry condition, they have allowed the priours and baillis to employ the preſent which they are obliged to make to the church, in providing gold and ſilver ſhrines for them; allowing all the religious to do the ſame, and to have their name and arms engraved on the ſhrine to perpetuate the memory of their devotion.

9. The ſame lords, conſidering that the number of maſſes, the foundations of which have been accepted till this time by the venerable aſſembly of the chaplains, is ſo vaſtly augmented, that if they continue to accept more, it would be impoſſible to perform the conditions of them, have forbid the accepting of any more foundations of that nature till the next general chapter, except thoſe of his eminence.

10. They have likewiſe ordained, that they ſhall continue in the conventual chapter of S. John Baptiſt our patron, the chapel for chanting divine ſervice, upon great holy days, the anniverſaries of the grand maſters, and other days that the right reverend priour of the church ſhall direct; and that the grand maſter ſhall have full authority over the maſter of this chapel, his choriſters and muſicians, to change them, reform, correct and regulate the ſalaries which ſhall be paid them by the treaſury, provided they do not exceed ſixty crowns a month, comprehending therein thoſe of maſter of the chapel and the organiſt, enjoining, if they do an immediate reduction of them to that ſum; forbidding likewiſe under ſuch penalty as his eminence ſhall pleaſe to inflict, the maſter of the chapel and his muſicians to wear any ſort of arms in the quire and other places ſet apart to ſing the praiſes of the lord, and enjoining them to appear there only in caſſocks and ſurplices.

11. They have likewiſe ordained that if any brother lies at the point of death out of the infirmary, as ſoon as the reverend priour of the church ſhall have notice of it, he ſhall ſend one or more chaplains that are prieſts to aſſiſt him, till he is either dead or out of danger: Such as ſhall refuſe to go, ſhall loſe their portion for two months, which ſhall go to the profit of the aſſembly.

12. If any brother dies at ſuch an hour that his corps may be buried in the morning, they ſhall ſing maſs whilſt the corps is by: The ſub priour, or ſome other chaplain in his abſence, attended by a deacon and ſubdeacon with their copes on, ſhall bury him: They ſhall not wear the mantles of the order as they did formerly on ſuch occaſions; and if they fail to obſerve theſe ceremonies, they ſhall have no ſhare in the thirtieth of the effects of the deceaſed.

13. That the venerable feaſts of the beheading of S. John Baptiſt, the forerunner of Jeſus Chriſt and our patron, may be kept with the greater ſolemnity, they have ordained, that the right reverend priour of the church ſhall officiate pontifically at veſpers, and that the octave of it ſhall be kept likewiſe.

14. That the embaſſadour and procurator general of the order at the court of Rome ſhall preſent a petition in the name of the order to the pope, and do all they can to get ſome of our ſaints canonized, that we may have an office for them in our churches, enjoining the right reverend priour to ſend them all the writings and materials neceſſary for their information, with proper inſtruction how to bring about ſuch a pious deſign.

15. That from henceforward no brother of what rank, dignity or quality ſoever he be, that dies in the convent, ſhall be buried in any other church, but that of the convent, or in the ordinary vault.

16. That the brother chaplains ſhall reckon their ſtanding, and take their ſeats in the quire, the aſſembly and proceſſions and on other occaſions, from the day of their reception in the language or priory, and not from that

of their ordination to the prieſthood, unleſs whilſt they are only in the leſſer orders, for then the prieſts, though admitted laſt, ſhall take place of them.

17. The ſame lords, at the inſtance of the right reverend priour of the church, after a ſcrutiny in way of ballot, have allowed all the chaplains that are prieſts to wear in the quire and at proceſſion, but not elſewhere, a black hood, with the croſs of our habit, of a reaſonable ſize upon the left ſhoulder: the hood ſhall be only of woollen cloth, lined with black, and ſhall be put over the ſurplice.

18. They have ordained that all the chaplains, prieſts, deacons, ſubdeacons, or inferiour clergy that officiate in the church of the convent ſhall wear the ſurplice every day whether an holy day or no, and at all hours, and ſhall provide themſelves therewith at their own expence, on pain, if they have no benefice, of ſuffering the ſeptaine for the firſt offence, the quarantain for the ſecond, and for the third, the loſs of a year's ſtanding for the benefit of their fiarnauds.

They ſhall wear the ſurplice likewiſe at the proceſſions and other ceremonies which ſhall be from time to time out of the church. If the right reverend priour of the church, or, in his abſence, the vice priour, neglect to look after the execution of this ſtatute, whenever the maſter or his procurator by his orders ſhall complain of it to the council, the priour or vice priour ſhall loſe ten crowns every time, which ſhall be ſtopped out of the ſalary and table, which they have from the treaſury, and the money ſhall be employed to beautify the chapel of the beheading of S. John.

That the ſame thing ſhall be obſerved by all the chaplains that live in a collegiate way, in the priories, caſtellany of Empoſta, bailleages, and commanderies under the ſame penalties, for the firſt and ſecond offence, and of a year's impriſonment for the third. Enjoining the priours, caſtellan of Empoſta, baillis and commanders to take care that the preſent ſtatute be obſerved.

19. That the conventual chaplains, though only in the leſſer orders, that are out of the convent in conſiderable towns, are obliged to aſſiſt at divine ſervice in the churches of the order on the feaſt of their dedication, and on other days when the right reverend priour of the church is to officiate pontifically, on pain of being fined ten crowns to be paid into the treaſury for every offence, and of not voting in chapters and aſſemblies for a year.

20. That when the clergy of the leſſer orders admitted or to be admitted come to the age of twenty one, they ſhall be well examined before letters dimiſſory are granted them to receive the order of ſubdeacon, and that ſuch as do not ſeem qualified to go on to the prieſthood, ſhall be put among the ſervants of arms, and ſhall pay their paſſage within a year, reckoning from the day of their paſſing into that rank; and in caſe of ſuch regular payment of it, they ſhall have the benefit of their ſtanding from the day that they were firſt admitted into the order; but in failure thereof ſhall have none at all. The right reverend priour ſhall name commiſſioners to make this examination, who ſhall give the maſter and council an account of their ſufficiency or inſufficiency, that they may conſider in what rank and ſtation it is fit to put them.

21. Since the order has among other relicks, a thorn of the holy crown of our lord Jeſus Chriſt, the feaſt of which brother James de Milly the grand maſter ordered to be kept with a ſemidouble office on the eleventh of Auguſt every year, the ſame lords judging this ſtatute worthy of the piety of the order, have ordered a revival of the obſervation of it with a double office, and require the right reverend priour of the church to ſee it be kept duely.

22. That all the brothers of the order, of what rank, dignity and condition ſoever they be, ſhall aſſiſt at all the divine ſervice of the feaſt of the nativity of S. John Baptiſt our patron, and protector, wherever they are in the churches of the order if there be any, from the firſt veſpers of the eve: Such as fail to do ſo, unleſs they had a lawful impediment ſhall pay ten crowns to be laid out in the purchaſe of a jewel or ornament to be given to the ſaid church, enjoining the priour, bailli or commander to whom the church belongs,

belongs, or his lieutenant or receiver, to ſee that this preſent ſtatute be executed in its rigour.

23. That upon the day of the nativity of St. John Baptiſt our patron, whilſt they are going in proceſſion with the holy relick, the ſame number of cannon ſhot ſhall be fired, as is done at that of the feaſt of Corpus Chriſti.

24. The ſame lords have judged the eleventh article of the title of the church ſuperfluous, ſince it is ſufficient that the univerſal church has ſo decided it; as likewiſe the nineteenth and twenty third articles of the ſame title, which are alſo uſeleſs; which thoſe that are appointed to draw up the new ſtatutes ſhould not fail to mind.

25. The ſame lords reflecting on the ſixty ſecond article of the title of prohibitions and penalties, where it is ſaid, that our brothers are obliged to aſſiſt at divine ſervice in the conventual church, where they are exhorted to go frequently to the chapel annexed to it, to perform their devotions and ſpiritual exerciſes there, have ordained in execution of the eighteenth article of the title of the church, where it is ſaid, that beſides advent and lent, there ſhall be likewiſe preaching there all the other feaſts of the year, that this ſhall be done at leaſt every firſt ſunday in the month, whilſt the holy ſacrament is expoſed in that chapel.

26. That our brothers and our novices ſhall keep the faſts enjoined by the holy church and by our ſtatutes: If the pilier gives them any ſupper in the inns on thoſe days, he ſhall forfeit a year's ſalary to the treaſury, and the brother novice that aſks for ſupper, ſhall be ſent to the tower, upon the bare complaint of the pilier, and continue there as long as his ſuperiors pleaſe.

27. The ſame lords have forbid the employing any galley ſlaves or their crew, or new converts, in any ſervice of the church. They ſhall make uſe of two or three good and devout men, ſuch as his eminence the grand maſter ſhall chuſe, (who ſhall order them a competent ſalary out of the treaſury, and give each of them two habits a year) to ſweep and clean the church, the oratory and the chapels, to help the ſacriſtan and toller of the bell, to light the wax candles, drive out dogs, and do ſuch like ſervices.

28. The ſame lords have allowed the venerable provincial chapter of the priory of Germany to ſend to the convent, every five years a brother chaplain of obedience of the convent either of Cologne or of Straſburg, qualified to adminiſter the ſacraments to the German brothers that reſide there. To which brother, in caſe he be approved of by the prior of the church for the time being, they have granted his commons and his pay, as is uſually given by the treaſury to the other conventual chaplains, whilſt they reſide there.

29. Upon taking notice of the ninth article of this title confirmed in the firſt chapter under the grand maſter de Vignacour, for the obſervation of the fourth and fifth articles of the title of the church, they have ordained, that all the brothers reſiding at Malta, of what rank and dignity ſoever they be, that ſhall not make it appear that they have confeſſed and communicated at the four great feaſts immediately foregoing, as they are obliged by the ſtatutes, and ſhall have been directed by the reverend prior of the church, ſhall be deprived of all manner of voice, both active and paſſive; ſo that they ſhall not be preſent and aſſiſt at the aſſemblies of the languages, the councils and courts of the order, nor give any vote therein, in which incapacity they ſhall continue for ſix months together. Which ſhall be put in execution againſt them whenever they fall into the ſame fault.

30. That they ſhall wear the mantle of the order at the maſs of the dedication of the great conventual church of our glorious patron St. John Baptiſt, as well as at the firſt veſpers of the feaſt of his beheading. They ſhall inſert theſe two feaſts in their places, in the laſt ſtatute of this title.

31. The ſame lords, after a ſcrutiny in way of ballot, have thought fit to augment the value of the jewel, which the priors and baillis are obliged to preſent to our conventual church, according to the twenty ſeventh and twenty eighth articles of the title of the church. So that for the future it ſhall be worth an hundred crowns of gold, at fourteen tarins each: Ordering the priors and baillis, within eighteen months after they have begun to enjoy the revenues of their priories and bailliages, to ſend and deliver it into the hands of the comptrollers

trollers, taking care that it be of the full value of the hundred crowns of gold, in failure whereof they ſhall be deemed debtors of the like ſum to the treaſury, and the receiver ſhall ſeize their revenues till they come to that ſum, in order to remit it to the convent and pay it to the comptrollers. The caſtellan of Empoſta is under the ſame obligation.

Of Hospitality.

TITLE IV.

THE ſame ſixteen reverend lords, reſolving to revive the form of oath which the comptrollers of the infirmary uſed to take formerly before the maſter, immediately after their election, have ordained, that it ſhall be taken in the following manner, and ſhall be wrote on a table and fixed up in the infirmary to be ſeen by all the world.

Form of the oath of the comptrollers of the holy infirmary.

I N. comptroller of the holy infirmary, make a ſolemn oath to God to uſe the utmoſt care in viſiting, relieving and providing all proper ſuſtenance for the ſick that are kept in the infirmary; that I will be careful to reform all neglects that I can diſcover, to examine every day the expences that are there made, to ſign with my own hand all ſuch as appear to me to be reaſonable, to accompt every month with the director of the infirmary for all that he has laid out and provided for the ſick, to draw up every day an exact account of all the remedies ordered by the phyſicians out of the apothecary's ſhop, which ſhall come to my knowledge, and to ſign it with my own hand, to charge nothing elſe to the accompt of the treaſury, and to diſcharge all the duties of my office with all manner of charity and exactneſs, according to the ſtatutes, and ordinances, and laudable cuſtoms of the order. So help me God, and his holy goſpel.

THE ſame lords, after examining the ſtatutes made by the venerable council on June 1, 1629 for the good government of the infirmary, have reſolved, in way of ballot, to approve and confirm them, and have ordained that they ſhall be executed, as if they were ſtatutes of the general chapter, and for that purpoſe have inſerted them in this place, as follows.

2. THAT the incurables ſhall not be put any longer in a diſtinct place from the infirmary, but ſuch place ſhall be ſuppreſſed, as alſo the little houſe appointed ſome years ago, for the receiving of ſick women, becauſe the order is obliged to maintain the holy exerciſe of hoſpitality in the hoſpital of the holy infirmary, but not to multiply the places deſigned for ſuch uſe, nor to load the treaſury with ſalaries, pittances, and other things granted to the officers that take care of them.

3. THAT the treaſury ſhall furniſh no remedies or other neceſſaries to any ſick but ſuch as are actually in the infirmary, and not to ſuch as would be taken care of in their chambers, who ſhall be obliged to pay for every thing that is taken up for them in the apothecary's ſhop by the phyſician's preſcription: Enjoyning the comptrollers to give in, every ſix months, to the court of exchequer an account of every thing that has been taken up by any of them: The ſeveral articles whereof ſhall be taxed by the firſt phyſician, according to which the venerable procurators of the treaſury ſhall regulate the ſums due from every one. In caſe however the brother's diſtemper be of ſuch a nature, that he ought not, according to the phyſician's opinion, be admitted into the infirmary, his eminence the grand maſter ſhall order what is proper to be done in ſuch caſe, by the advice of the venerable hoſpitaller, or his lieutenant.

4. THAT no pittances nor medicines ſhall be given out of the infirmary, unleſs it be to poor women, upon the preſcriptions of phyſicians that have ſalaries out of the treaſury, or from the people, ſigned by one of the commiſſaries deputed to viſit the poor ſick, that the hoſpital of the infirmary may be always free and open to receive ſick perſons, as well ſubjects of the orders, as others

that ſhall repair thither to be cured of their diſeaſes, according to its ancient and laudable cuſtom.

5. THAT notwithſtanding the ordinance above, they ſhall not fail to continue the charity they have hitherto uſed in furniſhing remedies gratis to the monaſteries of St. Urſula, the penitent ſiſters of the city Valette, and the capucins.

6. THAT beſides the regiſter of wills and teſtaments and diſappropriations, the ſecretary of the infirmary ſhall keep, upon a little table in the hall, a great book, in which he ſhall write down exactly the name, ſurname and countrey of every ſick perſon, the day and hour that he came in and was ſent back, on that he died, charging it home on the conſcience of the venerable hoſpitaller or his lieutenant, to take care that this article be punctually executed, as of great importance for the government of the infirmary, on pain againſt the ſecretary of being turned out of his office.

7. THAT notwithſtanding the ſtatute of the precedent general chapter, there ſhall be only two comptrollers, to do their duty and take care of the ſick in the infirmary according to our ſtatutes: The venerable council ſhall depute however two other officers with the title of commiſſary viſitors, to examine how the ſick poor are treated, who ſhall be ſupplied with food and remedies according to the preſcription of the phyſicians, who ſhall be obliged to ſet down the names and ſurnames of the ſick, and the places of their abode, that they may afterwards be ſigned by one of the commiſſaries, without which the comptrollers ſhall take no notice of it.

8. THAT the phyſicians and ſurgeons ſhall ſet down in the book of the preſcriptions of the infirmary, (as they do in thoſe which they give for abroad) the day, month and year, with the quality and quantity of the drugs and medicines all at length, without making uſe of abbreviations or cyphers, forbidding them to write any thing down in this book for any other perſons but ſuch as are actually ſick in the infirmary.

9. THAT the two practiſing phyſicians and ſurgeons, that have ſtipends, ſhall lye every night, without fail, in the infirmary.

10. THAT they take very particular care to oblige the ſick, as ſoon as they have been taken in, to diſpoſe themſelves to receive the ſacraments of penance and the euchariſt, eſpecially if they are our brothers, according to the ſixteenth article of this title, which we charge expreſly on the conſcience of the prior and vice-prior of the infirmary.

11. THAT this laſt poſt be always given to a Malteze, becauſe the greateſt part of the ſick are vaſſals to the order, but ſtill without hurting the prerogative of the venerable hoſpitaller.

12. THAT they obſerve inviolably the fifth and eighth articles of this title, where mention is made of the effects and goods of the infirmary, of the inventory that ought to be taken of them, and the marks that ſhould be put upon them to prevent their being either changed or ſold.

13. THAT the comptrollers, among other branches of their care, take the pains ſometimes to examine whether they actually give the ſick the remedies that are preſcribed by the phyſicians and entered into the book.

14. THEY have ſuppreſſed the abuſe that was introduced of the comptrollers aſſuming an authority to diſtribute, at the expence of the common treaſury, the pittance and other things of the infirmary, without the preſcription of the phyſicians, or the directions of the ſuperiors, under pretence of extraordinaries: They ſhall have no power to diſpoſe of any thing, particularly of bread, which they do as they pleaſe, under pretence of giving it in charity, but it ſhall be diſpoſed of by the commiſſaries appointed for that purpoſe, ſo that the duties of the two offices be not confounded; theirs relates only to the ſick; the others buſineſs is to relieve the poor.

15. ACCORDING to the order of the venerable council of September 18, 1579, they have ordained, as well for the convenience of the ſick as the eaſe of the treaſury, that the apothecary's room in the infirmary ſhall be, for the future, ſupplied, as formerly, by the druggiſts, and not by the officers of the treaſury; and this by the orders of the venerable procurators who ſhall advance the money, and do all they can to help the druggiſts in the purchaſe and providing

ding of the neceſſary drugs and medicines at the proper time, referring it to their prudence to make a bargain for them upon the eſtimates which ſhall be given them by the druggiſts.

16. The phyſicians may, for the convenience of the ſecular officers that the order gives ſalaries to, who ſhall be ſick at home, to preſcribe them remedies from the infirmary, which ſhall be diſcounted to them, according to the regulation of the venerable procurators of the common treaſury.

17. That they reſtore the good order for keeping of the cloaths of ſuch as ſhall be ſick in the infirmary, which ſhall be locked up in coffers, though it were only to prevent their going out before they are quite cured, and committing other indiſcretions.

18. That they do not receive any ſecular into the infirmary, not even the ſervants of the knights, under pretence of taking phyſick by way of precaution, as ſeveral do, eſpecially in the ſpring, which is a great charge to the order, whoſe inſtitution is only to relieve ſuch as are actually ſick in the infirmary.

19. That the venerable procurators of the treaſury give the comptrollers inſtructions in order to receive the accompts of the director of the infirmary, more particular than what they give at preſent, which is too confuſed and perplexed.

20. For the having always a perfect knowledge of all the goods and utenſils of the infirmary, that have been given by the executors of ſuch foundations as have been made for the ſervice of the ſick, they have ordered the ſecretary to keep a diſtinct regiſter, in which there ſhall be entered, under the ſeveral diſtinct titles of each foundation, the quality of the goods that have been received, with the date of their reception, and the name of the perſon that delivered them, which reception ſhall be ſigned by the comptrollers in the regiſter it ſelf.

21. That all pittances given out of the infirmary to poor women that are ſick, ſhall, for the future, be given in money, and not in victuals.

22. The ſame lords, after a ſcrutiny in the way of ballot, have ordained, that the ſtatute of the grand maſter Verdale, which is the twenty third of the title of baillis, and relates to the choice of the director of the infirmary, ſhall be obſerved according to its form and tenour, and that officer ſhall be always choſe out of the brother knights.

23. The ſame lords, conſidering that all our brothers were particularly obliged to uſe hoſpitality, and to attend the ſick themſelves, and that if our brothers of the venerable languages went thither all at a time, it would occaſion a great deal of confuſion, and there being no regulation ever made as yet in this point, have ordained, that from and after the Sunday immediately following the publication of the preſent general chapter, as it belongs to the venerable language of Provence to begin, the venerable great commander, or his lieutenant, ſhall ſend to the infirmary to wait upon the ſick, as many brother knights, ſervants of arms, or novices, as he ſhall think neceſſary, to the number of ſeven at leaſt, who ſhall attend there all the week, morning and evening. Such as ſhall neglect to do ſo, after being named by their pilier, ſhall be puniſhed with the ſeptaine.

24. That the venerable hoſpitaller and great conſervator ſhall, every ſix months, viſit the goods of the infirmary in the preſence of the comptrollers, on pain of being deprived of their deliberative voice in the venerable councils, till they have effectually executed the preſent ſtatute.

25. That beſides the ordinary viſitations, the grand maſter and the venerable council ſhall depute, every three months, two commiſſaries of the ſaid council, of the moſt conſiderable and intelligent members of it, who, for the better direction of the infirmary and relief of the ſick, ſhall viſit the infirmary along with the venerable hoſpitaller, and inform themſelves exactly of every thing that can either contribute or be prejudicial to it, and, upon their report, the grand maſter and council ſhall make ſuch regulations as they ſhall ſee fit and are proper for the good management of the infirmary, and for the relief of the poor, though it ſhould be neceſſary for that end to change, or even aboliſh entirely, any of the chapter ordinances that relate to it, and make new ones.

26. That

26. That the director of the infirmary ſhall give the comptrollers a juſt and true account of the wine that is ſpent there every day, to correct the abuſes which are introduced in that particular to the detriment of the common treaſury: They ſhall paſs it in his accompts, as well as the fowl, pullets, eggs, and other proviſions, at the rate that they are generally ſold at the market, notwithſtanding the cuſtom and ordinary tax which may prove ſometimes to his prejudice. Enjoining the comptrollers to take care that the proviſions be good of their ſort, and proper for the relief and recovery of the ſick; that they be furniſhed with charity and liberality, and nothing be neglected that can be ſerviceable either to the ſoul or body, as we are engaged to do by our profeſſion.

27. Considering the variety of languages ſpoke by ſuch as are in the infirmary, the ſame lords have ordained, that the prior and vice-prior underſtand ſeveral tongues, that the ſick may confeſs to them more eaſily; but this regulation ſhall not intrench on the right of preſenting them which belongs to the venerable hoſpitaller and his lieutenant, according to the ſtatutes.

28. That for two years of actual ſervice done by the vice-prior of the infirmary in it, he ſhall be deemed to have made a caravan, and it ſhall be reckoned to him as ſuch, all the ſame as if he had made it on board the gallies of the order; requiring the venerable aſſembly of the chaplains to allow it him without any diſpute.

29. They have referred it to the venerable officers of the treaſury, to find out ſome expedient to prevent frauds being committed in the accompts which are given to the comptrollers, of the diſtributions of remedies, and other drugs and medicines, when the apothecary reads them over.

30. That the phyſician, who is to begin his month of ſervice, viſit the ſick three days before, along with the phyſician that is to end his; that he may not put another in his place to viſit the ſick, when he does not come in perſon, or is not hindered by ſome accident that can juſtly excuſe him, on pain of paying ſix tarins for every default.

31. That all the phyſicians and ſurgeons ſhall be obliged to aſſemble once a week in the infirmary, to conſult about the condition of the ſick and wounded. Such as fail to be there, ſhall forfeit five crowns, which ſhall be deducted out of their ſalaries.

32. That they ſhall take but a tarin (or gigliat) a day for viſiting ſuch brothers as are ſick in their chambers, on pain of loſing a month of their ſalary: That they ſhall be obliged to viſit the convents of the nuns of St. Urſula, of the penitents of the city of la Valette and the capucins gratis, for the month ſucceeding that of their ſervice in the infirmary, as often as they are ſent for, in which they ſhall be relieved by others in their turn as they come out of the infirmary, ſo that they ſhall be employed there and in viſits abroad alternately.

33. That the two phyſicians who are not in their month of ſervice, ſhall make each of them their viſits by the week, or at leaſt on different days, to the priſon of the ſlaves.

34. Whereas a great quantity of remedies are diſtributed to poor ſick people out of the infirmary, one of the phyſicians and ſurgeons, who are not actually employed in viſiting the ſick, ſhall not fail to make them at leaſt one viſit a day gratis; which they ſhall do either by the month or the week, as is moſt for their convenience. We order the venerable hoſpitaller, or his lieutenant, to look after the execution of the preſent ſtatute.

35. That they ſhall keep in the infirmary, at the charge of the treaſury, a man well verſed in the practice of phyſick, who, after being duly examined by the phyſicians, and preſented to the grand maſter by the venerable hoſpitaller, ſhall furniſh drugs, medicines, and other neceſſaries for the ſick at proper times, according to the preſcriptions of the phyſicians, to whom he ſhall be obliged to give an exact account of the condition of the ſick, that they may be able to prevent accidents, and preſcribe nothing but what is proper for them.

36. THAT he ſhall be obliged to be at the infirmary when the phyſicians make their viſits there, and to obſerve, with the ſecretary, what it is that they preſcribe to be given them to eat, in order to follow their preſcriptions.

37. THAT the ſurgeons, who have ſtipends, ſhall be obliged to viſit the wounded that are in the infirmary, as often as there is occaſion, in failure whereof the venerable hoſpitaller ſhall puniſh them as he ſees fit.

38. THAT to prevent accidents which may happen to them, and give them ſpeedy relief, there ſhall be always at leaſt one ſurgeon in the infirmary, who ſhall keep his reſidence there.

39. THAT they ſhall continue to give alms to the poor Rhodians, Maltéze, and others; to the orphans and widows of ſuch as have loſt their huſbands and fathers in the ſervice of the order, making however a diſtinction in favour of reputable and virtuous perſons.

40. THEY have ſince moderated the foregoing ſtatute, and ordained that the alms, which uſe to be given to various perſons by the name of Rhodians out of the convent, as at Syracuſe, Meſſina, and other places, ſhall ceaſe, in proportion as they come to dye, without being continued to their ſucceſſours, as has been practiſed before, revoking all the graces of reſervation made or to be made by the preſent chapter, contrary to this ſtatute.

41. THAT the common treaſury ſhall furniſh every year fifty crowns of twelve tarins a piece, for the expence of the lord's ſupper on Maundy Thurſday in paſſion week.

Of the common TREASURY.

TITLE V.

1. THE ſixteen reverend lords, having duly conſidered the examination (made by the venerable commiſſaries deputed by the order of the venerable compleat council, purſuant to the eleventh article of the ſtatutes of the chapter) of the accompts of the adminiſtration of the treaſury, given in by brother Peter Maria de Turaminis ſecretary of the ſaid treaſury, with equal exactneſs and clearneſs, which has ſatisfied them that the reſponſions and impoſts which has been hitherto laid, joined to its ordinary and extraordinary revenues, carefully collected by the officers, and duly paid by the debtors, may very well ſuffice for all the publick expences that are neceſſary, and to defray the charges of the treaſury as well within as out of the convent, and particularly for maintaining the ſix galleys which they have reſolved to keep up, have, after ſeveral conferences on this ſubject, agreed that if they would preſerve the order in the condition it is in, they muſt not at this time either diminiſh or increaſe the charges upon the commanderies.

THEY have therefore, after a ſcrutiny by way of ballot and nemine contradicente, confirmed the ordinary reſponſions, viz. two thirds of the annates, upon the foot of the valuation made in the firſt general chapter held at Malta, and the impoſts of forty thouſand crowns of gold, and fifty thouſand gold crowns of the ſun, laid by the general chapter of 1588, with the ſaid ordinary reſponſions and impoſts of forty thouſand crowns of gold confirmed and continued by the precedent general chapter of A. D. 1612. which impoſts of forty thouſand crowns of gold of one part, and of fifty thouſand gold crowns of the ſun, they have laid anew, and ordered to be paid in to the treaſury by all the priories, caſtellany of empoſta, bailliages, commenderies, benefices, and all eſtates whatſoever belonging to the order of the holy houſe and hoſpital of S. John of Jeruſalem, exempt or not exempt, by every one in proportion to the valuation of its revenues made by the general chapter of the ſaid order held at Malta A. D. 1583.

WHICH ſaid reſponſions and impoſts they have ordained to be paid, as is ordered by the ſaid general chapter of 1588. and as they have been or

ought to have been paid till now: which payment ſhall be made for the future at the provincial chapters, and if there be none held, at every feaſt of the nativity of S. John Baptiſt our patron, reckoning from the month of June next year, to continue henceforward from year to year, till the holding of the firſt general chapter.

§ 2. The ſame lords, after a ſcrutiny by way of ballot, have unanimouſly confirmed, and where it may be needful have impoſed anew upon the priories of Germany and Bohemia; the bailliages, commanderies, members, benefices and other eſtates of the venerable language of Germany, exempt and not exempt, and ordered to be paid for the preſent at the provincial chapter, or if none be held at the next S. John Baptiſt, and continu'd for the following years, their reſpective quota's of the ſaid reſponſions, and the ſaid ſums of forty thouſand crowns of gold and fifty thouſand gold crowns of the ſun, according to the regulation made of it by the ſaid chapter of one thouſand five hundred and eighty three, amounting to one thouſand ſix hundred and five crowns of gold in gold, with the ordinary reſponſions; and the other impoſt of fifty thouſand crowns, as it has been paid in former years; comprehending nevertheleſs therein according to the decree of the laſt general chapter ſave one, the two hundred and ninety five crowns for their quota of the ſaid one thouſand ſix hundred and five crowns of gold laid upon the ſaid priory of Bohemia, and the commanderies lying within its diſtrict, as is explained more at length in the acts of the ſaid chapter, which they have confirmed and ordered the execution thereof.

3. And whereas they may very well retrench ſome of the expences made in the convent, which the ſaid lords have judged to be exceſſive, they, to eaſe the treaſury of the burden in ſome meaſure, have deputed the venerable brother Signorin de Gattinara, brother Gabriel Dorin Ligny lieutenant of the treaſurer general, and brother Don Gaſpard de Aldretta to examine into ſuch as are made upon the galleys, the venerable brother Nicholas della Marra priour of Meſſina, brother Peter de Chantelot de Cheſe, and brother Don Juan de Villeroel, to look into ſuch as are made in the infirmary; the venerable brother de Fay Gerlande, priour of Auvergne, brother Alphonſus Caſtel S. Pierre, and brother Blaiſe Brandao to examine into ſuch as are made for the priſon of the ſlaves; and the venerable brother Nicholas Cavaretta priour of Venice, and brother Francis de Crotes la Menardie, for thoſe of the conventual church: who ſhall make their report in writing to the compleat council of reſervation, to whom they ſhall at the ſame time give advice of what they have reſpectively obſerved of the greateſt importance, that proper proviſion may be made in the caſe by their authority.

4. The ſame lords conſidering the authority veſted by the five laſt general chapters in the grand maſter and venerable compleat council, to provide for every thing that might be neceſſary in caſe there were any apprehenſions of a ſiege, and to impoſe a ſum not exceeding one hundred and twenty two thouſand crowns, at one or more times, upon all and every the eſtates of the order, and to regulate the ſeveral quota's thereof according to thoſe of the fifty thouſand crowns, payable at ſuch terms as they pleaſe to fix, have granted the ſame authority to his eminence the grand maſter that now is and ſhall be at that time, and to the venerable compleat council, in virtue of that which they have of the chapter general, to provide, in caſe the iſland be threatened with a ſiege, for every thing neceſſary to a vigorus defence, and to lay the like ſum of one hundred and twenty two thouſand crowns, upon all and every the eſtates of the order, and to diſpoſe thereof as is ſaid above.

5. The ſame lords, conſidering how juſt it is that every body ſhould contribute to the charges of the order, in proportion to the eſtates they enjoy, by their reſponſions and contributions, have, for preſerving an equality between the brothers, and for fear the priories, caſtellany of Empoſta, bailliages and commenderies ſhould be charged diſproportionably, ordained that all the members of the priories of that caſtellany, and of the bailliages and commanderies, as well as the penſions created upon their revenues in any manner and upon any conditions whatever, though it be by way of bond, and though the bulls thereof have not been yet paſſed, and they have not been

taxed

taxed by the preſent general chapter for the treaſury dues impoſed or to be impoſed, (excepting thoſe of the magiſtral chambers reſerved and to be reſerved by his eminence the grand maſter,) ſhall be obliged to contribute to the payment of the forty thouſand crowns of gold, the ordinary reſponſions, and the fifty thouſand crowns, in proportion to their value: So that if for example, a commandery of one thouſand crowns rent is taxed at an hundred, the member or penſion on it of two hundred crowns, ſhall pay twenty crowns of it, and ſo of others. Declaring that the preſent ſtatute ſhall take place in all the members and penſions created whatever, and if in the bulls of proviſions and in the decrees of chapter, the reſponſions are rated, but not mortgaged for a conſideration, if ſuch conſideration and valuation thereof be ſo moderate that it can't amount to the portion and quota that the ſaid members and penſions are taxed at, we order for the ſupplying of ſuch defect, that the overplus be furniſhed by ſuch as poſſeſs them, notwithſtanding any thing that can be ſaid or done to the contrary.

6. THE ſame lords being made acquainted by the right reverend priour of the church, his eminence the grand maſter's procurator, that he does not deſign to take upon him the adminiſtration of the treaſury, as he has already declared ſeveral times, have ordered the adminiſtration thereof and all its dependances, to continue in the hands of the venerable great commander and the procurators of the treaſury, and conventual conſervator according to the tenour of the ſtatutes.

7. THAT the bake houſes of the order ſhould be rather let out than kept in hand; being of opinion, after a ſcrutiny by way of ballot, that the firſt method would be more to the advantage of the order than the laſt, and therefore they have ordained that they ſhall be leaſed out the firſt of September next to the higheſt bidder, that offers the beſt conditions, in the opinion of the procurators of the treaſury, but ſtill with the approbation of his eminence in the council, after it has paſſed in the council of reſervation for what relates to the biſket of the galleys, the bread of the infirmary, and the priſon of the ſlaves, and been examined by the commiſſioners deputed for this purpoſe, in order to judge better of the perſons that offer to take the leaſe and know with which the order had beſt engage.

8. THE ſame lords have ordained for good reaſons, regarding the advantage and good government of the order, that the grand maſter that now is and his ſucceſſors, whether they have or have not the management of the treaſury, may ſend their ſeneſchal or any procurator they pleaſe to name, to ſit in the court of the treaſury, at the audit, examination and judgment of the accompts, at the treating and determination of all ſorts of affairs whatever, with a deliberative, active and paſſive voice, according to the rank of their preeminence and ſtanding, and to do every thing there that the grand maſter ſhall think fit to order them.

9. THAT neither the conventual conſervator nor the grand maſter's procurator ſhall be admitted into the court of exchequer, till after they have taken the oath which the ordinary auditors of accompts are obliged to take.

10. THAT agreeable to the ordinances of former chapters, the reſponſions, impoſts and other dues of the common treaſury, impoſed and to be impoſed upon the priories, caſtellany of Empoſta, bailliages, commanderies, members and eſtates of the order, ſhall be paid for the future in every priory and province, as has been always practiſed till now, in gold and ſilver coin current in the countrey, according to the regulations of the princes that govern it.

11. THAT the gold and ſilver which ſhall be ſent to the convent by the receivers, ſhall be of the ordinary weight and alloy: if it be not, they ſhall make it good.

12. THAT the ordinary fees for paſſage ſhall be paid, viz. for the brother knights two hundred and fifty crowns, and for brother ſervants of arms two hundred; excepting however the venerable language of Germany, the knights whereof ſhall pay only one hundred and fifty crowns and the ſervants of arms two hundred. The brother chaplains, prieſts, deacons or ſubdeacons ſhall pay as much as the brother ſervants of arms, and the clergy of the leſſer

leſſer orders one hundred crowns as has been already ordered, under the title of the reception of brothers.

THE crowns to be paid for paſſage, ſhall be crowns of gold in gold or their real value: the payment ſhall be made into the hands of the conventual conſervator or of the truſtees or receivers ſettled in the provinces, which being ſo paid and received in the venerable languages or priories can never be given back by the treaſury, which is deemed to have an abſolute right to them, though the perſons that paid them dye in the year of their noviceſhip, who ſhall be treated in their illneſs, and buried as if they had actually made their profeſſion, unleſs they had declined taking the habit.

THE ſix receivers of the kingdom of France, in the acquittances which they give for the ordinary paſſage fees or diſpenſations for want of age, ſhall mention the value of the ſeveral coins they receive. They ſhall pay back the paſſage money to ſuch as ſhall not be admitted by the venerable council, for want of proofs or otherwiſe, according to the time that the money ſhall have remained in their hands.

13. THE ſame lords have ordained unanimouſly, after a ſcrutiny in way of ballot, that the brother ſervants of arms that have been admitted at the preſent general chapter, to the rank of knights of grace of the language, or ſhall be admitted as ſuch for the future, ſhall, beſides the paſſage they have already paid, pay a thouſand crowns of gold, of fourteen tarins apiece, to the common treaſury, and an hundred of the like value to their language, except brother Sebaſtian Proſt, who ſhall be obliged to pay no more than the overplus of a knight's paſſage above that of a ſervant of arms, in conſideration of his merit and the ſervices he has done the order.

14. THAT all the weights and meaſures of all ſorts of grain, herbs, roots, merchandize, oil, and other things, as well as thoſe of the treaſury, conſervatory, and all the others of the order, except thoſe of the butchers, ſhall be ſtamped and made equal with the ordinary weights and meaſures of the market; that the office of weigher and meaſurer of all that is received and delivered out by the treaſury, conventual conſervator, and other officers for the tables of the brothers, the loading and unloading of the gallies, and the like things, ſhall be put into the hands of a good and diſcreet Chriſtian, regular in his life and converſation, and not be exerciſed by an infidel or ſlave. This officer ſhall be ſworn, as was the cuſtom at Rhodes, and the conventual conſervator ſhall diſtribute nothing without him.

15. THAT the ordinances made by the venerable council for the adminiſtration and good management of the conſervatory, on July 14, 1628. which they have maturely examined, ſhall be obſerved from henceforward, according to the amendments made therein; that the oil, iron, tallow, wax, paper, tin, lead, ſalt, meat, and other proviſions, which are laid up for the ſupply of the convent, and put in the conſerverie, ſhall be delivered to the conſervator in kind, and he ſhall make his diſcharge of them in the ſame manner in the accounts he is obliged to give in to the venerable chamber every ſix months.

16. THAT the timber coming from Venice, or other parts, ſhall be delivered to the commiſſary of the works, as has been practiſed for ſome time, who ſhall be obliged to give account of the diſtribution he makes of it.

17. CONSIDERING the damage which the order ſuffers from the weights and meaſures of proviſions that come from abroad, by means whereof the receivers diſcharge themſelves of greater ſums than the conſervator charges himſelf with, it is ordained, that they ſhall, for the future, bargain with merchants for every thing that is wanted, (if they can find any that will undertake to run the hazard of carrying them to the magazines at Malta) to deliver them to the perſons deputed by the board of the treaſury, according to occurrences and the neceſſity of affairs: In defect of meeting with ſuch bargains, the receivers that are for purchaſing ſuch proviſions, ſhall direct them to their correſpondents, who ſhall deliver them into the hands of the conſervators. It is not reaſonable that the treaſury ſhould ſuffer ſuch great loſſes as it has done till now.

18. THEY have forbid our religious, as well as ſeculars, to ſell any flax, rice, and other merchandize, to the conſervators or other officers, as is begun to be practiſed, and forbid them to purchaſe any without leave from his eminence

and the treaſury board, on pain of confiſcation of the things that are ſold otherwiſe, a third of which ſhall go to the informer. Endeavours likewiſe ſhall be uſed to engage the right reverend prior of the church to forbid the breach of this ſtatute, on pain of excommunication. The order does not allow any thing to enter its magazines, but what is taken from the infidels by its gallies and ſhips, or has been purchaſed with the leave aforeſaid.

19. And whereas there has been introduced for ſome years paſt an abuſe of giving diſcharges for conſiderable ſums, contrary to the one and fortieth and ſeventieth articles of the title of the common treaſury, they have forbid all receivers to give any for above the ſum of a hundred crowns; and the ſecretary of the treaſury to paſs them, on pain of loſing their ſalaries for a whole year.

20. As they have, in the preſence of the procurators of the treaſury, examined the meaſure of the cloth fetched from Barcelona, and of the linen brought from Lyons, they have found, that, according to the bills of parcels, the yard of Barcelona makes exactly ſix hands of our yard, which makes a difference of nine hands in two ells; and for this reaſon they have been obliged to order the conſervator to receive the cloth and linen of theſe two towns upon the foot of their bill of parcels, and to leave the conſervator of thecloth and linen as many yards in the hundred, as the procurators of the treaſury ſhall think fit, ſince the diſtribution of them is not made according to the ſame meaſure that they are received by.

21. That the clearing of the accompts given in to the chamber by the conſervator, the receivers, the procurators, the commanders of the ſtores, artillery, arſenal, ovens, and all other adminiſtrators of the revenues and affairs of the order, ſhall be made by the ſecretary of the treaſury, in the preſence of two auditors of the exchequer, which ſhall be deputed by the court for that purpoſe; and that all the three ſhall afterwards make their report of the accompt and the ſtate of it, upon which the laſt calculation ſhall be made, and the court ſhall give a final judgment, as is begun to be practiſed, on pain of nullity of the diſcharge, which ſhall be given in any other manner.

22. That on the firſt of September next the conſervator ſhall give in his accompt, and diſcharge himſelf in kind of every thing entruſted with him, and ſhall afterwards, every ſix months, give in a diſtinct accompt, like that of the commiſſaries of the works, of all that he ſhall receive or deliver out during the ſix months, for the auditing of which the court of exchequer ſhall depute two auditors, who ſhall examine it with the ſecretary of the treaſury, and make their report of it to the court, making particular mention of every kind of thing delivered in.

23. That from and after the firſt day of September next, the purſers of the gallies ſhall no longer deliver in their acquittances to the conſervator but to the treaſury, in preſence of two commiſſaries deputed by the court of exchequer and the ſecretary of the treaſury: The comptroller of the gallies ſhall be preſent alſo, to verify the acquittances that have been given, which ſhall not be paſſed nor allowed by the conſervator, if they are not charged and ſigned by the purſer; and they ſhall keep a regiſter for the treaſury diſtinct from thoſe of the purſers of the gallies.

24. That the proviſions conſigned, or to be conſigned in kind, except ſuch as are particularly ſpecified in the ordinance of the venerable council, ſhall be put into the chambers or magazines that the conſervators ſhall think fit to appoint for them, under two keys, one of which ſhall be delivered to the conventual conſervator, and the other to his comptroller, who is enjoined, by the preſent ſtatute, to aſſiſt at the diſtribution that ſhall be made of it, either to the religious or ſeculars, for two days in the week, which ſhall be choſen by the conſervator.

25. That when one conſervator delivers over his charge to another, there ſhall always be preſent two commiſſaries deputed by his eminence the grand maſter, with the comptroller of the conſervatory: They ſhall likewiſe give notice to the auditors of accompts to know if they will aſſiſt at it.

26. Whereas they have found by experience, that the method of not changing the conventual conſervator and chuſing another, but only at every

general chapter, may prove very prejudicial to the treaſury, they have reſolved unanimouſly, in the way of ballot, and ordained, for explaining the five and fiftieth article of the title of the treaſury, that the election of the conventual conſervator ſhall, for the future, be made every three years by the grand maſter and compleat council, and that it ſhall not be allowed to continue him any longer in that poſt, and if there happens a general chapter, he ſhall be turned out as if he had finiſhed the time of his adminiſtration.

27. THE ſame lords, after coming to a reſolution by ballotting, have elected and confirmed, for conventual conſervator, the venerable brother Philip de Gayette admiral, to exerciſe that office according to the ſtatutes, for three years, beginning from the firſt of September next, purſuant to the foregoing ordinance, which they have ordered to be punctually obſerved.

28. DESIRING to provide for the eaſe of the treaſury, as the foregoing general chapters have done, they have entirely aboliſhed the abuſe that had crept in of paying what was called the little price, or the making up of the value of ſuch proviſions as were given out for pay, ſalaries and other things, and have enjoyned the conventual conſervator, and the other officers of the treaſury, to ſee that the proviſions, merchandize, and other neceſſaries for cloathing and ſubſiſtence, be delivered out at the rate of their juſt value, as after all deductions made, it ſhall appear to them that they coſt, regard being ſtill had to the riſe and fall that may have happened in their price, and the expence it coſt to bring them to Malta.

THE conſervator general and his officers ſhall take care to have a juſt rate of their value ſet upon every one of the aforeſaid things by the procurators of the treaſury, and regiſtered in the court of exchequer, on pain of making good themſelves to the treaſury all the damage it may ſuſtain thereby, which they ſhall be condemned to in caſe they break through this ſtatute.

29. BUT to prevent this fixing and declaration of the price doing any prejudice to our brothers, they have ordained, that the treaſury ſhall continue to give them the uſual tables, as has been practiſed ſince the foregoing general chapter, viz. that every brother reſiding in the convent ſhall receive every year from the treaſury for his table ſixty crowns, of twelve tarins to the crown, ſo that the treaſury is to furniſh them upon their tables oil and wheat in their reſpective kinds, viz. the cafis of oil for thirty tarins, and a ſaume of wheat for five crowns, of twelve tarins each, though either ſhould have coſt more or leſs dear at firſt, or ſhould be riſen at that time to a much higher price than when they were bought. Forbidding the treaſury to deliver out for each table above four ſaumes of wheat and two cafis of oil a year. If any body has occaſion for more, he may buy ſome either at the ſtore-houſe or the conſervatory, at the price they are either of them ſold for upon the place.

ALL other proviſions, as meat, wood, merchandize, and other victuals, which ſhall be taken at the treaſury, more than what is ſet down above for the tables, ſhall be paid for at the rate they are delivered in to the conventual conſervator and the other officers. Forbidding the brothers that eat in the inns to demand of the piliers, or to pretend that they ſhould provide them other meat than ſuch as is delivered to them every day at the ſhambles of the order.

30. THAT they ſhall pay from henceforward the following ſalaries, viz. to the right reverend prior of the church an hundred crowns, to each of the venerable conventual baillis ſix and twenty crowns, to their lieutenants, whilſt they have the charge of the inns upon their hands, a hundred crowns; to the venerable treaſurer a hundred crowns, and to his lieutenant fifty, all of twelve tarins to the crown, which ſhall be paid either in ready money or in proviſions at the price they are laid in by the treaſury.

31. THAT beſides the ſalaries aforeſaid, the piliers, who are at the charge of the inns, ſhall likewiſe receive from the treaſury eighty crowns every year for the wages of the cook, butler, and other officers neceſſary for the ſervice of the inns.

32. THAT from and after this day, being the day of the publication of the preſent ſtatutes, the governor of the iſle of Goza, and the commandants of the city of Valetta, the victorious city, and that of la Sangle, and thoſe of the ſix

pariſhes of the hamlets, ſhall have no more ſalaries, nor the half tables which they uſed to have from the treaſury: That they ſhall likewiſe, every year, cut off ſixteen crowns three tarins from the commander of the artillery, thirty two crowns and an half from the commander of the arſenal, nine crowns from the commander of the ſtore-houſe, and twenty four crowns from the comptroller of the conſervatory; all which is ſo ordained by way of ballot, as well for the officers that now are, as for their ſucceſſors.

33. THAT the accompts of the tables of the brothers, who, with his eminence the grand maſter's leave, eat at their own houſes, and not at the inns, ſhall be given in every ſix months; and that no body receive any thing whatever from the conventual conſervator, the commiſſary of the ſtore-houſe, or any other officer of the treaſury whatever, above the ſum of thirty crowns for the ſix months. If at the cloſe of the accompt of his table for the ſix months paſt, any one ſhall be found in debt, he ſhall not receive any thing upon his table for the ſix months to come, till his debt be entirely paid, and he ſhall prove it ſo by a good acquittance from the treaſury. If however a brother thus in debt to the treaſury for his table, is not able to pay it, he ſhall go and eat at his inn, the pilier whereof ſhall receive his table out of the treaſury, notwithſtanding his debt, but the debtor ſhall be diſqualified to have any poſt till he has paid it.

34. THAT all ſuch as keep tables, whether priors or conventual baillis, if they do not make up their accompt within two months after the half year is expired, ſhall be likewiſe as much incapacitated as if they were debtors to the treaſury, and it may be objected to them by any body that has an intereſt in it, upon a certificate from the ſecretary of the treaſury, importing, that ſuch a one has not made up his accounts within the two months after the end of his half year, which will happen every April and October, becauſe the half years begin in February and Auguſt: If he does not, within the half year following, pay what he took up in the former, he ſhall pay double the ſum, beſides the incapacity he contracts by it, which he ſhall continue in till he has entirely diſcharged the debt.

35. THAT the pay ſhall be continued juſt as it was regulated by the former general chapters, viz. to the brother knights two and twenty crowns, to brother chaplains and ſervants of arms ſixteen crowns and ſix tarins, and to novices, of what rank ſoever they be, ſeven crowns a year in ready money of the coin of Malta, at twelve tarins to the crown, or elſe in cloth, linen, or other things which the treaſury and conſervatory ſhall be provided with: Which cloth, linen and other things, ſhall be delivered to them at the ſame price that the procurators of the treaſury accompted and do accompt actually for them to the conventual conſervator; they have forbid him, on pain of not having it allowed in his accompts, to advance any pay, but upon warrants paſſed in the exchequer, which, though ſigned by the ſecretary of the treaſury, ſhall not be good, unleſs counterſigned by the venerable great conſervator or his lieutenant. Brothers that are already profeſſed and wear the habit may have ſix months advance of their pay, but not more; which ſix months ſhall laſt till the end of February and Auguſt.

THAT no advance at all be made to novices, of what rank ſoever they be: They ſhall give them, after their noviceſhip is expired, an order to receive their ſeven crowns; if they let the year following paſs without receiving the habit and making the regular profeſſion, they ſhall not touch any thing at all but the ſeven crowns of the firſt year, except his eminence the grand maſter's pages, who ſhall be paid the ſeven crowns without ſtaying for their profeſſion. The advance made a brother of half a year's pay, ſhall not put him under any incapacity if he reſides in the convent.

36. THAT they ſhall deliver to the commiſſary that preſides over the novices a ſufficient quantity of powder for him to make his novices do their exerciſes, which he ſhall diſtribute to them upon their receipts, that the value of it may be diſcounted to them upon the pay that is due to them.

37. THAT all our brothers that ſhall be preſented by the grand maſter to eccleſiaſtical benefices that depend on the order, or ſhall be put into them by the conſent of the languages or priories, ſhall receive no pay from the trea-

treaſury, if they have a revenue of five and thirty crowns, of twelve tarins a-piece, and upwards.

38. That all the brother chaplains, prieſts that have at preſent any benefices and cures, or that ſhall enjoy any hereafter, on any title whatever, ſhall be obliged to go and reſide upon them; they ſhall not receive any table or pay from the treaſury, if they will ſtay in the convent.

39. That when the conventual conſervator is for giving in his laſt accompt, the venerable procurators of the treaſury, ſhall carefully examine his accompt book, and allow him all the payments, that he produces warrants to prove that he made by order of the grand maſter and the venerable procurators of the treaſury: Such as he has paid without any ſuch warrants, ſhall be ſtruck out, though he may ſue ſuch as received them, as for his private debts. Declaring moreover, that ſuch as be put down as debtors in the ſaid book of accompts, ſhall be deemed, in all the courts, as involved in a debt to the treaſury of dangerous conſequence; ſuch an one as is ſpecified in the twentieth and one and twentieth articles of the title of ſignification of terms, without it being any ways neceſſary to ſignify it to them in another manner.

40. That no officer of the order, either regular or ſecular, ſhall receive, from the conventual conſervator, any thing whatever neceſſary for his office, without going firſt with his clerk, if he have one, or alone, if he have none, to repreſent to the venerable procurators of the treaſury the need he has of what he deſires, and the manner how he deſigns to employ it: Of which the ſcribes or regiſters ſhall take a memorandum in a book, which they ſhall ſhew to the ſaid procurators: Enjoyning withal the conſervator not to deliver it till they produce a written order from the ſaid procurators; otherwiſe it ſhall not be allowed him in his accompts, unleſs he ſhews the ſaid order and the acquittance of the perſon that received it.

41. That the comptrollers of the infirmary are not comprehended in the aboveſaid order. Caſes may happen in which it ſhall be ſufficient that the acquittances are ſigned with their hands.

42. That the conventual conſervator ſhall receive in payment, from the debtors of the treaſury, for ſuch ſums as they owe to it, acquittances that have been duly paſſed in it, without being at liberty to refuſe them.

43. That to prevent a great number of abuſes very prejudicial to the treaſury, no pledges of gold and ſilver that have been depoſited in the hands of the conventual conſervator by the debtors of the treaſury, by way of ſecurity for their debts, ſhall be reſtored to them, till they have entirely paid them: If there ariſe any diſpute about the debt, the pledges ſhall be kept till it is determined; if the debtor does not take care to redeem them within ſix months afterwards, they ſhall be ſold for the profit of the treaſury.

44. That the dead payes, which the treaſury pays in the convent to ſeveral perſons that have well deſerved, and which are filled up in proportion as they fall vacant, ſhall be reduced to twelve hundred crowns a year, and be filled up as afore, but ſo as never to exceed that ſum.

45. That to prevent ſeveral inconveniences and damages that happen to the treaſury, when a brother that is indebted to it, ſhall, in order to gain dignities, eſtates, offices and votes, or with any other view whatever, ſhall have paid what he owes into the hands of the conventual conſervator, that ſum ſhall be paid him back by order of the grand maſter, or of the procurators of the treaſury, though ſince ſuch payment there are letters come from the receiver or procurator of the treaſury, certifying that the ſame payment has been made into their hands. In this caſe the procurators of the treaſury ſhall order the ſaid receiver or procurator to pay back what they have received, and the conventual conſervator ſhall not part with what is in his hands. But if in the mean time there appear any other ſecret or old debt, no reſtitution ſhall be made: What there was over and above the firſt, ſhall go to make good the debt which was diſcovered.

46. That aſſignments of the money of our treaſury may be made by the bare letters of the procurators of the ſaid treaſury ſigned with their hand, with regard to places in the neighbourhood of the iſland, as Sicily, Naples and

Rome, and for ſums that do not exceed five hundred ducats; but all others muſt paſs in the form directed by the ſtatutes.

47. THAT all warrants of aſſignment for the brothers or others that ought to paſs the grand maſter's ſeal, ſhall be ſigned by the conſervator, and the ſecretary of the treaſury, and regiſtered in the court of exchequer, as has been uſually done with bulls ſealed with the leaden ſeal.

48. THAT all aſſignments of money paid into the hands of the conventual conſervator, which are made upon the bare letters of the procurators of the treaſury, ſhall, beſides their ſignatures, be ſigned likewiſe by the conſervator and the ſecretary of the treaſury.

49. THAT all the officers of the convent, religious as well as ſecular, that are concerned in the management of the revenue and eſtates of the order, ſhall be bound to give in an accompt of them every year.

50. SUCH as ſhall be accomptable to the treaſury, or whoſe accompts are not yet adjuſted and paſt, ſhall not be elected either procurators, auditors, receivers or officers of the treaſury.

51. THAT the commiſſaries or comptrollers of the buildings ſhall be obliged, on pain of deprivation of their office, to give in to the court of exchequer, every ſix months, an accompt of the timber and other things that have been delivered to them. At this accompt the clerk of the buildings ſhall be preſent, to give an accompt of the receipt and employment of every thing delivered to the ſaid commiſſaries, of which he ſhall be obliged to keep an account in a book.

52. THAT the ſeventeenth article of the title of baillis ſhall be ſtrictly obſerved, and they ſhall name two comptrollers of the ſtore-houſe, who ſhall have one of the keys of it; that they ſhall keep a regiſter of all that is received or delivered out; that they ſhall aſſiſt at the commanders giving in his accompts; that when they ſhall unload the wheat, one of them ſhall ſtay at the magazine of the navy to receive it, and have a key, and the other at the ſtore-room where they put it; that the accompt ſhall be given in according to the form preſcribed by the ſtatute, the due execution whereof the great commander and procurators of the treaſury ſhall ſee to, on pain of being deprived of voting in council for ſix months.

53. THAT the commanders of the artillery and arſenal ſhall, every ſix months, in March and September, give in, to the venerable procurators of the treaſury, an account of the number and quality of all things that have paſſed through their hands and been received and diſtributed by them, and the ſaid procurators may, if they think fit, appoint commiſſioners to ſee it verified. If theſe commanders neglect to give in this account, they ſhall be immediately deprived of their offices, which ſhall be filled up, without loſs of time, by the venerable council, upon the nomination of the great commander. Which ſhall take place with regard to the commander of the arſenal, without breaking in upon the three and thirtieth article of the title of baillis, as was ordered by the decree of the venerable council on the third of April laſt year.

54. THAT the adminiſtrators of the money of the treaſury may be more exact in giving in their accompts, they have ordered, that all receivers, procurators, embaſſadors and envoys, for the ſoliciting of any affair, ſhall, as ſoon as it is ended, give accompt of the money and other things received by them, within ſix months for ſuch as have been in Italy, and within eight for ſuch as have been employed in France, Spain and Germany; and in failure thereof ſhall be deemed incapable of having any poſt, dignity or commandery, and of aſſiſting at the councils and aſſemblies of the languages and priories, and at any others whatſoever, as much as if they were debtors to the treaſury.

55. THAT the comptrollers of the ſtore-houſe, arſenal and artillery, ſhall have a key of all the magazines, except that of arms (the diſpoſal whereof is reſerved to the commander of the artillery) as the commanders of the ſaid ſtore-houſe, arſenal and artillery have another; ſo that when any thing is to be taken out from thence, the commanders and comptrollers too muſt aſſiſt at it; forbidding to ſell any thing that is laid up there, on pain of being deprived of their offices.

56. That they ſhall not give ſecular officers upon their ſalaries any corn out of the ſtore-houſe, or bread out of the bake-houſe, but only to our religious upon their tables, conſidering there comes a much leſs quantity of it now from the places which uſed to ſupply us formerly, on pain of having what they ſhall ſo deliver to them, ſtruck out of the accompts of the commander of the ſtore-houſe, and officers of the bake-houſe. As for ſoldiers and others, to whom they give corn, beſides their pay, they ſhall give it them in money.

57. That they ſhall not debate a ſecond time in the court of exchequer what has been once decreed to be rejected and ſtruck out, and the ſecretary of the treaſury ſhall for this purpoſe keep a regiſter of all the deciſions of that court. If however any body thinks himſelf aggrieved thereby, and that he has reaſon to complain of their ſentence, he may within ten days appeal from it to the venerable council, where his appeal ſhall not be received till he has firſt performed what is required of him by the twenty ſecond article of the title of the common treaſury. If he does not appeal within ten days, the ſentence of the court ſhall be final. In the caſes comprehended in the regulation of the ſaid twenty ſecond article, the appellant ſhall have a year's time to carry on his appeal, but in other caſes he ſhall have only four months.

58. That the auditors of accompts ſhall be obliged to go to the court of exchequer, whenever they have notice, for the greater diſpatch of buſineſs, on pain of being fined a crown, if not prevented by ſome lawful impediment, for the firſt time, of two for the ſecond, and of being deprived of their offices for the third neglect.

59. Whereas ſome that have been preſented to commanderies of the magiſtral chambers, or to others of grace, pretend, after the grand maſter's death, that they paid more than they ought for annates, though they paid it purſuant to an expreſs agreement, and on that account pretend to come upon the common treaſury for the overplus, it is therefore enacted that when they have once paid or promiſed to pay ſuch annates on a certain foot, they ſhall not either in the grand maſter's life, or after his death, have any claim upon the treaſury for the reimburſing them what they paid too much.

60. That penſioners ſhall have no demand at all upon the ſpoils of commanders deceaſed, nor upon the commanderies that their penſions were laid on, for any arrears that are due to them, unleſs it be for one year only, and ſo much of another as had paſſed before the day of their death, except they have a bond from the commanders, or a promiſe under their hands, or had actually commenced a ſuit againſt them for ſuch arrears. Provided ſtill that if the penſioner ſhould get a ſentence in his favour, he ſhall only have a claim to three years of his penſion, including that in which the commander died; the other arrears ſhall belong to the treaſury, and be thrown into the ſpoils, which ſhall make them good, after all the commanders or baillis bond and other debts are paid.

61. To repair in ſome meaſure the damage that the diſpoſition of the foregoing ſtatute made in favour of the treaſury may occaſion to our brothers, it has been reſolved by balloting, and ordained, that all priours, baillis and commanders ſhall pay their penſioners punctually, according to the tenour of the bulls granted them by the grand maſter or the convent: And ſuch of them as ſhall be indebted two years arrears of any penſion whatever, ſhall be deemed incapable, and debtors in the ſenſe of their ſtatutes, as much as if they were really ſo to the treaſury for their impoſts and reſponſions.

With regard to arrears of penſions that are now due, the priours, baillis and commanders ſhall have a year's time, (reckoning from this very day of the publication of the preſent general chapter) to pay all the arrears of penſions which they are reſpectively charged with, and in failure thereof ſhall be deemed incapable and debtors as above. That the receivers when they ſend the convent a liſt of ſuch as have not paid the treaſury dues, ſhall tranſmit likewiſe an account of ſuch as have not paid the penſions, what ſum they amount to, and the names of thoſe to whom they are due. And this ſhall no way hinder the execution of any ſentences obtained by the penſioners, either in

in the convent, or in the provincial chapters, according to the eighteenth article of the title of commanderies.

62. WHEREAS it happens frequently that the ſervants of our brothers, though paid their wages in their life time, do nevertheleſs demand them after their death, under pretence of having ſerved ſo many years, though it is very natural to preſume that they have been paid, and they have ſpent their wages in ſupplying themſelves with cloaths and other conveniences, and that their maſters let them want for nothing, it is therefore ordained that ſuch as do not produce any note or acknowledgment of the deceaſed in writing, or had not ſued him for their wages before his death, ſhall be preſumed to be paid, and ſhall have no claim to any thing but their laſt year's wages, for which alone they ſhall be at liberty to bring their action, unleſs the contrary appears by the book or the diſappropriation of the deceaſed, in which caſe however they ſhall not be able to claim more than their wages for three years, conſidering that they ought to have got their maſters to pay them in their life-time.

63. THAT collated copies of the diſappropriation of brothers that dye in the convent and were ſettled there, ſhall be ſent by the procurators of the treaſury to the receivers of every priory.

64. THAT the grand maſter and council ſhall continue to appoint two comptrollers to take care of the government and expences of the ſlaves of the order, according to the inſtructions that ſhall be given them by the grand maſter that ſhall have the adminiſtration of the treaſury, or elſe by the great commander and the procurators of the ſaid treaſury.

65. THAT no brother go from the convent without paying what he owes to the treaſury. If the vicechancellor gives them a licence to go without ſeeing their full acquittance from the officers of it, he ſhall be obliged to pay all that they owe to it for them. If a priour, bailli or commander go thence without paying, they ſhall forfeit a year's revenue of their priory, baillage or commandery to the treaſury; if a conventual brother do the ſame, he ſhall loſe a year of his ſtanding.

66. THAT the vicechancellour ſhall not give leave to any brother to go away from the convent, till the pilier or the procurators of the language he is of, have given him a certificate that he owes nothing to the treaſury.

67. FORASMUCH as the commanderies and other eſtates of the order do not belong to our brothers in property, the adminiſtration thereof being all that is veſted in them, they have no authority to engage either them or the penſions laid upon them, in any manner whatſoever, contrary to their vow of poverty; if any thing be done to the contrary, it ſhall be null and void; and, according to the ancient ſtatutes and cuſtom, the dues of the treaſury ſhall be always preferred to all other kinds of debts, even to ſuch as ariſe from perſonal ſervices that they were obliged to.

68. THAT the donats or confraters of the half croſs of the order ſhall pay an hundred crowns of gold to the treaſury in gold for their paſſage, that no licence ſhall be granted them to wear it of gold, not even by the compleat council of reſervation: Such as have already received the habit, or ſhall be hereafter admitted to it, ſhall wear upon their habit an half croſs of linen about the length of two thirds of an hand's breadth, Sicilian meaſure at moſt, which ſhall be ſowed upon it, without which they ſhall not enjoy any of the privileges of the order: All brothers and officers of the order ſhall have liberty to take the mantle and half croſs of gold from them, if they wear it without leave; revoking all graces that may have been granted them by the preſent general chapter, or ſhall hereafter be granted by the compleat council of reſervation, for wearing the ſaid croſs, without having paid their paſſage, or in caſe of having paid but the half of it; enjoining them to pay their paſſage to the treaſury upon the foot of the new regulation, and to make the proofs ſpecified in the twenty ſeventh article of the title of the reception of brothers; provided ſtill that nothing herein be underſtood to derogate from the privileges of the commandery of Modica, and the confraternity of S. John and S. George of Saragoſſa in the kingdom of Arragon.

69. WHEREAS

69. WHEREAS the confraters and donats, ſubjects and vaſſals of the priories, baillis and commanderies of the order, have preſumed to cauſe great damages to the treaſury; priors, baillis, and commanders, under pretence of the privileges which they enjoy of the order, the ſame lords have declared that theſe privileges ought not and cannot be ſtrained ſo as to hurt the rights of the treaſury or the revenues of the priours, baillis or commanders, which can not be affected by any privilege whatever.

70. THAT the accompts of receivers ſhall be for the future drawn up in the manner preſcribed by the procurators of the treaſury.

71. THEY refer it to his eminence the grand maſter to pitch upon the towns and places for the general receipt of the dues of the treaſury in every priory, where the receivers ſhall be obliged to keep their reſidence in a manner proper for the diſpatch of publick buſineſs.

72. THAT when the venerable bailli of S. George of Lions ſhall be abſent from that city, the receiver for the priory of Auvergne ſhall be obliged to go dwell in the houſe of the commandery, to take care of the archives and writings of the order, paying however rent for it to the bailli, at whoſe return he ſhall be obliged to quit it and hire another.

73. THAT the receivers, procurators, ſtewards and other officers of the treaſury may be more careful to ſecure and keep the money of the treaſury in their hands, it is ordained that they ſhall be anſwerable for it on their own account, and ſhall not be allowed to plead that they were robbed or loſt it in any manner whatever, nor ſhall any diſcharge from the court of exchequer or the grand maſter avail them any thing, but they ſhall abſolutely pay the money.

74. THEY have enjoined the priours to make the commanders pay the royal tythe in places where it has been uſually paid, in failure whereof the treaſury ſhall give them no ſhare in the mortuary and vacancy.

75. IF it happens that the receiver of the treaſury ſhould put down in his accompts any brother as a debtor to the treaſury, who can prove that he paid before the cloſing of the ſaid accompts, he ſhall be anſwerable to ſuch brother for all the expences, damages and loſſes that he may ſuſtain by that overſight, and ſhall be obliged to reimburſe him.

76. THAT according to ancient cuſtom, if a commander has reſigned his commandery and got a better, or has been promoted to a priory or capitulary bailliage, and chances during the mortuary or vacancy of the priory or bailliage, to dye in the commandery which he had reſigned, and the revenue whereof he was to enjoy till the mortuary and vacancy of the priory or bailliage were expired, the produce of that commandery ſhall be liable to the mortuary and vacancy, all the ſame as if he had not reſigned it and had not been preſented to the priory or bailliage: The ſame ſhall be obſerved in all other tranſlations.

77. THE ſame lords, in favour of the venerable language of Germany, have ordained that the ſilver plate which is found in the ſpoils of its commanders ſhall be left where it is, for the honour of the commandery; provided however the ſucceſſor of the late commander pay the third of its value at the rate of eight florins of gold the marc, and give the receiver good ſecurity that he will not alienate it. The weight and value of the plate and the quality of the ſilver ſhall be ſpecified in the bond, which the receiver ſhall be obliged to ſend to the convent with his accompts, and in failure thereof ſhall be anſwerable for the plate in caſe it be made away.

78. THEY have reſolved unanimouſly by way of ballot and revoked all the graces granted by the preſent general chapter, or that ſhall be granted by the council of reſervation, for the confirmation of office, and ſalaries given by order for life, either to our brothers or ſeculars, in the convent or out of it, except that of Advocate and procurator of the treaſury, which they have confirmed to the doctor brother Paul-Anthony Fiore, in conſideration of the ſervices he has done the order.

Againſt receivers that neglect their duty.

Br. MARTIN GARZES.

79. SINCE all the dues of the treaſury, and revenues of the order, deſigned to defray the charges of hoſpitality, repulſe the enemies of the Chriſtian name, and defend our convent and the iſle of Malta, one of the bulwarks of Chriſtendom, paſs through the hands of receivers; there is no room to doubt but the greateſt damage the order can ſuffer, and greateſt weakening of its ſtrength muſt ariſe from their negligence and adminiſtration. For which reaſon we declare that all the ſtatutes and regulations heretofore made againſt the debtors of the treaſury, affect in their utmoſt rigour all negligent receivers, that are not exact in their payments, and keep the effects of the treaſury in their hands, and therefore deſerve a ſeverer puniſhment; and we accordingly ordain, that when they go out of their office, if they do not deliver up to their ſucceſſors all the gold, ſilver, jewels, precious ſtones, and every thing elſe belonging to the treaſury, and give in their accompts to the court of exchequer, diſcharging the debtor part of them, they ſhall be immediately, without any further proſecution or formality, deprived of their commanderies, members and penſions, which ſhall be diſpoſed of out of hand, at the inſtance of the attorney of the exchequer: And though, according to the one and thirtieth article of the title of prohibitions and penalties, they ought to be ſtripped of the habit, as perjured perſons and violators of the ſtatutes, yet, not caring to treat them with ſo much rigour, we only order them to be impriſoned for life, as contumacious, rebellious and diſobedient perſons, and command it to be executed accordingly.

80. THE ſame lords, to puniſh the faults of receivers in the ſevereſt manner, have explained the preſent ſtatute of the grand maſter Garzes, ſo that it ſhall only take place with regard to receivers that are but a thouſand crowns or leſs in arrears: But if their charge as debtor is more conſiderable, and they have not paid it all in to the treaſury within a year after their accompts have been under the cognizance of the court, they ſhall be deemed to have incurred all the penalties of the law againſt embezzelling the publick money, and be deprived of the habit as ſacrilegious perſons that have been guilty of a robbery very detrimental to the publick, and have carried off what was deſtined for keeping up divine ſervice in the churches and hoſpitality, and carrying on war againſt the infidels; for which they ſhall be ſeverely puniſhed, and delivered over to the temporal court of the caſtellany, to have exemplary juſtice done upon them, as a thing very neceſſary for the ſupport of the order.

81. THAT for the future no body ſhall be choſe receiver that is not a commander, and after having been three years in his adminiſtration, he ſhall not be deemed to be continued, till he has been propoſed to the council, and confirmed upon the report made of the regularity of his conduct and his ſervices by the great commander and venerable procurators of the treaſury. The order for confirming him cannot paſs in council without two thirds of the votes; if he has not ſo many in his favour, they ſhall proceed to the election of another. The ſame method ſhall be obſerved with regard to the ordinary procurators of the provinces, and of ſuch as have ſalaries from the treaſury. That in the priory of Lombardy the ſervice of the order requires there ſhould be but two ordinary procurators, and that the procurators, as well ordinary as extraordinary, ſhall have reſided at leaſt five years in the convent and made four caravans; otherwiſe they ſhall not enjoy that prerogative.

82. THAT when there ſhall be occaſion to depute an extraordinary procurator, or it be under conſideration to grant for ſome time a privilege of enjoying out of the convent the benefit of a reſidence in it, there muſt be four fifth of the votes of the council for the reſolution; and that after ſix months, reckoning from this day, all extraordinary procurations and reſolutions, for grants of reſidence out of the convent, ſhall be deemed revoked, and they do accordingly revoke them all, except the procuration paſſed in favour of brother Lelio Brancaccio.

83. That for the future they ſhall ſend no embaſſador extraordinary, till it has been reſolved in council to ſend one by two thirds of the voices; as for the perſon to be ſent, it ſhall be determined by plurality of voices, as uſual.

84. That an allowance only of ſix crowns of gold a day ſhall be made to the knight named for embaſſador extraordinary, though he be a great croſs, and ſent into any countrey whatever, reckoning from the time of his ſetting out from the convent, and including therein the charges of feluccas, litters, livery, and other equipage and extraordinaries. Prohibiting likewiſe the giving them any letters or warrants to take up money from the receivers. They ſhall only give them aſſignments for fixed ſums in proportion to their daily expence, which ſhall be deducted out of their allowance.

85. That all the receivers of the treaſury deputed or to be deputed in all the priories of the order, ſhall be obliged to give advice once a month to his eminence the grand maſter and the procurators of the treaſury, of all the money received by them on account of the treaſury, and to give in their accompts and a liſt of the debtors every year, according to the forty third and forty fourth articles of this title.

If there be no provincial chapter held in a priory, the accompts ſhall be paſſed in an aſſembly to be held immediately after the nativity of St. John. If the receivers neglect to do ſo for ſix months after the provincial chapter or aſſembly is held, they ſhall be put out of their employments, and ſucceſſors ſhall be ſent them. Enjoining the ſecretary of the treaſury, upon his obedience, to make his report every ſix months to the grand maſter and council of the names of ſuch receivers as have failed to obſerve the preſent ſtatute.

86. That all the officers of the habit which are in the convent to make the diſtributions of the order ſhall be changed every two years, and not continued for a longer time, except the conventual conſervator, with regard to whom they ſhall obſerve the ordinances that have been made.

87. That the procurator of the cauſes of the treaſury, on pain of loſing his poſt, and paying back all the ſalary he has received, ſhall, at leaſt once a month in the compleat or ordinary council and the publick aſſemblies of ember weeks, after the reading of the rule, read over the liſt of the debtors of the treaſury, who ſhall be excluded immediately, in order to put the ſuperiors in mind of proſecuting or cauſing the contumacious to be proſecuted, according to the rigour of the ſtatutes; enjoining the great commander and procurators of the treaſury to ſee to the execution of this ordinance.

88. As the ſalaries that the ſecretaries of the two receipts of the priory of Caſtile receive from the treaſury, appear to them to be exorbitant, they have moderated them, and ordered that they ſhall have no more than two hundred ducats of gold a-year a-piece. They have likewiſe confirmed the following ſtatute, which they have ordered to be put after the forty ſecond article of the title of the common treaſury.

Declaration for adjuſting the ſpoils and the mortuary in commanderies that are ſet out upon leaſe.

Br. ALOPHE DE VIGNACOUR, Maſter.

Whereas the ſtatute above takes no notice of commanderies that are out upon leaſe, we delcare and ordain, by our preſent addition, that in the priories, caſtellany of Empoſta, bailliages and commanderies that are out upon leaſe, the dividing the ſpoils from the mortuary ſhall be made in proportion to the months and days, viz. that part of the rent of the leaſe that has paſſed from the firſt of May till the day of the commander's death ſhall belong to the ſpoils, and conſequently be obliged to contribute to the reſponſions and impoſts that ought to have been paid at the time of the poſſeſſor's death, from which, to the firſt of May following, the other part of the leaſe ſhall make the mortuary.

89. The ſame lords have granted the advocate and ſolicitor of the cauſes of the treaſury, that are actually in office, if they be chaplains of the order, leave to be abſent from the quire, and the ſame privileges that the clerks of the chancery enjoy.

90. That

90. That in the review of the ſtatutes, wherever there is any mention made of the florins of Rhodes, they ſhall expreſs the value thereof in the coin of Malta.

91. That all ſuch as have been procurators and had the management of the money of the venerable languages priories, and are in arrears, when their poſt expires, ſhall be incapacitated, as much as if they had been declared debtors of the treaſury: as likewiſe all ſuch as do not within a month afterwards pay the languages or priories what they owe them.

92. The ſame lords have likewiſe revoked all the graces and faculties granted by the preſent general chapter, or to be granted by the councils of reſervation to our brothers, of what quality or under what pretence ſoever, of having either their table or pay out of the convent.

93. After a full examination of the twenty ninth article of the title of the common treaſury, which treats of the commanderies that ſuch as are ſtripped of the habit are deprived of, they have judged it very ſerviceable to the publick good, and in confirmation thereof have ordained that it ſhall be from hence forward obſerved inviolably; they have however declared for important reaſons, that in the caſe which has happened with regard to the commandery of Larino, vacant by brother Julio Falco's being deprived of the habit, it ſhall go after his death to the free mutition of the venerable language of Italy, notwithſtanding this ſtatute, and without breaking in upon the rights of the treaſury, chiefly with regard to the mortuary, and the vacancy.

94. They have for the execution of the fifty ſeventh article of the ſame title, ordained that the venerable grand commander and procurators of the treaſury ſhall give account of their adminiſtration every year to the venerable council, on pain of loſing their vote in it for a twelvemonth, and that the ſecretary of the treaſury ſhall be obliged to put them in mind of it at proper times, on pain of loſing his ſalary for a year; and that in the month of Auguſt next, they ſhall deliver in their firſt accompt for the preſent year.

Of the Chapter.

TITLE VI.

1. THE ſame lords have ordained, that by the grace of God, if no change happens, the next general chapter ſhall be held on the firſt Sunday in October 1641, which is the day they have fixed for it, empowering however his eminence the grand maſter and the venerable compleat council to put it off, if they think proper, according to the ſituation and circumſtances of affairs.

2. That the affairs to be debated in general chapters muſt be determined with great prudence and deliberation. They have ordained that as ſoon as the venerable compleat council have ordered the citations to be iſſued out, and ſent to all the priories of the order, the ſame compleat council ſhall, at the beginning of the year preceding the holding of the general chapter, appoint a commiſſary of each language, to draw up the publick memorial to be laid before it, and reviſe the accompts of the treaſury, with the procurators of it, the conventual conſervator and the ſecretary, in order to repreſent the true ſituation of the affairs of the order to the general chapter. The grand maſter's procurator, the venerable treaſurer general or his lieutenant, and the vicechancellor ſhall aſſiſt at their conferences.

3. To terminate all differences that may ariſe about drawing up the memorials between the brother knights on one ſide, and the brother chaplains and ſervants of arms on the other, which are often carried before the general chapter, it is ordained that in order to draw up the memorials of the languages that are to be laid before it, they ſhall depute three brother knights, and a brother chaplain or ſervant, and that when the memorials are examined by the ſeveral languages to know if they approve them, the brother chaplains

lains and ſervants ſhall be heard with regard to what they have to offer for the advantage of the order as well as the brother knights.

4. WHEREAS in ſeveral languages the conventual brothers pretend that the commanders have no right to aſſiſt at drawing up the memorials, they declare that the commanders are included under the name of brothers, and may aſſiſt at drawing up the memorials, and give their vote in the caſe.

5. THAT nothing ſhall be put in the memorials of the priours, baillis, languages or priories, but what relates directly to the good of the order, if any body has any private affair to aſk of the chapter, he muſt propoſe it in a petition. The memorials of the priours and baillis ſhall be ſigned with their own hands, and thoſe of the languages by the commiſſioners; and unleſs they are, they ſhall not be received; yet thoſe of the priours, baillis, or priories ſhall, provided they are ſigned by the ſecretary of the chapter, or by a publick notary.

6. To prevent all difficulties that may ariſe about the election of the ſixteen members of the committee of the chapter, they have ordained that the two of each language ſhall be choſe by the members of it that ſit in the chapter not by the ſame ſcrutiny but one after the other, and there ſhall be as many boxes as there are perſons propoſed for the firſt election which ſhall be made by plurality of ballots. They ſhall take care that no body names himſelf or gives himſelf his ballot: which is to be done ſecretly, ſo that every perſon before he puts his ballot into a different box from his own ſhall ſhew that he has it in his hand, and opening it afterwards ſhall ſhew that he has given it; the ſame method ſhall be uſed in voting for the ſecond member of the committee.

IF the votes are equal, the body of the chapter ſhall confirm the perſon that they think moſt capable, without any regard to his dignity or ſtanding. They ſhall not proceed to the election of the ſecond, till the chapter has determined the election of the firſt, and in caſe of competition, the perſon that they put by, may be choſe the ſecond time, which regulation is not intended to alter any thing of the agreement between the priories of Caſtile and Portugal for taking one member of the committee out of one priory and the other out of the other.

7. THAT the perſon ſubſtituted in the place of one of the ſixteen that is abſent by reaſon of ſickneſs or other lawful impediment, ſhall quit the committee when the other appears to take his place, to which he ſhall be admitted without difficulty.

8. To prevent the confuſion occaſioned by the great number of petitions uſually preſented to the general chapter, they have ordained, that whilſt they are examining the powers of the deputies to the chapter, they ſhall appoint commiſſioners to receive the petitions given in by our brothers whether preſent or abſent, which however ſhall not be received unleſs they have ſigned them. The commiſſioners ſhall employ the firſt three days not holydays of the fifteen that the chapter is to ſit, in making this examination: and after that time is lapſed, no petition ſhall be either received or anſwered; whatever is done to the contrary ſhall be null.

9. THAT all the cauſes and affairs that have been referred by the general chapter and the reverend lords of the committee of ſixteen, to the grand maſter and compleat council of reſervation, ſhall be determined and decided by them, diſabling them to refer them to the ordinary council, except ſuch as by our ſtatutes belong to their cogniſance.

10. THAT the provincial chapters ſhall be held in places belonging to the order and no where elſe, and that at the breaking up of every chapter they ſhall fix the place where it is to meet the year following, that ſuch as ought to be there may have notice of it. If the priour is ſick, or ſo taken up that he either cannot or will not come to it, his lieutenant or the commander of the longeſt ſtanding ſhall hold it as the priour's charge, which for the priory of Caſtile and Leon ſhall be rated at four hundred ducats, which the receiver ſhall advance for him, and place to his accompt. That the chapter of this priory ſhall be held by turns in old Caſtile and in the new, and in that of Germany, ſometimes at Spire, ſometimes at Friburg.

11. To prevent diſputes that may ariſe in provincial chapters, between the baillis that meet there and the lieutenants of the priours about the order of their ſeats, they have ordained that in all chapters and aſſemblies which ſhall be held, the baillis ſhall preſide and take place of the lieutenants, unleſs they are great croſſes, and that all preſentations and other acts of the chapter or aſſembly ſhall be drawn up and run in the name of the bailli that preſides.

12. That all brothers of what degree and condition ſoever they be, though they have not been received in the convent, ſhall have a right to aſſiſt at chapters and aſſemblies, but have no privilege to give their votes.

13. That the ſecretary of all provincial chapters and aſſemblies ſhall be always a brother of the order and never a ſecular. With regard to the priory of Caſtile and Leon, if there be any brother knight in it fit for the poſt, he ſhall be preferred before the reſt; whoever executes this office is not to expect any ſalary from the treaſury, in what priory ſoever it be.

14. That neither eccleſiaſticks, nor ſeculars, nor regulars of any other order, may be admitted to the conſultations and debates of the chapters and aſſemblies, nor ſo much as allowed to be preſent or ſtay in the room where they meet; provided however that ſuch ſeculars as have any thing to propoſe there, either for themſelves or for others who have empowered them to act as their proxies, may come in as uſual.

15. That for the convenience and advantage of the order, the provincial chapter of the priory of Auvergne, ſhall from henceforward be held at Lions.

16. That the time when the provincial chapter of the priory of Venice is to meet ſhall be duly notified to the religious of the parts adjacent, or at leaſt to thoſe of Vicenza, Padua, and Verona, or otherwiſe the deliberations of it ſhall be null.

17. That notwithſtanding the cuſtom of holding the provincial chapter of the priory of Caſtile and Leon in the month of September, and the ſtatute that orders it to be then held, yet that chapter and thoſe of all other priories of what language ſoever they be, ſhall from henceforward be held between the firſt of May and midſummer day every year, aboliſhing all cuſtoms whatever to the contrary, and that all reſponſions, impoſts and other treaſury dues ſhall be paid at that time, as is ordered by the ſtatutes, and particularly by the nineteenth article of the title of the common treaſury.

18. That in the venerable compleat councils of reſervation of the general chapter, as well as in all future general chapters, and in the committee of ſixteen, whenever they debate about granting any grace, it ſhall not paſs or be taken for granted unleſs two thirds of the votes concur in it.

That the reverend ſixteen may not treat of any particular affair, without an expreſs order from the general chapter.

Br. MARTIN GARZES.

Agreeable to the laudable and ancient cuſtom of the order, for explaining the firſt and tenth articles of the title of the chapter, we ordain that the ſixteen reverend lords of the committee of the chapter ſhall not from henceforward treat or deliberate about any particular affair that concerns either themſelves, or is matter of favour to any other perſon, regular or ſecular, whatever, but what has been firſt ſet forth in a petition which has been read publickly in the chapter, and afterwards ordered to be referred to them to determine in the caſe; and that whatever is done otherwiſe ſhall be null.

19. That in the new compiled body of the ſtatutes, they ſhall add to the firſt article of the title of the chapter, that the ſecretary of the treaſury ſhall be admitted into the conclave of the reverend ſixteen, whenever any affairs are there debated that concern it, and that in the ſtatutes, inſtead of the term ſcribe of the treaſury, they ſhall uſe that of ſecretary of the treaſury.

That the time of the ſeſſions of the general chapter may be prolonged.

Br. ANTHONY de PAULE Maſter.

We enact by way of addition to the fourteenth article of this title, that in proportion to the buſineſs before it, and for the determining affairs with the greater maturity, the committee of ſixteen may continue the ſitting of the general chapter longer than the fifteen days not holy-days that it ought to ſit, provided it be not for more than eight days of buſineſs.

20. That in the provincial chapters and aſſemblies no brother ſhall have a vote, unleſs he has made his profeſſion and reſided at leaſt three years in the convent, which he ſhall be obliged to prove by a certificate from the ſecretary of the treaſury; but this is not to effect the knights of the venerable language of Germany; revoking all graces granted in chapter or to be granted in the councils of reſervation, that are contrary to the preſent ſtatute; except that which has been granted to the knight Br. Stephen Sciatino for good reaſons, only for his having vote in the priory of Meſſina, without having kept the ſaid reſidence.

Of the Council.

TITLE VII.

1. THEY have ordained by way of explanation of the third article of the title of the council, that ſuch as ſhall hereafter be admitted and ſit in council, (beſides the profeſſion of faith which is required of ſome by the pope's bull) ſhall take an oath in the following manner.

I N. promiſe to deliver my opinion and give my votes in all ſentences and other decrees, relating to civil and criminal cauſes and the government of the order according to the dictates of my conſcience; to obſerve always the tenour of the ſtatutes and the laudable cuſtoms of the order, to reveal nothing that ought to be kept ſecret for the preſervation of the conſtitution and the good government of the order, to ſay nothing to any body of what my brother councellors have ſpoke in giving their opinions, or of what has been ſaid in the councils that may be prejudicial to a third perſon. I promiſe and ſwear it upon the holy croſs, ſo help me God, and may my ſoul anſwer for it before him, if I do the contrary.

2. That the oath above ſhall be preſumed to have been taken by all that are now of the ordinary and compleat councils, and by all that ſhall from time to time be ſubſtituted in the councils in the ſtead of ſuch as are either ſuſpected or abſent. It ſhall be enough to take it once, when they are choſe by the council, without repeating it every time. The auditors of accompts are obliged to the ſame.

3. Whereas grave men ought to be clad in a decent manner, eſpecially when they give audience and ſit in judgment, they have ordained that the venerable councellors great croſſes, when called by the bell to council ſhall not appear there without their long garb called Cloccia, on pain of being fined one hundred crowns to the treaſury for every tranſgreſſion, and been deemed ſuſpected purely for this offence and expelled the council: excepting however the general of the galleys.

4. That the venerable priours, baillis, and their lieutenants commanders and brothers of what degree ſoever they be, ſhall behave themſelves with decorum and modeſty, whether they are ſtanding, ſitting, ſpeaking or hearing cauſes pleaded, without uſing any indecent geſture or poſture in the grand maſter's preſence. Such as offend againſt this ſtatute, ſhall be puniſhed as the venerable council ſhall order, in proportion to the fault they have committed. The ſame ordinance ſhall take place with regard to the court of exchequer.

5. Having

5. HAVING obſerved how neceſſary it is to uſe precautions as to health, eſpecially in the dog-days, when the bodies of men are generally faint, they have ordained that no cauſes ſhall be heard from midſummer day till michaelmas in any of our councils, and appeals ſhall be ſuſpended during all that time, unleſs there be ſomething that concerns elections and nominations to dignities, affairs of ſtate, or criminal cauſes.

6. OBSERVING that there are perſons ſometimes in the compleat councils that are very little acquainted with the affairs of the order, they have ordained that every language ſhall chuſe two brothers of long ſtanding, well verſed in the ſtatutes and affairs of the order, ſuch as they chuſe to be auditors of accompts, who, after being confirmed by the compleat council, and taking the uſual oath, ſhall be admitted as well to the ordinary and ſecret councils, as to the other aſſemblies, where the baillis, and, in their abſence, their lieutenants are uſed to ſit.

PROVIDED however that they are above five and twenty years old, and have really reſided five years at leaſt in the convent, without having made ſuch reſidence in virtue of any procuration for another, though it be a receiver; and the ſame regulation ſhall be obſerved with regard to the auditors of accompts; excepting nevertheleſs the venerable priory of Portugal, in caſe there be no brother knight in it ſo qualified, that the agreement between it and the priory of Caſtile may not be broke through; excepting likewiſe the language of Germany.

7. IF there be an equality of votes in the compleat council, the ſentence of the ordinary council ſhall be deemed to be confirmed. In criminal matters, the ſide that favours the exchequer ſhall carry it, as was declared by the venerable council of 1608.

8. WHEREAS the cauſes of the order are generally ſhort, and may be diſpatched in a few words, it is ordained, that notwithſtanding any concluſion made by the parties in a cauſe before the commiſſaries, if they are minded to alledge or produce any thing elſe before the ordinary or compleat council, nothing ſhall hinder them from doing it; nevertheleſs the council may either it ſelf decide the diſpute, or ſend it back to the commiſſaries, with the new proofs or allegations of the parties.

9. THAT no manner of proof, either by word of mouth or in writing, ſhall ever be offered againſt the records of our chancery, court of exchequer, languages or priories, unleſs the perſon that diſputes them will charge them with forgery, and in that caſe he ſhall be ſubject to the lex talionis.

10. FOR the ſpeedier determination of ſuits, it is ordained, that when any appeal is made from the ordinary council to the compleat council, the defendant may anticipate the time allowed for the appeal, bring it to an hearing, and force the appellant to ſtand trial.

11. THAT for ſeveral good conſiderations, of great conſequence to the conſtitution of the order, and agreeable to the nature of its inſtitution and profeſſion, they have decreed that all ſuits that may ariſe hereafter, about the admiſſion or rejecting of the proofs of gentility for the brother knights, and of legitimacy for the chaplains and ſervants, after they have been examined in the provincial chapters, and in the languages and priories, they ſhall be finally determined by the ordinary council, and in caſe of an appeal, which is allowed, by the compleat council, without any other appeal either to the general chapter, or any other tribunal whatever, ſo that the ſuit ſhall be finally ended by the ſentence of this council.

12. THAT for preſerving noble blood in all its purity in the order, none but brother knights ſhall have a vote in the deliberations of the languages and priories with regard to the proofs of gentility. The brother chaplains or ſervants of arms may however vote there on all other occaſions.

13. THAT in caſe it happens that any body who ſhall hereafter pretend to be admitted into the order, be called in queſtion for the validity of their proofs, they ſhall have no allowance from the treaſury, either of their table or their pay, any farther than the paſſage fees, which they have paid will go; ſo that when it appears by the accompt of the ſecretary of the treaſury, that they have ſpent the value of it, they ſhall be obliged to maintain themſelves at their own expence.

expence. Nevertheleſs, if upon the deciſion of the ſuit, it appears that their proofs are good, they ſhall not be obliged to pay the treaſury a new paſſage.

14. THAT to provide againſt the frauds and preſumption of ſome perſons, whenever any candidate offers his proofs to a language or priory, the brothers that are in it ſhall be obliged to examine them, or to depute commiſſioners for that purpoſe, who ſhall give their ſentiments of them in writing: In defect whereof the maſter and council ſhall, at the inſtance of the candidate, examine them themſelves, or name commiſſioners to do it, and to declare what they think of them in juſtice.

15. THAT when any proofs of gentility are to be reviewed by the council, in what manner ſoever the affair comes before them, they ſhall depute commiſſioners to examine them, and beſides the two of different nations which they are uſed to name, they ſhall chuſe a third that is unexceptionable of the language of the candidate, who, after hearing the parties, ſhall make their report to the council. The ſame method ſhall be obſerved with regard to ameliorations.

16. THAT in the caſe of law ſuits carried on in the languages or priories, if thoſe who are for carrying them on have not three fourths of the votes to warrant them, they ſhall do it in their own name, and at their own riſk and expence.

17. WHEREAS it is very fitting that every body ſhould give accompt of his office and adminiſtration, they have ordered the captains of the hamlets and the governor of the iſle and citadel of Goza to be called to accompt every two years, when they go out of office, before two commiſſioners and a lawyer deputed by the grand maſter, and the council, as well as all the officers, whether brothers or ſeculars that have been concerned in the management of the revenue of the order.

18. WHEREAS it appears by experience, that the manner preſcribed by the general chapter of A. D. 1597. for appointing commiſſioners in cauſes brought in too great a number before the councils, cannot be conveniently practiſed for the good adminiſtration of juſtice, the ſame lords, after repealing the ſtatute made in the ſaid general chapter, have ordained for the future, that in all cauſes, either civil or criminal, wherein the ordinary or compleat councils have thought fit to depute commiſſioners to hear, report or determine them, the maſter or preſident of the council ſhall name ſix brothers of old ſtanding, men of probity, well verſed in the ſtatutes and cuſtoms of the order, three of the nation of one of the parties, and three of the others, according to the cuſtom obſerved in the convent in the nomination of commiſſioners of different nations and kingdoms, according to the diverſity of the languages and ranks of the parties at law, whoſe names ſhall be wrote immediately by the vice-chancellor upon a like number of tickets cut after the ſame manner, folded up and put in a bag, out of which they ſhall draw them by lot, till they meet with two of different nations, who ſhall be commiſſioners of the firſt cauſe in diſpute; they ſhall take the ſame method for the ſecond, and for all the reſt of the cauſes and ſurrogations, altering the names to be drawn by the grand maſter's directions. Theſe commiſſioners cannot be refuſed, without alledging good grounds of ſuſpicion and without proving them very well.

19. THAT the parties, though both or either of them deſire commiſſioners, ſhall yet fully ſet forth the merits of their cauſe, as well in the ordinary as the compleat council; in caſe commiſſioners are named, and they call in lawyers to deliver their opinion, they ſhall ſign what they deliver as ſuch, otherwiſe it ſhall not be admitted.

20. IN caſe of any diſpute between baillis, or between a bailli and a commander, the maſter and council may name knights for commiſſioners.

21. THAT his eminence the grand maſter may appoint them likewiſe in the civil cauſes of the priors and baillis, in the firſt inſtance.

22. WHEREAS juſtice ought to be done in the order in a ſummary way, to prevent querks and tricks, which are equally troubleſome to the judges and the parties, the ſame ſixteen have ordained, that the commiſſioners named, or to be named, to hear the pleadings, and make their report of the caſe, (before whom the plaintif and defendant ought to behave themſelves with reſpect, be-

cauſe they repreſent the maſter and council) ſhall cauſe them to appear before them at the firſt ſummons after the cauſe is pleaded, without ſtaying for a ſecond, and ſhall aſſign them a time proportionable to the importance of the affair, within which they ſhall be obliged to ſet forth their right, produce their reaſons, proceed to the fact, and repreſent the grounds that they go upon: If either of them neglect to do ſo, he ſhall be condemned of contumacy, and his adverſary ſhall gain his cauſe.

23. If the commiſſioners named by the ordinary or compleat council, either to hear and report the caſe, and give a deciſive judgment in it, or in any other manner whatever, are either liable to exception, or die, or keep away, or have any other lawful impediment, and it be neceſſary to name others in their ſtead, the maſter, after ſummoning the plaintif and defendant, may, by his own authority, ſubſtitute one or more in their ſtead to go on with, and decide the ſuit.

24. That the priors, baillis or commanders, that, without any lawful cauſe, refuſe to accept any office or commiſſion that ſhall be given them by the maſter and council, ſhall forfeit a year's revenue of their priory, bailliage or commandery, to the treaſury: If it be a conventual brother, he ſhall loſe a year's ſtanding for the benefit of his fiarnauds. If the commiſſion come from the venerable marſhal, his lieutenant, or the venerable procurators of the treaſury, and the great commander, the marſhal or their lieutenants, complain of it to the maſter and council, they ſhall puniſh the refuſer as they think fit.

25. That in criminal cauſes, the accuſed may offer his reaſons of exception againſt any of the council, provided they are juſt and ſtatutable, which ſhall be determined by the maſter and council. The ſame ſhall be obſerved in the election and promotion to priories and bailliages.

26. That as ſoon as the commiſſioners, appointed by the council, have made their report, they ſhall be obliged to withdraw, though they ſhould be members of the council themſelves; but not with regard to ſuch commiſſions as concern the well being and government of the order.

27. If any one of the commiſſioners or judges deputed to hear a cauſe, is ſuſpected or excepted againſt by either plaintif or defendant, they ſhall be admitted to prove their facts, if they appear pertinent.

28. Whenever, at a publick hearing, there is any occaſion to ſubſtitute a doctor of the order in ſtead of the ordinary judges, he ſhall take his ſeat and give his opinion before all the ſeculars, notwithſtanding all declarations to the contrary.

29. If any conventual brother, commander or bailli, be taken priſoner by the infidels, the maſter and council ſhall appoint ſome of his friends to ſerve him as proxies and truſtees, and give them what power they think proper; the ſame method ſhall be uſed with regard to ſuch as run diſtracted, eſpecially if they are commanders: Which truſtees ſhall be obliged to give in their accompt to the procurators of the treaſury every year, on pain of being declared debtors to it on their own accompt.

30. That the procurators of the languages ſhall act as ſuch in the behalf of all perſons that are employed on board the gallies and other veſſels in the fort of St. Elmo, or the iſle of Geza, or in the caravans, or any other way in the ſervice of the order, and likewiſe in the behalf of priſoners, if they have appointed no other proxies of their own, as fully as if they had an expreſs procuration to ſolicite and take care of all their affairs.

31. That plaintifs and defendants ſhall only plead by word of mouth before the commiſſioners, councils or other tribunals of the order; forbidding them to preſent any memorial, and the judges to receive any, though it ſhould be the opinion of doctors or council learned in the laws, in ſuch caſes as are expreſſed and regulated by the ſtatutes and uſages of the order, though they may do it in other caſes.

32. To prevent all inconveniences that may happen in council in the deciſion of criminal matters; and hinder any body that ſhall be, by plurality of voices, judged worthy of puniſhment from eſcaping it, they have ordained that the ballots of ſuch as are for one ſort of puniſhment, and ſuch as are for another, ſhall not be put into different boxes, but they ſhall debate at firſt whether

8

the accuſed ſhall be either acquitted or condemned; and if the latter be reſolv'd on, they ſhall then give their opinions and votes as to the nature and kind of his puniſhment.

33. THEY have forbid our brothers to act for the future as attorneys, an office that ſeems mean and mercenary in the councils and other tribunals of the order, unleſs it be for great croſſes and for brothers that are abſent, and in ſuch caſe they ſhall not, unleſs they are made the principal in the procuration or letter of attorney, and not ſurrogated to others, on pain of being fined fifty crowns, half of it to go to the treaſury, and the other half to the oratory of S. John Baptiſt beheaded, which ſhall be paid down upon the order of his eminence the grand maſter, who may levy the money upon them by force, without any formality of proceeding at law.

34. THAT the thirty firſt article wherein mention is made of the leave which priors and baillis are to have for going from the convent, appearing to them to be too rigorous and fit to be moderated, they have ordained, that in order to have ſuch leave, it ſhall ſuffice that they have two thirds of the votes of the compleat council, provided however it appears that the perſon who aſks it, owes nothing to the treaſury, the language or the priory.

35. IN order to be thoroughly inſtructed in the ceremonial that is to be obſerved at the reception of great lords, and other ſtrangers of quality that arrive in this city, they have deputed the venerable brothers Don Louis de Moncada, great conſervator, Juſte de Fay Gerlande priour of Auvergne Nicholas della Marra priour of Meſſina, and James Chriſtopher d' Andelau to examine all the notes and accounts of what has been practiſed on the like occaſions that are preſerved in the records of our chancery and treaſury, and to make a collection thereof, adding what they think neceſſary to be added thereto, which they ſhall lay before the venerable compleat council of reſervation for their confirmation, after which it ſhall ſerve for a rule of practice when occaſions offer.

36. THAT according to the tenour of the eleventh article of this title, all our brothers that are in the convent, ſhall defend their own cauſe in perſon and not by proxy; and in caſe of any lawful impediment, ſhall repreſent their caſe and plea in writing, except the priours, baillis and other members of the ordinary council, brothers that are abſent or actually ſick, and thoſe of the venerable language of Germany, any ſtatute, cuſtom or other matter to the contrary in any wiſe notwithſtanding.

37. THAT commiſſioners deputed in the firſt inſtance ſhall not iſſue out any writ of arreſt againſt any of our brothers for civil debts, without an order from the grand maſter.

Of the MASTER.

TITLE VIII.

1. THE ſame lords have granted unanimouſly to the moſt eminent and reverend the grand maſter brother Anthony de Paule, the iſles of Malta and Goza and other adjacent ones, with all and every their juriſdictions, rights, fruits, revenues, emoluments and appurtenances, but ſubject to the payment of the ordinary charges formerly laid and ſtill levied, confirming the grant made thereof to him by the compleat council, with every thing conſequential to it.

2. THEY have likewiſe confirmed all the collations and grants of commanderies, members and penſions made of grace and in virtue of the magiſtral prerogative, either by the grand maſter that now is, or by his predeceſſors, and likewiſe of all eccleſiaſtical benefices made in favour of any brother whatever, that enjoys them are preſent in virtue of a magiſtral bull, notwithſtanding any defect or incapacity they might be under at the time of their collation, ſo that they ſhall not be moleſted at all on that account: Provided however that this do not affect any ſuit already commenced in

in ſuch caſe, or the right and intereſt that others have therein, which we do not intend in the leaſt to deprive them of.

3. THEY have beſides appointed him and his ſucceſſors an annual penſion of ſix thouſand crowns of twelve tarins apiece, which ſhall be paid by the treaſury either in ready money or in proviſions at the ſettled rate as was ordered in the precedent general chapter with regard to the tables of brothers: which penſion ſhall never be augmented, diminiſhed or altered in any manner or by any perſon whatever.

4. THAT he may not in any manner either for his own uſe or otherwiſe diſpoſe of the money, jewels, gold, ſilver pretious ſtones, corn, proviſions, ſlaves, ammunition or any other effects of the treaſury, without ſticking punctually in every point to the tenour of the ſtatutes.

5. THEY have exempted the ſaid treaſury from the charge of keeping up, repairing and enlarging the palace and buildings annexed to the maſterſhip, in the city of Valette, the notable city, mount Verdale, and the park or grove: and of repairing or making new doors, windows, glaſſes, and other neceſſaries for them, and likewiſe of mending the hangings, tapeſtry, gold and ſilver plate, braſs ware and the like, for all which the treaſury ſhall only furniſh two hundred crowns of twelve tarins apiece a-year, to the receiver of his eminence the grand maſter who ſhall ſupply what is further wanting for ſuch repairs out of the particular revenues of the maſterſhip.

6. THAT the commanders of the magiſtral chambers ſhall be bound to pay the penſions due from them to his eminence the grand maſter or his receiver, in the convent, on midſummer day; and if they do not pay them within four months after the ſitting of the provincial chapter, they ſhall pay double. If they let two years paſs without paying all that they owe for the ſaid penſions, they ſhall be deprived of the ſaid chambers without any other ſentence or declaration, and his eminence the grand maſter may diſpoſe of them to others, as if they were vacant by death or reſignation.

7. HE may confer the office of ſeneſchal whenever it falls vacant by the reſignation of the perſon that enjoys it, upon any brother he pleaſes for life.

8. AGREEABLE to the ordinance made about magiſtral chambers by the general chapter, they have erected anew the commandery of Kilbarri, Killarie and Crooſbe with all its appurtenance into a magiſtral chamber of the priory of Ireland, and have annexed it for ever to the grand maſter's table, like others of the ſame nature.

9. CONSIDERING the importance of chuſing a faithful perſon to open and ſhut the gates of the city Valette, it is ordained that the grand maſter ſhall chuſe ſome brother that he knows well for this purpoſe, without intrenching on the right of the venerable marſhal; and the ſaid brother ſhall have a double table from the treaſury for his care.

10. WHEREAS they have ſettled the caſes in which the brothers of the order are to be deprived of the habit for ever, they have ordered the term for ever to be inſerted in the ſentences given by the Egards according to the nature of the crime, that it may be known who the grand maſter can pardon according to the tenour of the eleventh article of this title.

Of BAILLIS.

TITLE IX.

1. THE ſaid lords have made the following ſtatute to be placed immediately after that of the grand maſter, de Vignacour, which treats of the foundations, the execution of which is lodged in the hands of the great commander.

Of the foundations of the venerable priours Luſſan and Gaillard Bois.

Br. ANTHONY DE PAULE, Maſter.

For the approving and confirming of the foundations made by the venerable brothers Eſparbais de Luſſan priour of S. Gilles, and brother James de Gaillard Bois Marconville priour of Aquitain for the building of galleys, we ordain that they ſhall be entirely executed, according to the pious intention of the founders, and the tenour of the foundations regiſtred in our chancery; and that to preſerve the memory of all that have been made or ſhall be made hereafter for the benefit of our treaſury, to encourage our brothers to imitate them, to make them more eaſily known at all times, and provide for their more punctual execution, copies ſhall be taken thereof, and hung up in tables in our venerable court of exchequer to be ſeen by all the world.

1. To terminate differences that may ariſe between the priours and baillis about precedence, they have ordained that whenever any difficulty ſhall ariſe on this ſubject, and there are no certain proofs of their inſtitution, the priour or bailli that was firſt choſe, ſhall take place, but without prejudice to the rights of the other in caſe he finds means to prove his precedence.

2. That from henceforward the conventual baillis who are not at the convent at the time of their election, ſhall be obliged from that day, to defray the charges of the inns, and pay their lieutenants who are there an hundred crowns of gold of fourteen tarins apiece a month, for the two years and an half that the ſtatutes allow them to come to the convent, except the venerable marſhal admiral, and great conſervator, the firſt and third of which, in caſe of abſence ſhall pay only fifty crowns, and the ſecond fourſcore of the ſame value. Such as leave the convent with licenſe, ſhall do the ſame, though they be ſent abroad for the affairs of the order; and from this day all the baillis ſhall be under the ſame obligation, ſo that if it appears at the end of each half year in the months of February and Auguſt that they have neglected to pay theſe ſums, they ſhall be incapacitated to obtain any other poſt, till they have entirely diſcharged this debt.

3. That if a bailli, or priour, or the caſtellan of Empoſta ſhall in virtue of his prerogative name any officer religious or ſecular that is not uſed to be preſented to the venerable council, he ſhall be obliged to preſent him to the grand maſter, who after examining into his fitneſs, may admit or reject him as he pleaſes.

4. That the venerable capitulary baillis of S. Euphemia S. Stephens, the holy trinity of Venuſia, and S. John ad mare Neapolis, ſhall be from henceforward ſtyled priours of their bailliages, ſaving ſtill the rights of other priours of provinces ſo that this new title and denomination ſhall make no alteration with regard to them, and the others ſhall ſtill continue capitulary baillis as before.

5. That the comptroller of the arſenal ſhall keep his reſidence in the victorious city as long as the arſenal continues on that ſide, and ſhall have an addition of thirty two crowns and an half of twelve tarins apiece made to his ſalary; but it ſhall not be paid him unleſs he actually reſides there.

6. That in the new body which is compiling of the ſtatutes, they ſhall, in the twenty ninth article of the baillis relating to the venerable treaſurer, leave out the following words; in caſe he be a knight; if he be a ſervant of arms or chaplain, an hundred florins of Rhodes.

Of the Priours.

TITLE X.

1. THE ſame lords to prevent greater miſchiefs ariſing from the little care taken to correct errors, have ordained, that our brothers and ſiſters that are in the monaſteries of the order, even thoſe of the holy crucifix at Pont de la Reine in Navarre, ſhall be ſubject, as well as all the reſt, to the viſi-

viſitation and correction of the priours and caſtellan of Empoſta within whoſe diſtrict they lye, but that no alteration ſhall be made in the monaſtery of Sixena in Arragon of old foundation, till the ſuit commenced on this account be determined. The convent of the reformed of our order at Thouloufe ſhall own the priour of S. Gilles as their ſuperiour, according to the tenour of their foundation.

2. THAT all brothers who ſhall hereafter obtain any commanderies by the grace of the priours, ſhall pay a year's revenue to the treaſury, according to the rate it is fixed at, within ſix months from the date of their preſentation; and in failure thereof their grant ſhall be null, and the commandery devolve to the mutition of the language or priory it depends upon.

Of the duty of the Brothers.

TITLE XI.

1. THE ſame lords obſerving that the ordinance made at Rhodes in the laſt general chapter, claſhes with the vow of obedience, by ordering that ſuch as are twenty years ſtanding, and have reſided ten in the convent, ſhall be excuſed from the caravans of the galleys, have ordained that notwithſtanding this ſtatute, his eminence the grand maſter that now is, and his ſucceſſours, may, if they think fit, command brothers of that ſtanding to ſerve on board the galleys with the ordinary caravans, without their pleading any privilege to excuſe themſelves.

2. THAT ſuch as have been admitted, or ſhall be hereafter admitted, though under age, in any manner whatever, ſhall not be jubileed or have their quietus, till after they are twenty five years ſtanding, have reſided ten years in the convent, and made at leaſt four caravans on board the galleys.

3. THAT no body for the future ſhall be exempted from his ſhare of ſervice in the caravans, except the officers of the order, ſuch as are about the grand maſter's perſon and employed in his houſehold, and the piliers of the language that are actually taken up with keeping the inns, whoſe privilege ſhall extend no farther than to one religious whom they may keep with them, declaring that the time which they ſpend in the offices of the order, ſhall not be put on the foot of that which they ought to paſs in the caravans, except with regard to the grand maſters officers, two years of whoſe ſervice ſhall be reckoned to them as one year's caravan, the ſame as if they had ſerved in perſon on board the galleys.

4. THAT ſuch brothers as whilſt they are in the ſervice of the order are taken priſoners by the infidels, ſhall receive their table and pay from the treaſury all the time of their captivity, and be deemed reſident in the convent all that while. Every year of confinement ſhall be reckoned to them for a caravan as much as if they had made it on board the galleys. Their table and pay ſhall be delivered to their curators or truſtees that ſhall demand it for them, to ſerve either to redeem them out of captivity or relieve them under it, as the maſter and council ſhall ſee fit.

5. THAT on the firſt Sunday in May, or elſe the ſecond, if the firſt day of the month falls upon a Sunday, all the brothers ſhall appear in their inns with their arms, and paſs in a review before the commiſſaries according to cuſtom.

6. THAT in favour of liberty, the ſlaves of both ſexes that belong to our brothers, and are born of Chriſtian women, and baptized, ſhall not be ſold.

7. THAT to prevent abuſes committed in continuing the officers of the treaſury, all thoſe officers, even the comptrollers, ſhall be changed every two years, and a month before the end of their adminiſtration, they ſhall deliver in a ſurrender of their offices to the grand maſter, or ſuch other perſon whoſe buſineſs it is to receive it, on pain of forfeiting a half year's

revenue if they are commanders, and of paying a fine of an hundred crowns to the treaſury, if they are conventual brothers.

THEY have confirmed the following ſtatute and drawn it up in theſe terms.

Of the caravans which the brothers are to make on board the galleys.

Br. MARTIN GARZES.

BEING minded to provide for the well manning of our galleys, we ordain that all the brother knights and ſervants of arms ſhall be obliged to make four caravans in perſon on board the galleys of the order, before they ſhall be capable of enjoying any commanderies whatever, and that no body ſhall be admitted to make his caravans till he is full twenty years old.

8. THAT they ſhall leave theſe words, " or by ſome body elſe," out of the eighth article of the title of commanderies where it ſpeaks of caravans, requiring every body to make them in perſon; that the caravans be diſtributed in all the languages according to the order of ſtanding; ſo that there ſhall be no paſſing by one to take another, and the perſon whoſe turn it is ſhall make it himſelf, on pain of nullity, if any body elſe make it for him; in which caſe it ſhall be of no uſe to either of them to qualify them for offices, much leſs if he was a ſupernumerary. They refer it to the grand maſter's diſcretion to grant diſpenſations in caſe of ſickneſs.

9. THAT if a brother knight or ſervant of arms has not made his four caravans, before he is fifty years old, he ſhall be incapable of ever having any commandery, benefice or office of the order, though he ſhould make them after that age. Declaring that after a year, reckoning from this day, every body ſhall be included in the preſent regulation, which ſhall affect them all alike.

10. THAT for the future the governours of Goza, and of the caſtles of S. Elmo and S. Angelo, and the commanders of la Valette, the victorious city and the iſle de la Sengle ſhall not put any body in the places of ſoldiers that are vacant either by death or deſertion, nor in the poſts of alfiere, clerk, ſergeant or corporal; but all theſe officers as well as thoſe of the priſon of the ſlaves and the bakehouſes of the order ſhall be preſented by his eminence the grand maſter, all cuſtoms or uſages to the contrary in any wiſe notwithſtanding; recommending to his eminence, when he is going to diſpoſe of thoſe poſts, to make choice of men of ſenſe and courage, who have ſerved well for a long time on board the galleys, and to prefer them before all other candidates.

Of ELECTIONS.

TITLE XII.

1. THE ſame lords, to do honour to the priorial dignity of the great church of our convent, and keep it from becoming contemptible, and to provide that the election to it may be canonically made, have ordained that the treaſury ſhall pay one thouſand two hundred crowns of twelve tarins a-piece a year to the priour, in lieu of the commandery of ſtate of the knights of his own language and priory, which uſed to be given to the priours, in right of their priorial church; which commandery ſhall be from henceforth extinct and ſuppreſſed.

2. WHEREAS the brothers are obliged in all elections and nominations to poſts, offices and dignities to give their votes purely and ſimply without any view to intereſt or any manner of affection, they have forbid all and every of them, of what rank, office or dignity ſoever they be, to ſolicit votes either for himſelf or for any body elſe, or require any promiſe of them, as they likewiſe do all ſuch as have votes to make any promiſe of ſuch a nature,

ture, on pain of being punished by the master and council, even with deprivation of the habit, in proportion to the consequence of the thing.

3. They have granted the master and council power to appoint two brothers, men of probity, to take care of the buildings of the order, who shall count over the workmen employed about them every morning and evening, and write down their names in a book.

4. That in the new body of statutes which is compiling, they shall in the twelfth article which treats of the procurator general in the court of Rome, insert the following words, "embassadour to his holiness our lord, and pro-"curator general at the court of Rome."

Of Commanderies.

TITLE XIII.

1. THE same lords have ordained, with regard to commanderies that are disposed of by the prerogative and grace of the grand master, as well principal ones as such as are exchanged, that his eminence shall not have power to keep in his hands, divide or dismember any part of them for the future. The grand master however for the time being, and his successors, shall have power to charge them with pensions not exceeding the fifth part of their revenue, which they may grant to such brothers as are qualified to have them: declaring that their magistral grace and prerogative shall not extend so far as to grant any to such brothers as have not kept three years residence and made two entire caravans, or are of one priory when the commandery belongs to another, which has its particular commanderies appropriated to it. But where the commanderies are common to all the priories, as in the venerable languages of Provence and Italy, the grand master may dispose of commanderies and pensions indifferently to all the brothers of the same language, that the commanderies he is to present to in virtue of his magistral prerogative and grace belong to.

2. That his eminence and his successors may confer, and by one or more bulls divide pensions that are resigned to him on account of his magistral graces, as well for the commanderies of grace as the magistral chambers. The like liberty is granted to pensioners that resign their pensions to others; they may either give them up entire, or reserve themselves a part of them, provided it be with the consent of the commander, as has been already declared by a particular statute.

3. The same lords have likewise allowed his eminence the grand master and his successors to keep to themselves a whole year's revenue of all the commanderies that are of their nomination, in virtue of their prerogative, according to the statutes; reserving always the dues of the treasury imposed or to be imposed, which we do not intend to derogate from in any respect by granting the present faculty: ordering the revenue of the said first year to be paid him at the time prefixed and stipulated, after the delivery of the letters or bulls, by such as are presented to the said commanderies; in failure whereof the grand master may revoke his presentation and dispose of them to what other brothers he sees fit.

4. They have allowed him to confer for life, and grant a perpetual lease of his magistral chambers to such brothers as he pleases, provided they are of the same languages and priories as the chambers are, reserving always the dues of the treasury, and such pensions as he thinks fit for himself and his successors: which collations, reservations and leases shall be of the same force as if made by a general chapter.

5. They authorize him likewise to make an exchange of magistral chambers for commanderies of grace, and of commanderies of grace for magistral chambers, and dispose of them with the same authority as of other magistral graces and prerogatives.

6. They

6. They allow him alſo to keep and receive two whole years revenues of ſuch magiſtral chambers as he ſets and leaſes out for life, reſerving always the dues of the treaſury. Which revenues ſhall be paid at the times ſpecified in the leaſe of the commanderies and magiſtral chambers: and in failure thereof the grand maſter may revoke them, and put in other religious.

7. They empower him too to keep or grant one or more penſions, provided they do not exceed the fifth part of the revenue of the commanderies and magiſtral chambers we have been ſpeaking of, and beſides the ordinary penſions which belong to the grand maſters, he may create others till they amount to a fifth part.

8. They give him liberty to exchange the penſions reſerved out of the ſaid commanderies and magiſtral chambers, for any other penſions or members, even to give one penſion for ſeveral, and to diſtribute ſuch as he has got this way, to any brothers he pleaſes of the ſame language and priory.

9. If he happens to give any commandery of grace, or magiſtral chamber, to any brother that has a member or a penſion, he may keep the member or penſion to diſpoſe of to what brother he pleaſes, or elſe exchange them with the commandery of grace or magiſtral chamber.

10. Since he is allowed by our ſtatutes to exchange a commandery which belongs to him by his magiſtral prerogative, with a brother that has another commandery, and to diſpoſe of that which he acquires, as by his prerogative, to ſome other religious, and keep a penſion upon that which he ſo diſpoſes of, provided it do not exceed the fifth of its yearly income; they have likewiſe allowed him to keep a like penſion upon that which he gives in exchange.

11. They have allowed him to exchange twice ſuch commanderies as belong to his magiſtral grace and prerogative, according to the ſtatutes, and not only to give ſuch commandery to the perſon that leaves him one of thoſe that he enjoys, on the ſame title that he held his former, according to the twenty fifth article of the title of commanderies, but alſo to exchange once more that which he acquires by the ſaid change, and give it to any commander different from him that he had it from, who ſhall give him his, to hold it by the ſame title as that which he enjoyed before. He may likewiſe diſpoſe of this to another brother of the ſame priory and language.

12. That he ſhall not diſpoſe of any commanderies that belong to his magiſtral grace, but when they are vacant, either by death, promotion to ſome dignity, or reſignation of the brothers preſented to them.

13. To afford our brothers better opportunities for relieving their poverty and maintaining themſelves honourably, according to the ordinances of the general chapter held in the time of the grand maſter brother Martin Garzes, and of the laſt chapter under the grand maſter de Vignacour, the ſame lords have allowed the venerable priors, baillis and commanders of amelioration, to create penſions upon their priorial chambers, bailliages and commanderies of amelioration, by one or more letters patents, to one or more religious profeſſed, not indebted to the treaſury, and qualified to enjoy penſions in their priories, provided they do not exceed the fifth of the yearly value of ſuch priorial chambers and commanderies of amelioration, as rated by the tax of fifty thouſand crowns. In granting theſe penſions they ſhall obſerve the following method.

After the penſioner has got a grant of it, he ſhall, upon the inſtrument drawn of it, get bulls from the venerable ordinary council, who ſhall judge of his capacity or incapacity, as well as of the exceeding and nature of the fifth.

They have likewiſe allowed the ſaid priors, baillis and commanders of amelioration, to grant penſions by way of ſupplement of the ſaid fifth; and when they ſhall be vacant, to give them likewiſe to other brothers that ſhall be qualified for them, and not debtors of the treaſury; obſerving always the rule preſcribed above, that ſuch penſion do not exceed the value of the fifth of the revenue of the bailliage, priory or commandery, in whatever manner the vacant penſion was impoſed, whether under or above the fifth, depriving them however of the power they had of granting members, in virtue of regulations which they have repealed and annulled.

They have allowed the brothers that enjoy any commanderies of magiſtral grace, to grant penſions that fall vacant or are redeemed by themſelves, to

others,

others, provided they are qualified to accept them. The persons to whom they are granted shall be obliged to solicit bulls for them from the ordinary council, excepting magistral chambers, the pensions whereof cannot be granted a second time, and provided neither the person that gives the pension, nor he that receives it, be in debt to the treasury. They have finally declared that all creations of the said pensions must be passed by some act of the chancery, or before a notary; otherwise they shall be null.

14. They have allowed our brothers to exchange their pensions of equal value, and part with them to other brothers that are qualified, with the consent of the possessors of the commanderies they are charged upon, provided however they get their treaty confirmed by the venerable council, and obtain the bulls for it, and that neither of the persons that make the exchange are debtors of the treasury.

15. They have forbid all commanders and beneficed persons to lay any pension upon commanderies of chevissement, or upon ecclesiastical benefices, whether simple or with cure of souls, on pain of nullity, without having any regard to the petitions presented to the present general chapter, in order to obtain liberty to charge or receive such pensions: They have revoked all that have been already granted, and forbid the councils of reservation to grant any for the future.

16. After having duly examined the fortieth article of the title of commanderies, where mention is made of their exchange, they have found it too strict, there being very seldom an exact equality between the value of the commanderies and the ages of the persons that exchange them, and have given the venerable ordinary council, as representing the general chapter, authority to confirm all manner of exchanges of one commandery or member for another between brothers of the same language and priory, and have vacated the said fortieth article in whole or in part and every other statute contrary to this ordinance, provided the parties that make the exchange owe nothing to the treasury, and have antecedent to the council's approbation of it, got the consent of the greatest part of the brothers of the language or priory where the things exchanged lie; otherwise the exchange shall be null.

17. To correct some abuses that have been introduced, and in conformity to the ordinance of the precedent general chapter, they have forbid the venerable priors, castellan of Empostа, baillis and commanders, of what quality soever, to grant any offices of justice, or other offices of their priories, castellany, bailliages or commanderies, to any body for life, in recompence of service, but only to enjoy them durante beneplacito: Annulling all grants of the said offices made or to be made, that are not agreeable to the present statute, and all other kind of graces whatever that have been granted by the present general chapter, or may hereafter be granted by the councils of reservation.

18. That the priors, baillis and commanders of the priories, castellany of Empostа, bailliages and commanders which have pensions charged upon their revenues, shall be obliged to pay them really and in fact to the pensioners or their proxies, at every provincial chapter, which, in failure thereof, shall issue out mandates to distrain, besides the penalty of incapacity incurred by bad paymasters, according to the tenour of the statute lately added to the title of the common treasury.

19. In conformity to the sixteenth article of the title of commanderies, they have ordained, with regard to such as have been conferred and obtained in virtue of the magistral grace and prerogative, according to the four and twentieth and five and twentieth articles of the same title, that they shall not be liable to any objection on account of the want of amelioration, till six years after the person presented to any such commandery has enjoyed the revenues of it, which he does not begin to do till after the mortuary and vacancy are expired; but in these six years we include that, the revenue whereof is due to the grand master.

20. Whereas some commanders pretend that they are not obliged to make or to prove that they have made improvements on the commanderies which they enjoy by right of exchange, under pretence that having made them in those which they have exchanged, they are excused from making them in those

which they have acquired by that method. They have, to prevent all ſort of diſputes, ordained, that the want of amelioration, or not having made improvements, may be objected in commanderies that are exchanged, and got either by grace from the chapter and maſter, or by the conſent of the languages and convent, or otherwiſe in way of exchange, after five years are paſſed ſince the day that the perſon collated began to enjoy the revenues thereof, or after ſix years, including that which belongs to the grand maſter, according to the purport of the foregoing ſtatute.

21. The ſame lords have added to the twentieth, twenty firſt and twenty ſecond articles of the title of commanderies, that for the future, as ſoon as the commanders have drawn up their terriers, which they are obliged to do every twenty five years by the ſtatutes, they ſhall every one take care to have a copy thereof in due form, put in the archive of the priory, or in the acts of the provincial chapter upon which their commandery depends; and ſhall inſert a certificate of their delivering it in the account of their ameliorations.

That if twenty five years are not yet lapſed ſince the giving in of the laſt terrier, ſo that they may excuſe themſelves from making a new one, he ſhall be obliged to inſert in the ſaid accompt good proofs that the copy of which he produces of the terrier is in due form, and agreeable to that which is kept in the archive of the priory or in the records of the provincial chapter. In caſe it has not been yet delivered in, he ſhall be obliged to have one made at his own expence, before he finiſhes the account of his ameliorations, and have it actually put in the archives, or in the records of the chapter, and ſhall inſert an authentick certificate thereof in the ſaid account.

If, in fine, it appears, that it is not yet twenty five years ſince one of his predeceſſors in the commandery put ſuch copy into the archive, it ſhall ſuffice if he produce the certificate of its being done, and ſet it forth in the account of his ameliorations. All ſuch as ſhall be made, for the future, after the publication of the preſent ſtatute in the provincial chapters and aſſemblies, in which they ſhall neglect to obſerve all that is preſcribed above with regard to terriers and copies of them, ſhall be null and of no force, and be rejected as ſuch.

22. Whereas commanders and others, under pretence of having made improvements and ameliorations in their commanderies, at a time when they were not obliged to make a new terrier, will not give themſelves the trouble of making one, even after the twenty five years are expired. They have declared, that, in ſuch caſe, the commanders and others are obliged to it by the ſtatutes, and to ſend the convent good proofs that they have diſcharged this obligation; and in failure thereof ſhall be declared as incapable, as if they had not made any amelioration at all; provided that nothing herein any ways affect the twenty third article of the ſame title.

23. The ſame lords have ordained, for important conſiderations, that, for the future, no commander ſhall make up any accompt of his ameliorations in his commandery, till three years after he has begun to enjoy the revenues of it: Such as are made before that time ſhall not be allowed, except for ſuch commanderies as are held by right of exchange, by the magiſtral grace or the conſent of the languages or priories, or by any other title whatever, in caſe the commanders made no ameliorations in thoſe that they quitted, and in this caſe the three years ſhall be computed from the day that they get poſſeſſion of the new commandery, as are the five or ſix years fixed for proving their ameliorations, provided ſtill that the commander made no amelioration in the commandery that he quitted.

24. Whereas there are ſome commanderies without any houſe upon them, or at leaſt any thing that is fit to dwell in, and the commanders pretend to exempt themſelves from reſiding there the five years required by the ſtatutes, they have ordained that ſuch commanders, except thoſe of the venerable priories of Catalonia and Navarre, and of the chaplains of the order and ſervants of arms, ſhall, among other ameliorations, be obliged to build houſes fit for themſelves and their ſucceſſors to dwell in at their own expence, or purchaſe others already built, in the moſt convenient places of their commanderies for them to reſide in. Such as ſhall have anſwered the intent of this preſent ſtatute, by ſhewing

ing that they have laid out a thouſand crowns either in building or in a purchaſe, ſhall be deemed to have kept all their five years reſidence, though they have really kept little or none at all. Otherwiſe they ſhall be obliged to keep it all, either in the commandery or convent, if they have not fully executed the purport of this preſent ordinance.

25. THEY have confirmed the ordinance of the foregoing general chapter, expreſſed in the twenty fifth article of the ſame title, which obliges the priors and baillis of the venerable languages of Spain to make ameliorations and terriers in their priories, caſtellany of Empoſta and bailliages, as well as the commanders, on pain of paying double reſponſions to the common treaſury ſucceſſively for every year that they ſhall neglect to diſcharge this obligation after the term preſcribed, beſides other penalties threatned by the ſtatutes. Adding further, that not only ſuch as have been now ſpoken of, but likewiſe all the priors and baillis of the other venerable languages, are obliged to make ſuch ameliorations and terriers, under the ſame penalties of paying a double reſponſion, and whatever other puniſhment is inflicted by the ſtatutes.

26. THAT the brother chaplains and ſervants of arms, of what language ſoever they be, ſhall be obliged to make ameliorations and terriers of their commanderies, as well as the brother knights, on pain of being declared incapable. If they let two years paſs, after the term prefixed, without making any, the provincial chapter ſhall depute two commiſſioners, who (if there has been none made for twenty five years paſt) ſhall make ſuch ameliorations and terriers at the expence of the ſaid chaplains and ſervants of arms that have neglected to make them, and ſhall take up as much of the revenues of the commanderies, as is neceſſary for the due going through with a work ſo neceſſary for preſerving the eſtates of the order.

27. To prevent all manner of ſuits and differences they have declared, that if at the time of the mutition of any priories, caſtellany of Empoſta, bailliages, dignities and commanderies, any brother of a language or priory ſhall preſent the proofs of his ameliorations made according to the ſtatutes, and they be declared good and duly made, he may obtain ſuch priory, bailliage, commandery, and other dignity; ſo that though they ought to proceed immediately in ſuch language and priory to the mutition of the dignities of great croſſes, according to the purport of the forty ſecond article of this title, yet they ſhall not proceed to the election or promotion of the prior or bailli till eight days of buſineſs after the mutition, in caſe there be any ſuit brought before or commenced at that time in relation to the ameliorations, and the council ſhall decide the ſuit within the ſaid term of eight days: In every thing elſe they ſhall follow the form preſcribed by the ſtatutes.

28. WHEREAS there often happen tumults in the aſſemblies of the languages or priories that oblige them to break up, which is frequently done deſignedly for that purpoſe, to the prejudice of ſuch as make or offer themſelves to make any demand; they have ordained, that when the languages meet with the grand maſter's leave about a mutition, or in any other buſineſs whatever, all the brothers ſhall be allowed, notwithſtanding the tumult, to make their demand, and cauſe it to be entered upon the minutes or rough journal of the language or priory, and in caſe it be not ſo entered, ſhall have it regiſtered in chancery. Such demand ſo made and regiſtered ſhall be equivalent to a mutition, and ſhall give the perſon that made it the ſame right that he would have had, if the language or priory had finiſhed their deliberation and the mutition had been made there in form, ſo that no mutition made poſterior to it ſhall affect his right at all.

29. THE ſame lords perſuaded that it is of great importance to commanderies that the commanders reſide upon them, have ordained unanimouſly, that the reſidence which they ſhall make in the convent for two years after they have got poſſeſſion of their revenues, ſhall not be taken in lieu of that of five years which they are to keep upon their commanderies, unleſs they are diſpenſed with by the grand maſter and council, and are detained in the convent to exerciſe ſome publick poſt or office of the order or grand maſter, or by ſome other lawful impediment, with regard to which they refer themſelves to the grand maſter and council's declaration in the caſe. If any commander, of what

what condition ſoever he be, is for ſtaying in the convent longer than two years, without being detained there in the manner that is ſaid above, he ſhall not be allowed any table from the common treaſury.

30. To remove and prevent all difficulties that are riſen or may riſe between our brothers in relation to their ſtanding in order to chevir, or ameliorate, they have declared, that from henceforward there ſhall be no diſtinction or difference made on that account between the ſtandings, and that they may give them to all commanders that are in the convent, provided they are qualified to have them, and can prove their reſidence for five years upon the ſaid commanderies, as well as their ameliorations made in them and duly received and approved by the convent.

A COMMANDER that is preſented to ſeveral commanderies, by any title whatſoever, is deemed to have made his reſidence of five years, if he ſtays all that time either in one alone, or in all of them by turns, or in their members, or is abſent from thence by an expreſs commiſſion from the grand maſter and council for the publick affairs of the order, or elſe reſides in the convent, according to the regulation of the precedent ſtatute.

As for faculties of ſtanding in order to chevisſement, the following order is to be obſerved. In the venerable language of Provence they grant them to twelve brother knights and five brother chaplains or ſervants of arms. In that of Auvergne, to ſeven knights and four chaplains or ſervants. In the priory of France, to ſeven knights and four chaplains or ſervants. In the priory of Aquitain, to ſix knights and two chaplains and ſervants. In that of Champagne, to four knights and two chaplains and ſervants. In the venerable language of Italy, to twenty eight knights and ſix chaplains and ſervants. In the caſtellany of Empoſta, to eight knights and four chaplains and ſervants. In the priory of Catalonia, to ſix knights and two chaplains and ſervants. In the priory of Navarre, to three knights, and one to the chaplains and ſervants. In the venerable language of England, one to the knights. In the venerable language of Germany, to five knights, and one to the chaplains and ſervants. In the priory of Bohemia, one to the knights, and one to the chaplains and ſervants. In the priory of Caſtile and Leon, to eleven knights, and four to the chaplains and ſervants. In the priory of Portugal, to ſeven knights, and to two chaplains and ſervants, and not more; though it ſhould be done by the ſpecial grace of the language, which they have declared to be null in this caſe; enjoining the grand maſter not to give any permiſſion ſo much as to treat of it, and declaring it likewiſe null if he does.

PROVIDED ſtill that ſuch faculties of ſtanding in order to chevir, ſhall be granted, for the future, to none but knights that are the greateſt ſeniors, qualified for having commanderies, and that reſide actually in the convent; notwithſtanding any oppoſition to the contrary, and though the general chapter has granted an expreſs and ſpecial licenſe to one of our brothers, to enjoy his right of ſtanding out of the convent, yet if one that is ſenior to him comes thither, he muſt be content to wait till ſome of thoſe already granted fall vacant. All that are of the ſame paſſage ſhall have but one ſtanding.

31. THAT from henceforward, in all languages and priories, they ſhall not mutir, confer or grant any ſtanding in order to chevir, unleſs in caſe of death, or when ſuch as have them ſhall be really chevis and collated to the commandery of the firſt chevisſement; ſo that the mortuary and vacancy being expired, they have begun to enjoy the revenues of the ſaid chevisſement. 'Tis then, and not before, that theſe faculties of ſtanding ſhall be deemed vacant, and may be mutis and diſpoſed of.

THAT no body is obliged to renounce his faculty of ſtanding in the demand and mutition of commanderies, not even during the mortuary and vacancy of the ſaid commanderies ſo demanded, though it ſhould happen that there are at that time ſeveral commanderies muties and demanded, according to the cuſtom of the order. Every one ſhall keep his faculty till he is chevi and collated. If any brother preſumes before that time to renounce the faculty of ſtanding he has acquired, he cannot demand or have any other in what manner ſoever it becomes vacant; and he ſhall be obliged to go to the convent in perſon to obtain chevisſement; otherwiſe he ſhall be declared incapable. They except however, out of the preſent conſtitution, the venerable languages of Arragon,

Arragon, Navarre, Catalonia, Caſtile and Portugal, where the faculties for ſtandings may be mutis and demanded immediately after the mutition of the commanderies, according to both ancient and modern cuſtom.

32. The ſame lords, confirming the decree of the geheral chapter, have revoked, and do revoke, all faculties of ſtanding, expectatives and rights acquired, that have been granted either by the preſent or by former chapters, or that may be granted hereafter by the compleat councils of reſervation, of ſpecial grace and contrary to the tenour of the ſtatutes, with regard to any dignities whatever of great croſs, priories and bailliages, and the faculties for obtaining them notwithſtanding abſence from the convent; all which they declare to be null, and order all the brothers that have obtained or ſhall obtain them, to ſubmit to the declaration and tenour of the regulations made in this point.

33. They have likewiſe revoked and do revoke unanimouſly all the graces and faculties granted by the preſent general chapter, or to be granted by the compleat councils of reſervation, either of caravans, or reſidence, or of ſtanding in order to chevir or ameliorate out of the convent, of the privilege of jubilation, of the power of having and getting, (though abſent from the convent) all kind of ſtanding of juſtice in order to chevir or ameliorate out of the convent, and all other ſupplemental graces obtained in the ſaid caſes; enjoining all the brothers to ſubmit to the regulation of the ſtatutes; excepting only the grace granted by the general chapter to brother Hyacinthe le Blanc chaplain to ſupply the defect of his reſidence in the convent; ſo that he may immediately enjoy his ſtanding in order to chevir, in conſideration of the reſidence he will keep at the church of la Fuen Santa, to which he is to be preſented.

34. They likewiſe have revoked and do revoke, agreeably to the precedent general chapter, all and every the graces granted by the preſent chapter, or to be granted by the compleat councils of reſervation to our brothers, to enjoy any members or penſions annexed to priories, bailliages or commanderies out of the diſtrict of the language or priory where they were received; except that which was granted, nemine contradicente, to brother Thomas de Hoſes the great chancellor's lieutenant, for giving a penſion of two hundred ducats to his nephew, who was received in the venerable language of Italy, with the conſent of the venerable priory of Caſtile and Leon, given purſuant to the decree of the chapter.

35. All graces and faculties granted by the preſent general chapter, and to be granted by the compleat councils of reſervation, with regard to ameliorations and terriers, the defects in them and delays in making ameliorations, and drawing up new terriers.

36. All graces granted by the preſent general chapter and to be granted by the compleat councils of reſervation either to priours, baillis, commanders and brothers, for giving penſions to ſeculars or elſe to the donats of the order, or to ſeculars and donats to accept of ſuch penſions from the religious.

37. To encourage and engage our brothers to recover the eſtates of the order out of the hands of ſeculars, they have by way of addition, to the fifty fifth article of the title of commanderies, ordained that the enjoyment of the eſtates ſo recovered ſhall be left to the brothers who enjoy the commanderies they depend on, for their life.

38. To engage our brothers to be more careful and diligent in recovering the eſtates of the order out of the hands of ſeculars, they have ordained, that ſuch as ſhall have got a commandery on condition of recovering it out of the hands of thoſe that poſſeſs it contrary to the tenour of our ſtatutes, ſhall be obliged, within a year afterwards, to make appear to the convent, what meaſures and endeavours they have uſed for this end; in failure whereof the priory or language whereon his commandery depends, ſhall have power either to allow him longer time, or elſe to diſpoſe of the commandery to another brother.

39. They have enjoined the priours and caſtellan of Empoſta to take more care of preſerving the writings of their ſeveral priories, and to put their archives in order, according to the twelfth article of the title of priours, and

to have an exact inventory made of all and every the original deeds and others which are at preſent in the archives or ſhall be put there hereafter, on pain of what is threatened in the ſaid article; and that when they are in their priories, they ſhall keep the keys of their archives themſelves, and when they are abſent, they ſhall deliver them to their lieutenants, or to ſuch ancient knights as ſhall ſupply their place in thoſe parts.

40. THAT the priours and caſtellan of Empoſta in their priories and caſtellany, and commanders in their commanderies, ſhall oblige all chaplains that are preſented to any benefices of the order, to take the habit within time fixed by the ſtatutes. If the commanders neglect to do ſo, the priors and caſtellan may diſpoſe of them to others.

41. THEY have very ſtrictly forbid the venerable priour of Caſtile, and the chapter and aſſembly of that province, to give any diſpenſations of non-reſidence to the chaplains of the order that ſhall be poſſeſſed of benefices with cure of ſouls; excepting only one for the ſervice of the priour, and two for the ſecretary of the receipts of the revenue of the kingdom, enjoining all the reſt to diſcharge the duty incumbent on them by ſerving and reſiding upon the benefices they are preſented to.

42. THEY have ordained that the thirty fourth and ſixty fifth articles of the title of commanderies, ſhall be left out in the new body of ſtatutes that is compiling, becauſe one of them ſpeaks of cheviſſements with juriſdiction in criminal matters, which are already ſettled, and the other forbids the entruſting of the adminiſtration of commanderies to ſeculars, and yet they are uſed to grant them leaſes thereof; which makes theſe two ſtatutes perfectly uſeleſs.

Of VISITATIONS.

TITLE XIV.

1. THE ſaid lords, conſidering that the wars with which France has been infeſted, have ruined abundance of caſtles and ſtrong houſes of the commanderies, where they uſed to impriſon ſuch vaſſals as were guilty of any crime or miſdemeanour, ſo that they are forced at preſent to make uſe of borrowed priſons, which is of great detriment to the juriſdiction of the order. And the ſaid commanderies, have, for remedying this inconvenience, ordered all priours, baillis and commanders in commanderies whoſe caſtles and ſtrong houſes are in a ruinous condition, to repair and fit them up the beſt they can within the ſpace of five years; and in failure thereof the priours ſhall be deprived of their privilege of the fifth chamber, and of their preſentation to the commandery which depends on their priorial grace: The baillis and commanders ſhall not be allowed to ameliorate till they have anſwered the intent of the preſent ſtatute; and the caſtle or ſtrong houſe be either repaired or rebuilt ſo as to be fit for the commander to live in, and the priſoners to be kept ſecure. In caſe he has complied with this ordinance, thoſe repairs ſhall be equivalent to an amelioration and five years reſidence, but ſhall not diſcharge any body from their duty of drawing up terriers every twenty five years.

2. THAT the viſitation books ſhall be lodged in the chancery, and kept with the other records of the order.

3. THAT by way of explanation of the firſt article of the title of viſitors, when they cannot find a chaplain of the convent or one of obedience of ſufficient capacity to be joined with the brother knight that ſhall be appointed commiſſioner, they ſhall appoint ſome ſecular prieſt to go along with him, that they ſhall judge fit for the employment.

4. THAT the commiſſioners for viſiting the ameliorations of the magiſtral chambers ſhall be named by the maſter and council, and make their report firſt to the maſter and then to the language, who ſhall each of them depute a com-

a commiſſioner to examine it. If they cannot agree, their difference ſhall be determined by the council.

5. That by way of explanation of the ninth article of the title of viſitations, the commanders ſhall be from henceforward in making the proofs of their amelioration to preſent to the commiſſioners deputed for that purpoſe, copies of the leaſes and inventories of the effects of their commanderies, and inſert them in the ſaid proofs: And in caſe commanderies are not out upon leaſe, but in the commanders own hands, they ſhall inform themſelves exactly of their value and the price they may be let at, and mention it in the inſtrument of the ſaid amelioration.

6. In conſideration of the exceſſive expences which the priours and other viſitors generally occaſion by their ſervants and equipage, they have ordained, in conformity to the ancient ſtatutes, that the commanders ſhall not be obliged to pay any thing at all in money, but only to give them a moderate entertainment whilſt they are employed in viſiting their commanderies and members, all ordinances and ſtatutes to the contrary in any wiſe notwithſtanding. The reſt of the expence made in going from one commandery to another, ſhall be at the charge of the priours and caſtellan of Empoſta, whoſe duty obliges them to make ſuch viſitations.

7. Upon the remonſtrance of the commanders of the venerable language of Caſtile and Portugal, founded upon the reaſons therein contained, which regard the advantage of the commanderies and the treaſury, they have ordained, that in the priories of Caſtile, and Leon, and Portugal, the viſitations of the commanderies ſhall for the future be made at the expence of the commanders, who ſhall be obliged to contribute every one their quota to it, as they did formerly.

8. That in the new collection of ſtatutes, they ſhall leave the following words out of the laſt article of the title of viſitations. And if he has ameliorated he ſhall retake the commandery that he quitted, as a thing which is impracticable to be executed.

9. Whereas there are ſeveral priories, where no viſitation has been made for a long time, according to the regulation of the ſtatutes, particularly of the three firſt of the preſent title, which has been of great prejudice to the intereſts of the order, they have enjoined all the priours and the caſtellan of Empoſta to begin or cauſe them to be begun within ſix months, either by themſelves or by viſitors that they ſhall name purſuant to the ſtatutes, in places where none have been made, as a thing of very great conſequence to the patrimony and juriſdiction of the order; and in failure thereof they have ordered the firſt compleat council, acting therein by the authority of the general chapter, to chuſe prudent and capable viſitors for that employment in all provinces where they ſhall be neceſſary, and even ſeveral for the ſame province, if it be proper, for the greater expedition and convenience of making ſuch viſitations, and drawing up authentick accounts of them, copies whereof in due form ſhall be tranſmitted to the convent, to be regiſtered in the chancery.

Of Bargains and Alienations.

TITLE XV.

1. THE ſame lords have ordained, that all promiſſory notes and bonds given by brothers in the convent ſhall be null, if they are not ſigned and ſealed by the venerable marſhal or his lieutenant.

2. Whereas the commanders of the priories of Germany contract frequently a great many debts to the prejudice of their commanderies and their ſucceſſours who are obliged to pay them, they have ordained that no brother of the priories of high or low Germany, ſhall have power to enter into any bond without a licenſe from the priour and provincial chapter, which however

ever ſhall not be granted but for a lawful and reaſonable cauſe, and for a moderate ſum that they can do no hurt to the order or the ſucceſſour; enjoining the priours in the courſe of their viſitations, to enquire diligently into the debts of the commanders, and draw up and tranſmit a liſt and account thereof to the convent, and if they find any commanders overwhelmed with them, they ſhall ſend them in perſon to the convent with a particular account of the ſtate of their affairs, and their commanderies ſhall be ſequeſtered in the hands of the provincial chapter, who ſhall employ the revenues thereof for the payment of their debts.

3. For removing all manner of doubt in caſe any ſhould ariſe, in relation to the fifty ſeventh and fifty eighth articles of the title of commanderies, they have declared that all immoveable goods purchaſed by our brothers with an equity of redemption ſerved to the ſeller, are not of that ſort of goods which are to be annexed to the adjoining commanderies after the death of the purchaſer, but are to be reckoned part of the ſpoils which belong entirely to the treaſury.

4. For the greater encouragement of our brothers to build houſes in the city Valette, they have allowed ſuch as ſhall build any there, to ſell, alienate, and diſpoſe of them by will to ſuch perſons as they ſee fit: and have allowed the ſame to ſuch as have built any in the cities Vittorioſa and la Sengle. They have granted the like privilege to ſuch as have purchaſed any in the ſaid cities.

5. That when any of our brothers who owns any of theſe houſes, chances to dye without making any will or diſpoſition thereof, the treaſury ſhall ſucceed to him and not the languages, as has been unduly practiſed for ſome time; and if he have made any diſpoſition thereof (unleſs it be by an irrevocable deed of conveyance in his life time) all the debts that he contracted either before or after his diſpoſition of it, ſhall be paid out of the houſe, and not be charged upon his ſpoils.

6. They have added further, that ſuch as ſhall appear to have been in debt to the treaſury at the time of their making ſuch deed of gift, or other diſpoſition, ſhall not enjoy this privilege, and their diſpoſition ſhall be deemed invalid and null.

7. For confirming the eighth article of bargains and alienations, where it is forbid to treat in provincial chapters or aſſemblies, about the alienation of the eſtates of the order, they have ordained, that all brothers of what rank, dignity or condition ſoever they be, that ſhall be preſent at any provincial chapters or aſſemblies, where any thing contrary to the ſaid ſtatute ſhall be propoſed or debated, and ſhall give their opinion about it, ſhall, if they be priours, baillis or commanders, forfeit immediately two years revenue of their priories, bailliages or commanderies, which ſhall go to the treaſury, without any form or proceeding at law whatever; if they be conventual brothers they ſhall loſe two years of their ſtanding, beſides the penalties expreſſed in the ſame ſtatute, which they ſhall incurr as ſoon as they are convicted thereof.

8. That in the new collection of the ſtatutes they ſhall leave out that of the grand maſter Verdale, which forbids the leaſing of the uncultivated eſtates of the order for above nine years, and ſhall keep in the ninth article of the title of bargains and alienations, which allows the letting them out for twenty nine years.

9. They have confirmed and revived the twelfth article, and revoked all ſales, gifts, conveyances, ceſſions, mortgages, leaſes for life, or a long term of years made by our brothers contrary to the regulations of the ſtatutes to ſeculars or other perſons, without the authority of the general chapter, and have declared them null and invalid.

10. After a full debate in relation to the fourteenth article of the ſame title where mention is made of deeds of gift in the perſon's life time, or other diſpoſitions and promiſes, aſſignments of money or other effects belonging to our brothers, if they do not live forty days afterwards, they have aboliſhed them and reduced them to the ſame condition as if they had never been made, they being inconſiſtent with the vow of poverty,

contrary to the firſt article of the title of prohibitions and penalties, a breach of duty in the religious, and of great detriment to the treaſury.

11. By way of explanation of the tenth and twelfth articles of the ſame title, to take away all manner of doubt, they have declared and determined, that commanders, who ſhall take immoveable goods in payment of the arrears of leaſes that are due to them, which they muſt prove by the ſentences of judges, and other judicial acts, ſhall have liberty to ſell and diſpoſe of them without any other licenſe.

12. They have unanimouſly revoked all graces granted by the preſent general chapter, or which ſhall be granted hereafter in the councils of reſervation to our brothers, to diſpoſe of their effects, goods, money, or other things whatſoever above the fifth part, as alſo of their immoveable goods acquired, or to be acquired out of the convent, (unleſs they are part of their patrimony) or to alienate, exchange, leaſe out for life, or for a certain time, or to cut down the woods of the order, contrary to the tenour of the ſtatutes: Declaring that all licenſes, decrees or commiſſions obtained for ſuch purpoſe ſhall be deemed null and invalid, and have ordered every thing to be reduced to the form and regulation of the ſtatutes and ordinances of chapter.

Of Leases.

TITLE XVI.

1. The ſame lords, by way of amendment to the ſeventh article of the title of leaſes have forbid all our brothers, even ſuch as are reſident in the convent, or are minded to come thither, to take up beforehand a year's income of their priories, bailliages, commanderies, members, and other eſtates of the order; and ordained that no licenſe ſhall be granted them for ſuch purpoſe.

2. For explaining the ſeventh article of the ſame title, they have allowed his eminence the grand maſter to grant licenſes for ſetting priories, bailliages and commanderies for five years and under, after the mortuary and vacancy are expired, provided however that the ſucceſſor ſhall be obliged only to ſtand to the bail of his predeceſſor for three years, and no longer.

3. That the rents of priories, bailliages and commanderies ſhall be continued to the tenants, according to the terms of the leaſe made of them by the prior deceaſed. If they are not leaſed out or the leaſe be expired, beſides the regulations made on this ſubject by the ſtatutes, they have ordered the receivers of the treaſury in every priory not to paſs any leaſes without good and ſufficient ſecurity for payment of the rent agreed on at the terms appointed. If the receivers take bad ſecurity or none at all when they paſs the ſaid leaſes, they ſhall be bound to make good the rent to the treaſury, and pay it out of their own pocket.

4. That the ordinance above ſhall be added to the ſecond article of the title of leaſes, in ſtead of the clauſe in it. With regard to the dues of the vacancy, that and which they have ordered to be left out to the very end of the article.

5. That the mortuary and vacancy ſhall be ſet to the higheſt bidder, without perferring religious to ſeculars, in caſe they offer an equal price, and that the receiver give publick notice of their being to be let, as well within the commandery, as in the places thereabouts.

Of Prohibitions and Penalties.

TITLE XVII.

1. If any one be accuſed of a crime puniſhable with deprivation of the habit, the maſter, after receiving good information thereof, may, without any reſolution of council, order him to be put in priſon, and depute commiſſaries to

bring him to a trial before the maſter and council. Such priſoners as make their eſcape before their trial, ſhall be deemed to be convicted of the crime they are accuſed of, and be condemned immediately, without any other form of proſecution: Such as are condemned to be impriſoned in the tower or ditch, and make their eſcape, ſhall be deprived of the habit.

2. Brothers that ſhall be ordered by their ſuperior to go to priſon, or to keep their chambers, and ſtir out without his leave, ſhall loſe a year's ſtanding for the firſt time, two for the ſecond, and ſhall be deprived of the habit for the third offence.

3. Whereas ſome of our brothers allow themſelves in very heinous crimes, as preſuming that they cannot be proved, the ſame lords have ordained, that when the ſuſpicions of a crime are ſo ſtrong that a perſon may be put to the queſtion for it, they may be puniſhed extraordinarily with arbitrary penalties.

4. That in caſe of enormous crimes, which are in their nature difficult to be proved, the religious may be deprived of the habit either ſimply or for ever by the councils or egards, upon ſtrong grounds of ſuſpicion and preſumption. If the crime be enormous and deſerve a ſevere puniſhment, the criminal ſhall be delivered over to the ſecular arm, i. e. to the caſtellany or grand maſter's ſecular court, where the proceedings againſt him ſhall be examined anew, and judgment given without any regard to the ſentences pronounced in the tribunals of the order. Such religious however as are in holy orders, and have ſerved in the churches with the eccleſiaſtical habit and tonſure, ſhall not be ſent thither; but as ſoon as they are deprived of the habit of the order, ſhall be delivered to the biſhop's court and his proper ordinary to have juſtice done upon him, according to the decrees made by the venerable council in relation to perſons that after being ſtripped of the habit, are to be delivered over to the ſecular arm.

5. The ſame lords, for confirmation of the order made by the venerable council, the laſt day of October 1629, to prevent the deteſtable practice of duels in the order, have ordained that all brothers, whether novices or profeſſed, that ſhall from henceforward fight out of the gates of the city of Valette, or upon the walls and baſtions, ſhall be proceeded againſt as delinquents and guilty of duelling, ſo that upon the attorney general's proving it, they ſhall be condemned, according to the thirty eighth chapter of this title, which treats of duels.

6. That the two following articles ſhall be reduced to one, which contains the ſubſtance of both with regard to ſuch caſes as may happen, and leaves out all ſuperfluous terms. They have approved the decree of the venerable council of the firſt of December 1586, and abridged and amended the other decree of the ſame council of November 24, 1597. which treats of the manner of delivering criminals over to the ſecular arm, and trying them upon informations in a military way, without regard to any thing but the truth of the fact. This method of proceeding is neceſſary to reſtrain offenders, as it is more particularly ſet forth in thoſe decrees to which they give the force of decrees of chapter, and are as follows.

The firſt of December 1586, after hearing the propoſition made by the moſt illuſtrious and reverend grand maſter, to know whether crimes for which the order and egard deprive a religious of the habit and deliver him up to the ſecular arm to be puniſhed, and perſons accuſed of ſuch crimes be included in the conſtitution of the laſt general chapter, which orders that criminals ſhall have liberty to make their defence, and their appeals be received, ſince it is only expreſſed in general terms, and ſeems to take in only the vaſſals and ſecular ſubjects of the order, beſides that the genus does not derogate from the ſpecies, unleſs it be expreſſly mentioned, and the ancient cuſtom of the order requires that ſuch as have been deprived of the habit and delivered to the ſecular arm, be proceeded againſt and puniſhed as they deſerve by the miniſtery of the temporal magiſtrate, in a military way, and without regard to any thing but the truth of the fact, after the perſons accuſed have been heard what they can ſay for themſelves, as is practiſed by the egard, without minding their appeals.

THE moſt illuſtrious and moſt reverend grand maſter and the venerable council, after a full deliberation and ſerious conſideration of the ſcandals and inconveniences that would ariſe, if they obſerve a different conduct from what they have done formerly, have declared unanimouſly that the aforeſaid caſe, where brothers after deprivation of the habit are delivered up to the ſecular arm, is not included in the general regulation of the ſaid general chapter, and that the practice of the order is founded upon particular reaſons for proceeding in the like caſes and doing juſtice in a military way, without allowing any appeal, ordering the ſecular judge to conform to this ancient practice.

7. WHEREAS a doubt has ariſen whether they were to proceed in the uſual manner againſt novices of the order and their accomplices, as was enacted by the foregoing ſtatute, againſt the religious profeſſed that have been deprived of the habit, the ſame lords have ordained that they ſhall proceed likewiſe againſt the novices, who are to be delivered to the ſecular arm, and their accomplices, in the ſame manner, and that juſtice be done as is uſual in the council of war.

8. THAT when any brother accuſed of a crime committed out of the convent, has liberty given him to make his defence, and there is occaſion to confront and croſs examine witneſſes that have been already heard, they ſhall be examined as to the whole fact.

9. THAT ſuch brothers as ſhall come to the convent or be brought thither as under proſecution for ſome crime that they have committed out of it, ſhall not enjoy any privilege of conventual reſidence, till they are cleared and ſet at liberty, declaring however that they ſhall not be deprived of their pay.

10. THAT no brother though he were a bailli, receive or conceal in his houſe any accuſed perſons under proſecution for their crimes; and if the caſtellan or lieutenant themſelves ſaw them enter into ſuch houſe, at the time of their being purſued by their officers, they may go in, ſearch for, and carry them away. If any brother preſumes to hide them, or hinder the caſtellan or his lieutenant from arreſting them, if he be a priour, a bailli or commander, he ſhall loſe a year's revenue of his priory, bailliage or commandery, which ſhall go to the treaſury; if a conventual brother, he ſhall loſe two years of his ſtanding, in favour of his fiarnauds.

11. THAT all miniſterial officers of juſtice, whether religious or ſecular ſhall be empowered to examine all our brothers that ſhall be found in the ſtreets in the night time, after the bell has tolled; ſuch as ſhall reſiſt to hinder their being examined, ſhall be impriſoned in the tower for ſix months.

12. WHEREAS notwithſtanding the prohibitions which have been made, ſeveral religious carry piſtols and fire-locks, which are diabolical arms, the ſame lords have ordered all our brothers to produce all their piſtols and fire-arms that are not two foot and a half long, and deliver them up within a month after their arrival in the convent, into the hands of the commander of the artillery; which term expired, they ſhall not be allowed to carry them abroad, or even keep them in their chambers, on pain of being deprived of the habit for ever; excepting however ſuch as have a licenſe from the grand maſter in writing. Such as ſhall carry poniards called ſmagliatori, fuſetti or ſtiletti, ſhall be puniſhed in the ſame manner.

13. THAT none of our brothers who is making his caravan or cruizing on board the galleys, ſhall preſume either at Malta or elſewhere to quit them contrary to the vow of obedience that he has made, and to fail in a ſervice ſo important to the order. Such as ſhall offer to ſtay on ſhore, ſhall be impriſoned for ſix months and loſe two years of their ſtanding acquired or to be acquired, in favour of their fiarnauds: They ſhall be likewiſe declared incapable during the ſaid two years of obtaining either office or benefice in the order, of ſetting in any of its courts, and of voting in the languages and priories: Their fiarnauds ſhall to their diſadvantage gain a right (which ſhall not be taken from them by any grace obtained or to be obtained) of preceding them, and excluding them in virtue of the ſentence given againſt them by

by the venerable council, of which the vice-chancellour ſhall be obliged to give a copy in due form to ſuch as demand it, notwithſtanding any contrary uſages practiſed in other criminal caſes; unleſs ſuch as quit the galleys have leave in writing from the general, or in his abſence from the captain of the galley they are on board, arreſted by the roy or ſurgeon, containing a lawful cauſe why leave is granted him, the certainty of which there was no room to doubt.

14. That the brother chaplains ſhall not go from the convent till they have made their ordinary caravans, or give ſecurity that they will make them.

15. If any brother, of any rank or condition ſoever ſhall offer to ſtake his arms whatever they be at play, they ſhall be confiſcated to the treaſury, and the two gameſters ſhall loſe a year's ſtanding in favour of their fiarnauds, if they are only conventual brothers; but if either of them be a commander he ſhall loſe two years revenue of his commanderies and other benefices, which ſhall go to the treaſury, and ſhall be declared a debtor to it till all be paid: Such as play for their cloaths, ſhall be puniſhed with the quarantain.

16. To prevent ſcandal and tumults that happen ſometimes in the aſſemblies of the languages, they have ordained, that no brother ſhall, in the ſaid aſſemblies or in thoſe of the priories and collects, have any ſword or poniard or other kind of arms whatever, on pain of loſing a year's ſtanding for every tranſgreſſion. Enjoining the piliers or other preſidents before they treat of any buſineſs, to give notice to all that are to be preſent at the debate, to leave their arms at the door, and when they go to make their report to the grand maſter of what has been debated and reſolved on, they ſhall complain to him of ſuch as have diſobeyed, on pain of loſing a year's revenue of what they hold of the order.

17. That if any brother of our order be murdered by ſervants or villains, (which happens but too often) the receiver of the treaſury for the next priory, ſhall, with the conſent of the priour and aſſembly of the province, proſecute the murderers and their adherents before the judges who are to take cogniſance of it, and bring them to condign puniſhment, the charge of which ſhall be paid out of the ſpoils of the deceaſed, and if that be not enough, the treaſury ſhall ſupply it.

18. That if any brother lies abroad without the walls of the city Valette, though it be on occaſion of hunting, without expreſs leave from his eminence the grand maſter, or the marſhal, who is not to grant it without firſt acquainting his eminence with it, ſhall be puniſhed with three months impriſonment for the firſt time, and with the loſs of a year's ſtanding for the ſecond offence.

19. For the confirming and withal by way of amendment to the ancient ordinance, they have forbid the brother knights of our order to enter into any ſervice in the houſehold of any perſon whatever, unleſs it be of emperours, kings, ſovereign princes, the ſons and brothers of monarchs and other princes of the blood, and of the grand maſter, on pain of loſing three years of their ſtanding acquired, or to be acquired in favour of their fiarnauds, ſo that whenever there is any diſpute about a commandery of cheviſſement or any thing elſe, though there be no ſentence pronounced againſt them, it may be always objected for their excluſion by their juniors who ſhall get it over their heads.

20. The ſame lords have revoked the twentieth article of this title made by the foregoing general chapter, and have reinſtated the venerable languages and priories in the power of granting graces, where two thirds of the votes concur, but ſo that they ſhall not be of any force till they are confirmed by the venerable compleat council by a concurrence of three fourths of their voices, on pain of nullity.

21. That ſuch brothers as are not full eighteen years old ſhall have no right to ballot or give their vote in the languages and priories, though they have reſided three years in the convent.

22. That

22. That all the brothers of the order and habit, may, with leave from the grand maſter for the time being, carry their ſlaves of what kind, ſect, ſex or nation ſoever they be, out of the iſle of Malta, and ſend them where they pleaſe, without paying the ordinary toll at the gate, or any other duty whatever, from which they have declared them entirely exempt: provided they prove that ſuch ſlaves actually belong to them and to no body elſe. If it be diſcovered that they only undertook to ſend them off to ſave the duty, the ſlaves, or the price of them, ſhall be confiſcated to the grand maſter's profit.

23. Whereas ſeculars have been uſed, time out of mind, to appear in perſon and plead their own cauſes in the court of exchequer, they have forbid all our brothers to plead or ſolicit in that court or in the publick audience in their behalf, in any cauſe where the treaſury is concerned, on pain of being fined twenty five crowns to the treaſury for the firſt time, fifty crowns for the ſecond, and of loſing two years ſtanding for the third.

24. That the religious ſhall not meddle at all in the civil or criminal cauſes of ſeculars, which they are forbidden by the fourth, fifth and ſixth articles of the title of prohibitions and penalties, on pain of loſing a year's ſtanding for the firſt time, two years for the ſecond, and the habit for the third. They muſt likewiſe make uſe of attorneys and not appear in perſon in ſecular courts, when they have any ſuit with ſeculars, under the ſame penalties.

25. Whereas the languages have, in their memorials, deſired, that there may be ſome diſtinction put between the brother knights and ſervants of arms, the ſame lords have forbid the latter to wear the linen croſs upon their habit longer than half a palm, Sicilian meaſure, or to wear either a gold or gilt croſs, on pain, if he be a commander, of loſing two years revenue of his commandery to the profit of the treaſury for every offence; if a conventual brother, two years of his ſtanding in favour of his fiarnauds.

Enjoining them when they ſign any act, contract or inſtrument whatever to ſpecify this title of theirs, giving liberty to any brother whatever that catches them tranſgreſſing, to examine into it of his own head and give an account of it to the grand maſter and council, who ſhall puniſh them as they deſerve. That till the next general chapter, his eminence, with whom this ſtatute has been concerted, ſhall not grant any brother ſervant of arms licenſe to wear the gold croſs.

26. That the grand maſter, according to the quality of the perſons and enormity of the crime, may, after adviſing with the ordinary judge, the judges of appeals, and ſuch other perſons as he ſees fit, order proſecution to be made, and the trial to be brought on immediately, in the manner that is practiſed in the kingdom of Sicily. He may, if he thinks proper, order the trial and ſentence to be examined ſummarily by the judges of appeal.

27. That in all other criminal or mixt cauſes they proceed in as ſummary a manner as is poſſible, obſerving however all the formalities ſettled by law, or cuſtom. They ſhall reſerve, till the end of the proſecution, all incidents that are not neceſſary to be previouſly conſidered; they ſhall allow the accuſed to make their defence, and to appeal in caſes where it is allowed them, but with this precaution, that the time which the judge allows for hearing the appeal be as ſhort as may be; that he pay a greater regard to a defence founded upon the law of nature, than what is drawn from the ſubtilties and querks of the laws; that the proſecution and trial be ordered in ſuch a manner that every body's innocence may be well maintained and defended; that he make it his whole buſineſs to ſee to it as becomes a judge, ſo as to put an effectual ſtop to the audaciouſneſs of criminals, and yet leave no room for calumny and ſlanderers.

28. That with regard to ſentences in criminal caſes from which there lies an appeal, if the perſon condemned does not lodge it within three days after ſentence is pronounced, they ſhall be executed. In caſe of an appeal, all the proceedings and record of the trial ſhall be delivered in to the court of appeals, which ſhall give their judgment within ten days, if the ſentence was given by the chancery; in fifteen, if it was pronounced by the judge of a conſiderable town; and in twenty, if it paſſed at Goza, reckoning from the

day of its publication; otherwiſe the appeal ſhall be deemed to be dropped and the ſentence ſhall be executed; unleſs the grand maſter, for good conſiderations, ſhall think fit to order it to be reviſed by the judges of appeals.

29. THEY have forbid the ordinary judges, and thoſe of appeals, and notaries, to plead or ſolicit, or act as advocates or attorneys for any private perſon whatever, but only for the publick affairs of the order, unleſs they are expreſly enjoined by the grand maſter.

30. THEY have ordained unanimouſly, that in caſe any ſeculars employed in the adminiſtration of the eſtates and revenue of the order, be judicially condemned, as not having done their duty, they ſhall, beſides the penalties inflicted on them by the ſentence of condemnation, be declared incapable of all manner of poſts and offices whatever.

31. THAT in the twentieth article of this title they ſhall inſert the following words, "but without prejudice to the treaſury, as to their table and pay."

32. THAT no looſe woman or courtiſanne ſhall be allowed to live in the great ſtreets of St. James and St. George, the Royal Street, or that of St. John of the city Valetta, where the convent is, nor in the two lanes, one of which lies over againſt the great door of the conventual church and runs below the palace, and the other paſſes under the chancery; nor likewiſe in the croſs ſtreets, beginning from the end of the city, to that which runs between the houſe of the commander de Montreal and the church of Porto Salvo, though they ſhould have houſes there of their own to dwell in; referring the execution of this ſtatute to the grand maſter and the venerable council, under ſuch penalties and regulations as they ſhall pleaſe to make.

Of the CHANCERY.

TITLE XVIII.

1. THE ſame lords have ordained, that the regulations of the chancery ſhall be ſubject to the approbation, and to ſuch corrections and alterations as his eminence the grand maſter and the venerable council ſhall pleaſe to make, as occurrences happen, that it may be always well regulated.

2. THEY have approved the regiſter that has been uſed for ſome years paſt to be kept for writing down the ordinances and regulations that relate to ſtate-affairs, and ordered it to be continued, for the future, in the way it has been begun by the order of the venerable council.

3. THAT in the decrees and ſentences of the venerable council and other acts of the chancery, court of exchequer, and other courts of the order, they ſhall not give any body whatever the title of Lord, but may give the great croſſes that of Venerable.

4. THEY have referred it to the grand maſter and ordinary council to chuſe a proper perſon to aſſiſt the vice-chancellor in his office, and to ſupply his place in his abſence, to take care of the ſafe keeping of the books and regiſters of the chancery, ſo that no body examine them but in the preſence of a perſon deputed to ſhew them, to look over and take care of the old regiſters, (for which he ſhall have a reaſonable ſalary) and to do whatever they ſhall judge neceſſary for the good ordering and regulation of the chancery. Adding further, that the perſon appointed to be the vice-chancellor's deputy and aſſiſtant ſhall be one that he likes, and be preſented by the venerable great chancellor or his lieutenant.

5. THEY refer likewiſe to the grand maſter to give orders with the ſame authority as the general chapter, for whatever he ſhall think neceſſary for the copying and preſerving the regiſters of the chancery, to augment the number of clerks upon occaſion, for the greater diſpatch of buſineſs, and increaſe the pandect or table of fees, that the ſalary of the vice-chancellor and clerks may be paid from thence, and the treaſury be at little or no charge about the chancery and what depends thereon.

6. CON-

6. CONSIDERING likewiſe the multitude of affairs that the vice-chancellor has daily upon his hands, ſo that he cannot diſpatch them all himſelf, the ſame lords have thought fit to depute two perſons to put them down in writing; and in caſe they be clergymen, they diſpenſe with their ſervice at church, whilſt they are employed in the chancery, and declare that they ſhall, notwithſtanding their abſence, have their ſhare of the thirtieth of the ſpoils of brothers deceaſed, and ſhall not be obliged to accept of any other office in their language, againſt their inclinations, but enjoy the moſt ample privileges and exemptions. Such ſeculars likewiſe, as are employed in the chancery, beſides the ſaid two religious, ſhall be, whilſt they are employed there, exempt from all kind of offices, and even from mounting the guard.

7. THEY have forbid the ſcribe of the treaſury to enter in the regiſters of the court of exchequer where they write the reception of brothers, the reception of any brother, without having firſt ſeen the inſtrument thereof paſſed in chancery.

8. AND whereas after a mutition in the languages, and elections in the councils of the priories, bailliages and commanderies, a great many of thoſe that are choſen and preſented let their bulls lie in the chancery, to ſave paying the fees, which is a great loſs to the order, they have ordained, that if the perſons preſented be actually in the convent, they ſhall be obliged, within a month after the mutition of the language or priory, or (in caſe there ariſes any diſpute upon that ſubject) after the final ſentence of the council, to take out their bulls and proviſions, and have all the magiſtral graces expedited in chancery, paying the uſual fees for the ſame, on pain of being fined twenty five crowns to the treaſury.

IF they are abſent from the convent, their proxies ſhall be obliged to ſolicit the expediting of them and take them out, under the ſame penalty; out of which ſum of twenty five crowns the vice-chancellor ſhall be paid down the charges of expediting the bulls which ſhall be ſent to the perſons they belong to.

9. To prevent any danger or miſchance that might happen if the regiſters of chancery were to be put indifferently into the hands of all the world, they have forbid their being ſeen by any body, but the perſon appointed for that purpoſe, who ſhall have for his pains in ſearching for privileges, bulls and other records, half an eagle or half a real for every year that he ſearches into for ſuch acts at the parties inſtance; but if they can point out the date of them, they ſhall only pay the vice-chancellor's fees.

10. THAT the treaſury ſhall be obliged to provide the vice-chancellor an houſe convenient for his poſt, books, parchment, paper, lead, wax, and other things that he ſhall want for his expeditions, and for the publick affairs of the order and treaſury only.

11. THAT the receivers ſhall make it their buſineſs to get copies of all ſentences given formerly, or that may be given hereafter by any court of judicature, the deciſion whereof is favourable to the order, and ſend them to the convent in due form, to be kept in the chancery, in a particular regiſter, that the order may be informed thereof, and have recourſe to them in the like caſe.

THAT all embaſſadors, when they go out of their poſt, ſhall deliver to their ſucceſſors all privileges, books, trials, ſentences and other writings that are in their hands, and have an inventory made thereof, a copy of which they ſhall be obliged to ſend to the convent in due form, to be laid up in chancery.

Of

Of the Inns.

TITLE XIX.

1. THE ſame lords have ordained, that the regulations made for the inns may be obſerved, corrected or altered, as his eminence the grand maſter and the venerable council ſhall ſee fit upon occcaſion for the good government of the order.

2. They have confirmed the following regulations made and publiſhed in former general chapters, which they have reformed in the manner following.

That, according to ancient cuſtom, the piliers ſhall give the brothers at their meals the quantity of mutton, beef and veal, which is furniſhed them by the treaſury, at the rate of a real a-day. If there be only freſh or ſalt pork, they ſhall have but two thirds. If there be no meat, or it be a day of abſtinence, he ſhall give them every one a reaſonable portion of fiſh, or elſe four eggs for their pittance.

He ſhall give them a proper quantity of bread and wine, and ſuch as make any waſte thereof ſhall be puniſhed with the ſeptaine. The brothers ſhall not bring any dogs with them to devour the bread that might elſe be left for the poor: If any dogs come in, they ſhall be drove out, and if their maſter offers to oppoſe and complain of it, he ſhall ſuffer the ſame puniſhment.

No brother, whilſt he eats at the inn, ſhall ſend any bread, wine, meat or other eatable out of doors, under the ſame penalty. The pilier ſhall furniſh every brother a quartuccio of neat wine and ſix loaves a-day.

The pilier ſhall be obliged, three times a-week, to ſend to ſuch as aſk it, their commons out of the inn, provided they have not breakfaſted that day at the inn, for in ſuch caſe it ſhall be refuſed them; and denied likewiſe to ſuch as aſk it, after the maſter of the hall has dined. The pilier ſhall give them their breakfaſt in the morning between the two maſters, and their collation in the afternoon between dinner and the Ave-Maria.

Whoever does not like the bread, wine, and meat that they give him, ſhall complain of it only to the pilier, and not to the maſter of the hall, the cook or the caterer. If he complains without reaſon, he ſhall, for the firſt and ſecond time, be puniſhed with the ſeptaine; if he is in the right, they ſhall redreſs the grievance.

If any brother beat a ſervant of the pilier's ſo as not to draw blood, he ſhall be condemned immediately for the firſt time to the quarantine; for the ſecond to ſix months impriſonment in the tower; for the third he ſhall loſe two years of his ſtanding, according to the ſtatutes: If there is any blood ſhed, he ſhall be puniſhed with greater ſeverity.

That no brother offer to go into the kitchen or buttery, in ſpite of the maſter of the hall: Whoever does ſo, ſhall he put to the ſeptaine for the firſt and ſecond time, and for the third to the quarantine.

That no plate or utenſils be carried out of the inn: If any thing be loſt by that means, he that carried it out ſhall be obliged to pay for it, and be puniſhed with the ſeptaine. If the ſervants ſay or do any thing to provoke the brothers to ſtrike them, they ſhall complain of it to the pilier to give them redreſs. If he neglects to do ſo, they ſhall apply themſelves to the grand maſter or marſhal.

When the pilier complains to the grand maſter or marſhal of any irregularity, he ſhall be credited, without any other proof or enquiry; and without the pilier's going out of council, they ſhall give ſentence immediately againſt the brother complained of, according to the nature of his fault.

Of

Of the GALLEYS.

TITLE XX.

1. THE ſame lords have ordained, that the regulations heretofore made about the galleys, may be executed, altered or corrected by his eminence and the venerable council, as proper occaſions offer; for herein conſiſt the honour, the reputation and the ſecurity of the order, eſpecially ſince the infidels make uſe of ſtrong arquebuſes. They have therefore ordained unanimouſly, that whenever any caravans or ſuccours are ſent out, beginning from the firſt time, the brothers ſhall be armed with muſkets, which ſhall be delivered them by the treaſury upon their tables and pay, on pain of not having their caravan ſtand for any thing, and being treated as diſobedient perſons. And that they may be all fit to handle the muſket, they have likewiſe ordained, they ſhall not allow any to go in the caravan or ſuccours, but ſuch as are full twenty five years old.

2. THAT all the ſoldiers of the galleys ſhall be muſketeers, and the mariners or ſcapoli arquebuſiers.

3. THEY have revoked all graces and privileges that may have been granted in the compleat councils of reſervation, contrary to the ordinance made by the precedent general chapter, in relation to ſuch brothers as have not been generals or captains of galleys for two years, according to the ſaid ordinance; revoking, making void and annulling all privileges of that ſort granted or to be granted in thoſe councils, in favour of knights that have not been captains of galions or other ſhips of the order; delaring that the ſaid ordinance ſhall not extend ſo far as to grant ſuch privileges to any captains but thoſe of the galleys, after they have ſerved their two years in that employment, with approbation and allowance, according to the ſame ordinance, and not otherwiſe; approving however and confirming the graces made by the preſent general chapter to brother Henry de Merles Beauchamp commander, and to brother Don Louis de Cardenas, and that which was granted before by the venerable council to brother William de Chiſſey commander, which ſhall ſtand good to all intents and purpoſes.

4. THEY have appointed the venerable admiral, and the commander general of the galleys and their ſucceſſors, to make a board with four commiſſaries, which ſhall be choſe by the maſter and council, one of which ſhall be changed every half year and another named in his place; and three of theſe deputies ſhall order every thing that belongs to the board, though the other three ſhould not be preſent.

THEY ſhall take particular care of every thing that concerns the good ordering, the pay, the proviſions, and what elſe is neceſſary for the maintenance of the galleys of the order; and ſhall hold frequent conferences on thoſe heads, in order to retrench what they think ſuperfluous, to reform abuſes, and furniſh every thing they ſhall have occaſion for. With regard to the proviſions and the alterations there may be occaſion to make, they ſhall give advice thereof to the grand maſter and council, who ſhall immediately iſſue out proper orders for the preſervation of the galleys, and indemnity of the treaſury.

5. THAT all the men of (cap) command on board the galleys, ſhall be paid at leaſt every ſix months, and that care be taken to do it out of the money that comes from the provinces, thirty five thouſand crowns whereof ſhall be put every year in the tower, and be appropriated to this ſervice.

6. THAT the venerable great commander and procurators of the treaſury ſhall chuſe ſome able and faithful ſcribe, giving him ſuch a ſalary as they ſhall ſee fit, who ſhall reſide in the lower town of Valette, under the authority of the admiral and the ſaid commiſſaries, and ſhall always have by him copies of the accompt books of every galley, which the officers ſhall be obliged to deliver to him at their departure; provided however that this be no way preju-

dicial to the privileges of any officer whatever, either for the preſent or the future.

7. To put the navigation of the galleys of the order in a good condition and a better method, the reputation and ſecurity of the whole body depending thereon, they have ordered the following articles to be obſerved inviolably as ſo many laws: and upon conſideration that the poſt of captain general of the galleys of the order has ſo much authority and ſuch prerogatives annexed to it, only to make it generally reſpected and eſteemed, they have ordained, that when he ſhall be choſen from among the brothers of the little croſs, he ſhall ſtill be allowed to come to council, whenever any affair relating to the conſtitution and good government of the order, except civil and criminal cauſes, are to be debated, but that his place ſhall be below all the other members, even the ſeneſchal, and he ſhall have only a conſultative voice and no right of voting.

8. That after the publication of the preſent general chapter, no body ſhall be choſe captain of the galleys of the order, till he is ten years ſtanding, twenty five years old, and has made at leaſt three caravans in perſon on board the galleys, except the brothers of the venerable languages of England and Germany.

9. That all ſuch as have been generals and captains of the galleys, and have ſerved in thoſe poſts for two whole years, and had their conduct approved by the grand maſter and council, may have from them a decree of privilege, which ſhall be of the ſame force as if granted by the general chapter, to qualify them to be preſented though out of the convent, to any dignity, commandery of chevisſement, amelioration or magiſtral grace, office, benefice or penſion whatever, and be treated and privileged the ſame as if they had ſtaid in the convent, declaring moreover that the confirmation which they are to have of it in council ſhall be given in the way of ballot, and not viva voce; and that ſuch confirmation ſhall not ſerve to make them capable of any thing, except for the diſcharge of their caravans in whole or in part, and for their reſidence in the convent; but not for a reſidence of ten or five years in the convent or in the commanderies, which conſequently may be performed either in or out of the convent.

10. That if any captain of the galleys be convicted of having trafficked, or of taking merchandize on board, receiving freight for it, he ſhall be deprived of the privilege of a perſon that has ſerved well excepting only proviſions brought to Malta for the uſe of the iſland.

11. That the agozzins of the galleys that are or ſhall be employed in that poſt, ſhall give good and ſufficient ſecurity, as far as a thouſand crowns at leaſt, to give a good accompt of the ſlaves and other effects of the treaſury put into their hands; in failure whereof others ſhall be put in their places that are able to give ſuch ſecurity.

12. They have corrected the eighteenth article in the print, and ordained, that the chaplains of galleys, when they are away from Malta, ſhall be obliged to ſay maſs every day on the poop of the commodore galley, according to their reſpective ſtanding; when they are at Malta, they ſhall ſay it every Sunday and holy day.

13. They have alſo amended the thirty fifth article, which ſpeaks of the qualifications that the rois and cherchemers of the galleys ſhould have, and have ordained that none ſhall be put into thoſe poſts that are not twenty five years old, and have not made three caravans.

14. For explaining and improving the fifty ſixth article for preventing all doubts and difficulties that might ariſe, particularly during an engagement, they have ordained, that in caſe the captain of the galley is killed, the patron of the galley ſhall command till the action is over, if he be a knight of juſtice; but if not, the roi of the galley ſhall command: in caſe the commodore galley is not in the ſquadron, the ſenior that commands it, ſhall, with the advice of the other captains, chuſe a knight to command the fleet till they return to Malta.

15. They have reformed the ſixty eighth article, which ſpeaks of the phyſician of the galleys, becauſe he has now a fixed ſalary.

16. They

16. THEY have ordained, that no applications ſhall be made for the future to the venerable council for certificates of having ſerved well, for captains of galleys or for the general himſelf, till after they have given in their accompts, and produce a certificate from the ſecretary of the treaſury, that they owe it nothing at all.

17. WHEREAS it is impoſſible for military diſcipline to be kept up without obedience, they have ordained, that as ſoon as the council ſhall be convinced that a captain has diſobeyed, or has not executed the general's orders, in what relates to war and navigation, he ſhall for the firſt offence be deprived of a year's revenue of his commanderies, and other eſtate or income that he has from the order, which ſhall go to the treaſury, and he ſhall be incapable of any thing elſe till he has paid it. If he has nothing from the order, he ſhall loſe two years of his ſtanding for the benefit of his fiarnauds; for the ſecond offence the penalty ſhall be double, and in caſe of a third he ſhall be deprived of the habit.

18. THEY have, out of the ſame conſideration, ordained, that all brothers whether profeſſed or novices ſhall obey their captains and receive orders from them, as from their commanders in chief.

19. WHEREAS there is nothing of greater importance than to prevent all occaſion of quarrels in a place ſo dangerous as the galleys, they have ordained that every brother profeſſed or novice, that ſhall ſay any thing reflecting on the honour of any other brother profeſſed or novice, ſhall be deprived of the habit, and be declared incapable of ever receiving it again, ſuch as ſhall give a box, a ſtroke with a cane, or lay hand on any ſort of arms, though they have not hurt their brothers, ſhall be likewiſe deprived of the habit, and delivered to the ſecular arm, as bad ſoldiers, unfit to live, and diſturbers of military diſcipline.

20. IF the perſon that has received the affront and been provoked, ſhall under pretence of revenging himſelf, dare in the galley to give the other the lie, a pluck by the noſe, or a ſtroke with a cane, or lay hand upon any ſort of arms whatever, he ſhall be liable to the ſame penalties; he ought to be quiet, ſince the ſtatute declares that the affront falls upon the perſon that began the ſquabble, who beſides the infamy he will incur by doing ſo, will be puniſhed in the manner above related, without any hopes of pardon.

21. IF any ſoldiers or ſeculars pretend to affront others, they ſhall be ſhaved, chained to the oar and put to the drudgery of rowing for two years together without remiſſion; a pull by the noſe, or ſtroke of a ſtick ſhall confine them to it for three years: if they lay hand on their arms they ſhall ſerve as galley ſlaves all their life.

22. THAT whenever any ſuch incident as is mentioned above happens on board the galleys, the captain ſhall be obliged to acquaint the grand maſter with it by a letter in his own hand. If it appear to the grand maſter and council that he has neglected to do ſo, they ſhall condemn him to loſe three years ſtanding, and pay a fine of thirty crowns of gold to the treaſury, till the payment whereof he ſhall be incapable of any preferment; if he be profeſſed of the order, the general of the galleys ſhall lay him by the heels, and try him, and tranſmit the proceedings ſealed up to the grand maſter and council on pain of being fined himſelf five hundred crowns to the treaſury. If the criminal be a ſecular the general ſhall puniſh him on the ſpot.

23. THAT no body may plead ignorance for an excuſe, they have ordained, that whenever the galleys put to ſea, on any voyage whatever, the general and captains ſhall cauſe the preſent ordinances to be read and proclaimed with ſound of trumpet, and this they enjoin to be obſerved with the utmoſt exactneſs.

24. THAT in all the galleys of the order, whilſt they are out at ſea, they ſhall continue the ordinary devotions of the dry or unconſecrated maſs, the ordinary prayers to the Saviour of the world, the glorious virgin Mary, S. John Baptiſt our patron, and other ſaints. That all our religious ſhall be exact in ſaying over the prayers they are obliged to every day; that they ſhall particularly obſerve the ſixth article of the title of the church which enjoins them to go to confeſſion, and receive the communion before they ſet out to

make their caravans or go on other voyages, and to leave their diſappropriation in the hands of the reverend priour or ſubpriour of the church; in failure whereof this ſtatute ſhall be executed with rigour.

25. That on all Sundays and the principal feaſts of the year, if the galleys are at Malta, or in ſome other port of chriſtendom that is ſafe and inhabited, our chaplains ſhall ſay maſs on the poop of the commodore galley in virtue of the brief of pope Sixtus quintus of bleſſed memory inſerted in the regiſters of the councils of the year one thouſand five hundred and eighty five, fol. 151. and this ſhall be done every one in his turn, according to the order which they ſhall ſettle among themſelves, with all the devotion and pomp ſuitable to ſo great a myſtery; enjoining the venerable general to take care that the altar be well covered ſo as not to ſuffer from bad weather, and ſalutes be paid to the holy ſacrament with ſound of trumpets and voices, as he ſhall judge proper.

26. That the chaplains of the caravane ſhall take care of the ſouls committed to their charge, and ſee that whilſt the galleys are away from Malta, in a convenient place the brothers confeſs themſelves and receive the holy communion on the feaſts appointed by the ſtatutes, of which they ſhall give account to the reverend priour of the church in obedience to this new conſtitution.

27. The chaplain ſhall do all he can to diſpoſe every body to the receiving of theſe two ſacraments, and ſhall hear the confeſſions of the brothers and other ſick and wounded on board the fleet.

28. The reverend chaplains that are of the caravan ſhall be reſpected and well treated; enjoining the venerable general, and the captains of the galleys to take particular care of them, and maintain them in their privilege of eating by the captain at Cape de la Traverſolle.

29. That the chaplain prieſts who go in the caravane, ſhall lie within the ſcandalato, on the left hand, towards the compagne or office where they lock up the proviſions.

30. When the galleys meet a veſſel of the infidels that makes no reſiſtance, and ſurrenders as ſoon as they give it chace, none of our galleys ſhall board it, or come ſo near that the ſoldiers may leap into it, on pain for the captains that act otherwiſe of paying two years income of their commanderies, if they have any treaſury; or if they have none a fine of five hundred crowns to the treaſury: nor ſhall they allow any body to ſwim on board it, on pain for brothers of being deprived of the habit, and for ſeculars of being put to the oar for ten years.

The venerable general ſhall ſend the captain of his admiral galley, or any other ancient brother knight that he pleaſes, with the reveditori to take an inventory of the effects on board the veſſel, they ſhall take with them the clerks of the admiral galley, and thoſe of the reveditori, who ſhall ſet to drawing up the inventory with diligence and exactneſs: If the infidel veſſel makes reſiſtance, they ſhall do all they can to ſave it from being plundered. They ſhall keep particularly a watchful eye over the ſlaves to prevent their ill deſigns; they ſhall even keep the bonne-voglies or volunteers chained to their oars, for fear they ſhould leap in and leave the galleys unmanned, except when they are to attack veſſels with oars, in which caſe they may unchain them. Enjoining however the venerable general to be ſevere in his chaſtiſement of ſuch as preſume to leap over board, and ſwim to get to the veſſels to pillage them, or who in their eagerneſs to get into any ſhip leave their ſword, poniard, arquebus with the match lighted or powderbags in their places, which might afford the ſlaves an opportunity of creating a diſorder.

Declaring that all arms and effects taken from the enemy, ſhall belong to the ſhips that fought, and left to thoſe that ſeize them, charging all our brothers upon their obedience, and under what penalties the venerable council ſhall pleaſe to inflict, not to take any thing from them which they have juſtly acquired: if any difficulty ariſes, it ſhall be determined by the general without appeal. If any religious refuſe to obey him, he ſhall give advice thereof to the venerable council, who ſhall chaſtiſe him without fail.

THE general ſhall give the brother knights twenty per cent. and to the ſeculars no more than fifteen, out of the money declared to be taken on board the prize. To avoid confuſion, when he meets an enemy's ſhip he ſhall only ſend ſuch a number of veſſels as he thinks neceſſary to take it, and promiſe the uſual rewards to ſuch as enter it firſt. If they meet a ſquadron ſtronger than ours, the venerable general, after conſulting the captains, ſhall take a good and ſpeedy reſolution, having always in view the honour of the order, and the preſervation of his galleys, in all events he ſhall ſhew a valour and reſolution worthy of a knight of his profeſſion and diſtinction. When they are going to fight at ſea, he ſhall pick out ſome knights to begin the engagement, and appoint others to guard the galleys, ordering every one to continue in the poſt aſſigned him, till the reſt are come back into their own galley.

31. To prevent dangers and inconveniences that ſometimes happen, they give expreſs orders to every religious, of what rank and quality ſoever he be, not to quit his own galley to go on board any other veſſel and fight, unleſs he be commanded by the venerable general or by the captains, to go and aſſiſt the reveditori, or ſtop any diſorder, on pain for commanders, poſſeſſors of members and penſioners, of forfeiting four years revenue of their commanderies, members and penſions to the treaſury, and for others, of four years of their ſtanding, and what may be further inflicted on them by the council, according to the nature of the fault; enjoining the venerable general to give the maſter and council an exact relation of all that paſſes as well on board the admiral as the other galleys.

32. IF the booty conſiſts of things of value, that take up but little room, he ſhall put it all on board the galleys; if they take a rich ſhip of great conſequence the galleys ſhall convoy it ſafe into the ſeas: if it be of no ſuch extraordinary value, they ſhall ſupply it with all neceſſaries, and put a perſon in it fit to command, and ſkilled in navigation, to carry it to a ſafe place, and give account of the cargo, with orders to ſtand directly for the port aſſigned him. Enjoining the venerable general, and the captains to do the ſame without touching any where elſe, unleſs in caſe of giving chace to an enemy, bad weather or other kind of neceſſity. If they are forced to put into any chriſtian countrey, they ſhall not allow any body to go on ſhore.

33. THAT except in caſes of neceſſity, the galleys ſhall ſet ſail in the day time from the port of Malta: the admiral galley ſhall fire a gun for the ſignal of the ſetting ſail at noon: all the knights, brothers of the caravane and others ſhall be on board within half an hour afterwards, and then the review ſhall be made. The galleys ſhall get out of the harbour as ſoon as poſſible, with their ſkiffs and long boats, and ſhall make to the place which ſeems the moſt convenient for their parting. There they ſhall employ the reſt of the day in reviewing the arms, in aſſigning every one the poſt where he is to fight, and the place where he is to lie, and diſtribute the neceſſary powder and ball, obſerving the order hereafter preſcribed.

34. As ſoon as the ſkiffs and long boats are taken into the galleys, no boat ſhall be allowed to come near them, under ſuch penalties as the grand maſter ſhall pleaſe to impoſe by proclamation.

35. THE galleys being always to part in the day time, they have ordered, that in the accompts of the tables of the knights and brothers that are to go on board, and are uſed to eat at the inns, they ſhall give, on the day of their departure, a good dinner to the piliers of the inns, and ſuch as eat with them, and in the evening likewiſe a good ſupper to the venerable general and the captains of the galleys, upon which they embark.

36. THAT as ſoon as the galleys are out of the harbour, the liſt of the knights and brothers of the caravan ſhall be called over, to ſee which of them are abſent, and have ſtaid on ſhore, whoſe names the venerable generals and captains are upon their obedience obliged in conſcience to ſend to the grand maſter, to do juſtice upon them. They ſhall give in likewiſe the names of the men of command (or cap) that are abſent in order to their being puniſhed.

37. When the galleys are come back into port, the attorney general of the order, by order of his eminence the grand maſter, ſhall make the purſers or clerks of the galleys give in a liſt of all the knights and brothers mentioned in their books, as having their table, and eating on board each galley during the voyage, that the grand maſter may compare the liſts together, and find out and convict ſuch as ought to be of the caravane but did not embark, and puniſh them as they deſerve.

38. To prevent the diſputes which happen generally at the going out of the galleys about the diſtribution of the poſts on board, for want of knowing exactly the ſtanding of the brothers, they have ordained, that from henceforward all the brothers that ſhall be of the ſquadron, when they go on board, ſhall carry with them a certificate of their reception in the language or priory duly atteſted, that every body may know the poſt that belongs to him according to the degree of his ſtanding.

39. Every brother is obliged to paſs the night in his poſt, and leave the ordinary place of the poop free for the captains, officers and ſeamen, who are to be there for the ſervice of the ſhip, on pain of being ſent back to the convent, and put into the dungeon for three months.

40. To prevent the galleys being crowded and incumbered, they have forbid all the brothers of the ſquadron to carry on board any bales or coffers of wood, but only every one a leather or cloth cloak bag, on pain of confiſcation of the wooden cheſts and coffers, and of all the money in them to the profit of the treaſury; and the captain that ſuffers them to be put on board ſhall be fined ſix crowns for every cheſt or coffer.

41. That except the captain, no brother ſhall put on board the galleys any ſort of victuals, bread, wine, meat, wood, or other proviſions, unleſs it be in the voyages of the Levant or Barbary, made on purpoſe to cruize upon the infidels, in which the brothers of the ſquadron may, with the captain's leave, embark a moderate quantity of proviſions, ſo as not to cauſe any incumbrance, on pain of being put in the dungeon for three months.

42. That no brother ſhall be allowed to embark as a paſſenger, without leave from the venerable general that commands the galleys. If there be a great number of them, the general ſhall diſtribute them the beſt he can into the ſeveral galleys with their effects. Such as ſhall embark without his leave, ſhall be puniſhed as diſobedient perſons, with the confiſcation of all their effects on board the galley to the treaſury, and the loſs of a year's income of their commanderies, if they have any; but if they have none, nor hold any other eſtate of the order, they ſhall be put back a year of their ſtanding, for the benefit of their fiarnauds.

43. Caravans that are divided ſhall laſt ſix months each, beginning from the firſt of July to the laſt of December, and from the firſt of January till the laſt of June; ſo that by this means they are renewed and changed by turns every ſix months.

44. The venerable general ſhall, whenever a new caravan is made, have the privilege and authority of chuſing half of the number of brothers neceſſary for his complement, out of all the languages for manning the admiral galley: The reſt of the brothers that he has occaſion for to make up his number, ſhall be furniſhed him by the commiſſaries appointed to diſtribute them for the ſervice of the fleet.

45. They have ordained, nemine contradicente, that the venerable general and captains ſhall form their poop-guard for on board the galleys, and pick out for it what brothers they pleaſe, except the roy and cherche-mer. That in caſe of any engagement, none of this guard, which keeps about him, can ſtir from thence, without orders from the general or the captain, on pain of ſix months impriſonment, and their caravan not ſtanding them in any ſtead.

46. That no religious, obliged to the caravan, ſhall ſtir from the convent or galleys, though with the grand maſter's leave, till it is ended, or till with the maſter's licenſe, he has put another brother in his ſtead to ſerve it out for him, on pain of being chaſtiſed as a diſobedient perſon.

47. To prevent frauds being committed in the diſtribution of powder and ball, things that deſerve to be preſerved with care by reaſon of the neceſſity for

for them in time of war, they have ordained, that none ſhall be given out but by the orders of the venerable general, and not by thoſe of the cherche-mer, who may yet aſſiſt at the diſtribution for the intereſts of the treaſury.

48. THAT the magazines of powder and ball ſhall be locked up with two keys, one of which ſhall be put into the hands of the captain or his lieutenant, and the other delivered to the maſter gunner, to prevent the abuſes which have been committed; and that upon their return from every expedition, the captain or his lieutenant, who has the key, with the maſter gunner and the commander of the artillery, ſhall give the commander of the treaſury an accompt of them, that it may be known what quantity of powder has been ſpent, and the number of ſhot that have been fired.

49. WHEN the powder and ball has been once diſtributed, no more ſhall be delivered out, if there has been no engagement, but to ſuch as are really in want of it.

50. THAT in every galley they ſhall, every three months, make a general review of all the cap men, or men of command under arms; and every time there ſhall be a prize of ſix crowns given at the charge of the treaſury to the perſon that makes the beſt ſhot.

51. THEY ſhall not receive in the galleys any ſervant of a knight or brother ſervant, who is not twenty years old at leaſt, able to bear arms, with his arquebuſs and head-piece.

52. WHILST they are ſailing on, particularly in caſe of chaſing the enemy, or being chaſed by him, all the brothers ſhall go and ſtay under deck, purſuant to the captain's orders. Such as are refractory and will not obey, ſhall be taken notice of and put in a dungeon for three months, or puniſhed more ſeverely, according to the nature and circumſtances of his diſobedience.

53. WHEREAS the charge of the galleys is particularly confided to the venerable general and the captains, who are to anſwer for it at the hazard of their life and honour, 'tis reaſonable they ſhould have the command of them, as well whilſt they are ſailing, as at the time of an engagement, and when they are to execute the inſtructions given by the venerable council; we have therefore ordained that the roy, the cherche-mers, the knights and brothers that are on board the galleys, ſhall not offer to meddle in the conducting and government thereof on ſuch occaſions: They are, on the contrary, obliged to receive and execute the orders of the venerable general and captains, without reply or contradiction, on pain of being puniſhed as diſobedient.

54. THE captains and brothers muſt ſhew all manner of honour and reſpect to the venerable general, who repreſents the grand maſter's perſon. If the captains commit any diſorder, refuſe to obey and neglect their duty, the venerable general may deprive them of their poſts, and put in ſome ancient knights to command the galleys till their return to Malta, where they ſhall complain to the grand maſter and council, who ſhall order ſevere juſtice to be done upon them. If any one of them refuſed to obey the general, and quit his poſt, he ſhall loſe immediately three years income of the commanderies and other eſtates which he holds of the order; if he has none, he ſhall be put back three years of his ſtanding. The venerable council ſhall, upon the bare repreſentation of the general, give ſentence in the caſe by way of ballot, without ſpeaking their ſentiments by word of mouth. If the venerable general makes his complaints againſt any knight or brother that made the caravan; the perſon accuſed cannot except againſt him, or urge any ground of ſuſpicion: If he be of the council, he ſhall give his ballot, and do juſtice as well as the reſt.

55. WHENEVER the galleys put into deſert iſlands, ports, capes, ſtreights, or other uninhabited places, or into countries, where there are no towns, ports or ſure ſtations for them; no brother ſhall preſume to go a-ſhore, and the captains are enjoined not to give them leave. Such as diſobey ſhall be proſecuted immediately, and when they are returned to the convent, they ſhall, upon the complaint of the general or captains, (who ſhall be credited upon their bare declaration) be put into the dungeon for ſix months.

56. WHEN the galleys make a deſcent in the countrey of the infidels, neither the roy nor the cherche-mer ſhall offer to go a-ſhore, but ſhall ſtay on board the galleys on pain of ſix months impriſonment, and loſing the benefit of that caravane.

57. WHEN

57. When the galleys are ſailing on, none of thoſe that are in company, nor any of their commanders, ſhall preſume to go to windward of the admiral galley, unleſs in caſe of great neceſſity, as of chaſing or being chaſed, or of being in danger. Except in theſe caſes, if any comite, or officer that commands the galley-ſlaves, ſhall attempt to do ſo without the general's conſent, he ſhall be deprived of his office, and undergo three ſtrappadoes with a cat of nine-tails, or even more, as the general ſhall pleaſe to order; who however may commute his puniſhment for a fine to be levied upon ſo many months of his pay as the general ſhall pleaſe to condemn him to pay to the treaſury, the number of which he ſhall declare that it may be entered in the regiſter of the reveditori. If the captain was any ways concerned in directing it, the general may deprive him of his command, and proceed againſt him according to the rigour of the new conſtitutions.

58. The galleys ſhall go more or leſs to the windward, according to the ſtanding of their captains, which ſhall ſerve them for a rule with regard to the watch word, and on all other occaſions.

59. The ſame order of ſtanding ſhall be obſerved when they are to enter into ports, or take poſts, except in uninhabited places.

60. No captain of a galley ſhall offer to fire a gun, by way of ſalute, without the general's leave, without being fined a hundred crowns to the treaſury for every offence.

61. As ſoon as the galleys arrive at the poſt appointed, all the captains are to go on board the admiral galley, to receive their reſpective orders from the general. If a ſtorm, or any thing elſe, has forced them to ſeparate, the captains ſhall, as they arrive at the rendezvous, go and give the general an account of all that has happened to them.

62. If a ſtorm, and the danger of being quite loſt, forces them to lighten the veſſel, they ſhall take particular care to preſerve the ſails and the palamento.

63. 'Tis very fit in all accidents of any importance, either in war or navigation, that the general, before he takes a reſolution, ſhould hold a council, and take the advice of the captains of the galleys; to which council, to prevent confuſion, whenever it is neceſſary to hold it, they ſhall call only the captains, but no other knight whatever, except there be any of the great croſs. If the conſultation be held about a ſea affair, they ſhall call in ſuch pilots and ſeamen as the general pleaſes.

64. As ſoon as the captain of the admiral galley is confirmed by the venerable council, he ſhall enjoy the ſame honours, privileges and authority as the other captains of galleys: He ſhall be preſent at all councils, conſultations and aſſemblies, where he ſhall ſit and vote according to his ſtanding, with the other captains, notwithſtanding all contrary uſages and cuſtoms, and the decree of the venerable council of May 6, 1596, which is expreſly revoked.

65. If the venerable general chances to dye, or is obliged, by any wound, ſickneſs or otherwiſe, to quit the admiral galley, the captain of it ſhall continue to command it; but the ſtandard of the order ſhall be carried by the captain of the longeſt ſtanding, who ſhall command and be obeyed all one as the general. The captain of the admiral galley ſhall go to the leeward of him with his galley, and ſail in the order of his ſtanding, till their return to the convent, where the venerable council ſhall make proviſion in the caſe.

66. If any captain of a galley dies in a voyage and out of port, the captain of the admiral galley ſhall go and command in his place, till they arrive at the convent, where the venerable council will order what ſhould be done.

67. At the entry of any ports or towns where there are caſtles and citadels that uſe to be ſaluted, the admiral galley ſhall ſalute with four guns only, viz. two demi-cannon or ſugri, and two ſmirigli, unleſs the venerable general ſhall think fit to order otherwiſe in caſe of cities of note, which muſt be ſaluted in the uſual manner. If there be in ſuch city a viceroy or a great prince, all the galleys ſhall likewiſe fire four guns by way of ſalute. When the galleys are ſaluted by other veſſels, the admiral galley only ſhall return their ſalute with one gun of his ſmirigli, and not more.

68. The

68. The cap man ſhall be well uſed and treated with reſpect. All our brothers are charged, upon their obedience, neither to ſay nor do any thing diſobliging to them, on pain of being ſeverely puniſhed upon the leaſt complaint by the venerable council. The leaſt puniſhment for ſuch ſort of faults ſhall be three months impriſonment in the dungeon. No body ſhall offer to abuſe or ſtrike any of the crew: Whoever is ſo abuſed ſhall complain of it to the venerable general and the captains, to whoſe cognizance it belongs, according to ancient cuſtom.

69. That the effects of the galleys may be kept with the greater care, it is ordained, that when a new captain is put in, they ſhall deliver him an inventory, containing the number, weight and quality of the artillery, ſails, rigging, and other equipage, which he ſhall accompt for when he goes out of his command, and deliver them to his ſucceſſor, who ſhall be obliged to draw up a new inventory thereof.

70. The purſers of the galleys ſhall give the treaſury an accompt every voyage of the cargo, and the conſumption that has been made of the biſket, powder, ſails, rigging, and other things for the uſe of the galleys during their voyage.

71. All the purſers ſhall be obliged, before their departure, to give good ſecurity, to the value of two thouſand crowns, that they will at their return give a juſt accompt of all acquiſitions and charges of the treaſury; and in failure thereof, their employment ſhall be taken away, and given to others that are able to give the ſaid ſecurity.

72. The captains, officers of the galleys, and others, may not give any effects whatever to the men of command or the crew, on pain of forfeiting them, unleſs they have a licence from the grand maſter and the venerable procurators of the treaſury.

73. All the captains are forbid to make any extraordinary expence with regard to the galleys, without the conſent of the reveditori, or in his abſence, of the roy, or ſenior: When he gives in his accompts, he muſt produce their approbation in writing, otherwiſe ſuch articles ſhall not be allowed him.

74. The comite may not cut any cable or other rigging but in the preſence of the captain, reveditori and the roy: The purſer ſhall enter it in his book.

75. If the purſer preſumes to paſs a deſerter, as if he had got his diſcharge, he ſhall not only loſe his office, but ſhall be puniſhed otherwiſe according to the enormity of his crime.

76. The accompt of all expences made on board the galleys about the ſick and wounded, whether religious or ſeculars, ſhall be ſigned by the roy, as comptroller of the infirmary. When it is to be paid, the accompt ſhall be preſented to the treaſury, which ſhall re-imburſe the captain for it.

77. They have repealed the ordinance of the general chapter of 1597, which required that there ſhould be an auditor general with his ſecretary on board the galleys, in order to try ſeculars that ſhould be guilty of crimes. And they have empowered the venerable general of the galleys, the regent or the ſenior captain of the ſquadron, or the ſenior of each galley, if it be alone, in caſe any crime be committed heinous enough to merit an exemplary and immediate puniſhment, to make choice of ſome learned ſecular in ſuch town or place as the galleys or galley in which the crime was committed ſhall be, to act as auditor or judge for the trial of the criminal in a military way: His fees ſhall be paid out of the pay or confiſcated effects of the criminal, and in defect thereof, they ſhall be allowed, in the accompts of the venerable general, regent or captain, that ordered the proſecution and trial.

78. They have likewiſe taken away the ſalary that was given to the phyſician that went on board the galleys, and left it to his eminence to ſupply them with phyſicians every voyage, as he ſhall ſee fit.

79. They have alſo reduced the ſalaries of the barbers, who ſhall, for the future, only be paid for ſhaving the ſeamen in command, and the volunteer rowers, beſides their twenty two crowns a year, and their pittance, which comes to twelve crowns a month.

80. The purſers and agozzins ſhall be obliged, every week, to make a review of the cloaths of the ſlaves and crew of the galley; in caſe they neglect to do ſo, if any of the crew be found to want a cabbin, or the laſt coat that was given him, the purſers and agozzins ſhall make it good, and forfeit likewiſe a month of their pay to the treaſury. Whenever new cloaths are given them, the old ones are given back in accompt to the perſon that furniſhed the new ones.

81. The purſers ſhall be obliged to give accompt of all the biſket that ſhall be put on board the galleys, and diſtribute it every day by tale: They ſhall give every one an half roll for dinner, and as much for ſupper, in the preſence of the reveditori or the perſon appointed to ſupply his place. They ſhall give the captain every day an accompt of the biſket they have diſtributed, which the captain, at his return, ſhall give in to the venerable procurators of the treaſury, and court of exchequer.

82. When the galleys part from any place, where there is the convenience of having freſh bread, if the captain do not lay in ſome for the cap men, he ſhall pay two thirds of the biſket that ſhall be eat.

83. The bread of the galleys cannot be laid in either at Malta or abroad, but in the preſence of the reveditori, for the intereſt of the treaſury, which pays two thirds of it.

84. The venerable generals and captains of the galleys ſhall take care to have the crew ſupplied every day with la meneſtre, (broth) and whilſt they work, with wine, oil, vinegar and cheeſe, as they are obliged to. The reveditori, the roy, or the ſenior, are enjoined to ſee it be done; and in caſe any captain fails at any time to do it, they ſhall make the purſer take notice of it, who, at his return, ſhall give in a liſt of all the days that he failed doing it to the court of exchequer, which ſhall ſtop what is due to the crew out of the captain's pay.

85. When the galleys are come back into the port of Malta, the agozzins ſhall be obliged, within twenty four hours afterwards, to carry all the galley ſlaves in the ſervice of the order that belong either to the treaſury, or private men, to the priſon of the ſlaves in the city Valette, and deliver them to the captain of the ſlaves. They ſhall keep only thirty ſlaves for the ordinary ſervice of the galleys, on pain of being deprived of their offices, and receiving four laſhes of a cord for a farther puniſhment. If the captain preſumes to hinder the agozzins from doing their duty on this occaſion, he ſhall pay as many fines of ten crowns, as he ſhall have fallen times into the like fault.

86. If, through the fault, negligence or perfidiouſneſs of the comites, or other officers, there happens any damage to the galleys, as to their maſts, yards, ſails, beak, oars, helm, or other parts of their equipage, beſides the puniſhment they ſhall receive for it, the reveditori or purſer ſhall make a memorandum of it immediately, and give an account of it to the venerable procurators of the treaſury, who ſhall charge it upon the officer that was in fault, and condemn him to make ſatisfaction out of his pay, to four times the real value of the damage he occaſioned.

87. The comites may not lend to any of the crew, or give them credit in their tavern, for more than ſix tarins a month, on pain of loſing the overplus.

88. The comites may not ſell their wine but at the rate which the captain fixes; if they act otherwiſe, all their wine ſhall be confiſcated for the benefit of the crew.

89. The venerable general and the captains may not give a diſcharge to any body, except it be full three months before the time of their commiſſion is out; after which, they ſhall be obliged to deliver to their ſucceſſors as many volunteer rowers as they received, except ſuch as are dead, or have had their diſcharge by order from the grand maſter or court of exchequer; otherwiſe the venerable council ſhall not grant them the privileges uſually given to ſuch as have ſerved well.

90. The galleys may not, out of the port of Malta, ſtow any bales of goods under deck for the accompt of any body but the treaſury; enjoining the reve-

reveditori, the roy and cherche-mer to viſit and confiſcate them, and clear the veſſel of them.

91. At the galleys departure for any part of Chriſtendom, and at their return, the reveditori, the maſter equerry, and the attorneys of the order and caſtellany ſhall make a ſtrict ſearch in the galleys; and if they find any bales or boxes of goods that belong to our religious, they ſhall be confiſcated to the treaſury; if they belong to ſeculars, they ſhall be confiſcated to the grand maſter, referring it to the venerable council to inflict what further penalty they pleaſe upon the captains and patrons that ſhall offer to oppoſe and hinder ſuch ſearch, of which the maſter equerry's declaration upon oath ſhall be taken as a ſufficient proof, in order to proceed againſt them and puniſh them as they deſerve.

92. The venerable general and captains of the galleys are not to ſcruple taking on board all bales of goods whatever belonging to the treaſury, purſuant to the orders of the venerable council or procurators of the treaſury; if they refuſe to take them on board, they ſhall pay themſelves to the treaſury all that it ſhall coſt to ſend them in other veſſels, and make good all the damages that may enſue from their refuſal.

93. If they are obliged to load any goods of the order on board the galleys, or if men of quality embark in them, they ſhall be diſtributed among the galleys by the venerable general, whoſe orders ſhall be executed by the captains, under the ſame penalties.

94. The venerable general and captains may not give any leave to the officers and ſeamen of command of the crew, to ſtay on ſhore in Malta, Sicily, or any other place whatever, and receive the order's pay in the mean time; in caſe they grant any ſuch leave of receiving pay without actual ſervice in the galleys, it ſhall not ſtand good, nor ſhall ſuch as have it be paid; enjoining the purſers to take an exact account in their books of ſuch as ſtay on ſhore with or without leave, and make their report of them to the procurators of the treaſury; if they neglect to do ſo, they ſhall loſe a year's pay.

95. The venerable general and captains may not load any wood upon the galleys, except for the ordinary proviſion. If they crowd the deck with any luggage, they ſhall loſe the tables of all the brothers that are of the voyage, and what they have ſo laden or put on board, ſhall be forfeited to the treaſury.

96. They have forbid playing on board the galleys at any plays which are not permitted to religious, and charge it upon the conſcience of the venerable general and captains to hinder it. If any venture to do ſo, complaint ſhall be made of it to the venerable council, who ſhall puniſh the guilty.

97. Whoever ſhall cauſe the leaſt quarrel on board the galleys, beſides the other penalties already mentioned, ſhall loſe likewiſe his caravane, which ſhall not be reckoned to him. The ſame puniſhment is ordered againſt ſuch as ſhall blaſpheme the holy name of the Lord, of the bleſſed virgin, or of the Saints.

98. All the brothers that ſhall ſerve on board the galleys, galiots, or other veſſels of the grand maſter, ſhall enjoy the ſame faculties and privileges as thoſe that make their caravan in the galleys of the order.

99. The galley ſlaves ought not to be made to work unſeaſonably and beyond what they are obliged to. The venerable general, captains, patrons, and other officers, are forbid to ſet them to work for themſelves, or for other private perſons, under ſuch penalties as ſhall be regulated by the venerable council.

100. When any ſeaman of command ſhall have agreed to ſerve in the galley, he ſhall be preſented by the purſer to the reveditori, who ſhall enter his name on his regiſter; otherwiſe he ſhall have no table, nor pay but from the day that is regiſtered.

Conclu-

Concluſion of the ordinances of Chapter.

THEY have finally ordered, that all the ordinances above ſhall be obſerved and executed, repealing all ſtatutes made in former general chapters in relation to the publick affairs of the order, other than thoſe made and approved as above. Such as particularly concern the grand maſter the languages, priories, brothers, or other private perſons, if they are not expreſly repealed here, and are only temporary, ſhall continue in their force and virtue.

F I N I S.

AN INDEX OF PRINCIPAL MATTERS.

ARON RASCHID, the Caliph, permits the French, out of regard to Charlemagne, to visit the holy sepulchre, Page 7.

ABUBEKER, preferr'd to Aly in the succession to Mahomet, 5.

ABULABBAS, founder of the dynasty of the Abassides, which settled at Bagdat, 57.

ACHMET BASSA, instrumental in the conquest of Rhodes, 465, &c. sent into Egypt by Solyman to repress an insurrection, 16, ii. sets up for himself, and offers to assist the grand master in the recovery of Rhodes, ibid. stifled in the bath by several of his principal commanders, 18, ii.

ACHMET GEDUC, demands a reparation of Mahomet II. for the injury offer'd his wife by his son Mustapha, 359. upon the death of Mahomet ii. prevails upon the army to declare in favour of Bajazet, 384. defeats the army of Zizim, 385. is sent out against him a second time, and is victorious again, 385, 386. is appointed a commissioner to treat of a peace between the grand seignior and the knights of Rhodes, 391. expresses his resentment at the terms agreed on, 392. put to death by Bajazet, 393, 394.

ACRE, besieged by the infidels, 82. recover'd by the Christians, 100. again besieged by the infidels and taken, 171, &c.

ACRE, the bishop of, disputes with the knights of S. John upon the right of tythes, 141. addresses himself to the pope upon the occasion, 142. is obliged to desist from his pretensions, ibid.

ADHAD, the last of the Fatimite caliphs, strangled by Saladin, 65.

ADRIAN VI. pope, declares against France in favour of the emperour, 9, 10, ii. falls ill of an ague as soon as the ceremony was over, 10, ii. receives the grand master of Rhodes with great tenderness and affection, ibid. his death, 11, ii.

AGNES, a Roman lady, presides over the hospital at Jerusalem, appointed for the reception of women, 18.

AIRADIN, lord of Tagiora, undertakes to drive the knights of Malta from Tripoli, 76, ii. suffers loss in the expedition and returns, ib. is driven from Arabus where he lay intrenched, 77, ii.

ALADIN, general to the caliph of Egypt, fortifies Jerusalem against the Christians, 18. defeated by Godfrey of Bouillon, 19.

ALBANO, cardinal de, made head of the army of the crusade as the pope's legate, 126. occasions the loss of the Christian army, 128.

ALBI, the chevalier de, sets sail for Rhodes with the knights of Castile and Portugal, 7. his arrival prevented by the Algerine pirates, who fall upon him at sea, ibid.

ALBIGENSES, their original, 117.

ALCORAN, variety of schisms arising from the different explications of it, 57. a discourse upon it, 227. the meaning of the word, 228. composed by Mahomet with the assistance of a learned Jew and a Nestorian monk, 232. adapted to the different tastes of mankind, 233, &c. inconsistent with itself, 238, 239. collected into a proper order after Mahomet's death by his father-in-law Abu-Beker, 239. a copy of it sent to Mecca, with a cover worth twelve hundred thousand livres, 240.

ALEXANDER III. pope, calls the third general council of Lateran, 69. makes up the differences between the hospitallers and templars, 73.

ALEXANDER VI. buys the popedom, 400. shuts up Zizim in the castle of S. Angelo, and obtains a yearly pension from Bajazet to keep him imprison'd, ibid. is sollicited to put him to death, 401. shuts himself up in the castle of S. Angelo, to avoid falling into the hands of the king of France, 402. comes to an agreement, and pro-

INDEX.

miſes to deliver up Zizim. ibid. but firſt cauſes him to be poiſon'd, ibid. invades the privileges of the knights of Rhodes, 404. &c. his death, 410.

ALEXIS, the Greek emperor, deals deceitfully with the princes of the cruſade, 15. enters into a ſecret treaty with the ſultan Solyman, 16.

ALEXIS COMNENUS, ſon to the emperor Iſaac Angelus, ſollicits the princes of the cruſade to make war upon the uſurper Alexis, who had dethroned his father, 109. by their aſſiſtance overcomes his oppoſers, and is made partner with his father in the empire, 110. is dethroned and murder'd in priſon, 111.

ALICE, the youngeſt daughter to Baldwin II. king of Jeruſalem, married to Bohemund prince of Antioch, 29. after his death ſets up for her ſelf, 31. is expell'd the city by her father, and obliged to retire to Laodicea, ibid. a conſpiracy form'd in her favour, 32.

ALPHONSUS I. king of Aragon and Navarre, leaves his crowns by will to the hoſpitallers of S. John and the templars, 35.

ALPHONSUS of Portugal choſen grand maſter of the order of S. John, 102. endeavours a reformation of the order, 103. abdicates his dignity, and retires to Portugal, 104.

ALVAREZ DE SANDE, diſſuades the viceroy of Sicily from ſending ſuccours to Malta, 21, iii. commands the regiment of Naples in the reinforcement ſent to Malta, 32, iii. preſſes for an engagement with the Turks, 36, iii. makes a furious charge upon the infidels, 37, iii.

ALY, nominated by Mahomet to be his ſucceſſor, 5.

AMAURY, prince, choſen to ſucceed his brother Baldwin III. in the throne of Jeruſalem, 55. his character, 56. enters into a treaty with Sannar ſultan of Egypt, 59. forms a deſign to conquer Egypt, 60. draws over the Greek emperor Manuel Comnenus to join in the project, ibid. enters upon the expedition and takes Peluſium, 62. conſents to a treaty of peace, 63. is oblig'd to retire with diſgrace, 64. applies for relief to Manuel the emperor of Conſtantinople, and attends upon him in perſon, 66. dyes, 69.

AMAURY, a clergyman in the dioceſe of Chartres, the founder of a new ſect, 116.

AMEE V. count of Savoy, falſly reported to have preſerv'd Rhodes from falling under the Ottoman power, 206.

AMURATH II. eldeſt ſon to Mahomet I. ſucceeds him in the throne, and reſtores the Ottoman empire to its former ſplendor, 323. turns his arms againſt the princes in the Morea, and the iſles of the Archipelago, 324. declines to enter into any negociation with the knights of Rhodes, 329. conſents to a renewal of the ancient treaties of peace, 335. his quarrels with the king of Albania, ibid. marches at the head of a powerful army againſt Scanderbeg, 336. lays ſiege to Croia, the capital of Albania, but without ſucceſs, 337. his death, ibid.

AMURATH, ſon to Zizim, turns Chriſtian, and is ſupported by the knights of Rhodes, 418. attempts to eſcape with the grand maſter upon the loſs of Rhodes, but is prevented by the vigilance of Solyman's ſpies, 468. diſcover'd, owns himſelf a Chriſtian, and is publickly executed with his ſons, 3, 4, ii.

ANASTASIUS IV. pope, grants new priviledges to the order of S. John of Jeruſalem, 45.

ANDREW, king of Hungary, undertakes the cruſade, 121. commits the regency of his kingdom to the palatine Bacbannus, 122, 125. is admitted as a brother into the order of S. John of Jeruſalem, 124. gains a victory over the infidels, and returns into his own countrey, 125.

ANDREW DORIA, prince of Melphi, commands the emperor's fleet againſt the Turks, 54, ii. lays ſiege to Coron, ibid. and takes it, 55, ii. beſieges Patras and carries it, ibid. the Turks attempt to recover Coron, and are defeated by Doria, 56, ii. deſerts the king of France, and goes over to the emperor, 83, ii. is made generaliſſimo over all the fleet of the Chriſtian league, 84, ii. draws over the Venetians to the imperial ſide by a ſtratagem, 84, ii. endeavours to divert the emperor from his African expedition, 86, ii. is ſent againſt Dragut, 101, ii. lays ſiege to Moneſter and takes it, ib. 102, ii. is order'd by the emperor to purſue the conqueſt of Africa, ibid. forms the ſiege, 103, ii. and takes the town, 108, ii. purſues Dragut by orders from the emperor, 109, 110, ii. deſires the aſſiſtance of the gallies of the order, 111, ii.

ANDREW DORIA, nephew to the late prince of Melphi, offers to tranſport two thouſand men to Malta, 'till the forces of the king of Spain could be got together, 9, iii. is deluded by the viceroy of Sicily, ibid. propoſes to fit out all the naval forces of the king of Spain, and give battel to the Turks at ſea, but is over-rul'd, 21, iii.

ANDREW D'AMARAL, commands the gallies of the knights of Rhodes againſt the ſultan of Egypt, 415. demands the dignity of grand maſter, and is refuſed it, 423. takes up a reſolution to deſtroy the order, ibid. preſſes the grand ſeignior to beſiege Rhodes, and offers him his ſervice as a ſpy, ibid. 424. oppoſes the preparations made by the grand maſter for the defence of Rhodes, 429. ſtirs up the Italian knights to a diſobedience to the grand maſter, 432. charg'd with having made a falſe report to the council, concerning the quantity of powder contain'd in the town, 445. gives notice to Solyman of the weakneſs of the beſieged, 453.

his

his treachery discover'd, 455, 456. hanged and quarter'd, 457.
ANDRONICUS, murders his prince, and sets up for emperor, 109.
ANDRONICUS, the Greek emperor, refuses to assist the hospitallers in the conquest of Rhodes, 200. sends a body of troops against them, 201.
ANNE DE MONTMORENCY marshal of France, marches out of Rome to a considerable distance to receive the grand master, 10, ii.
ANTHONY FLUVIAN, or de la Riviere, made grand master of the knights of Rhodes, 322. puts out a fleet to sea, in order to oppose the designs of the grand seignior, 324. mediates a peace between sultan Daher, and the king of Cyprus, but without success, ibid. supplies the Cypriots with succours, and prevails upon the imprison'd king to purchase his liberty at any rate, 325. opposes the sultan's designs against the order, and restores a regularity in discipline, 326, &c. his death, 328.
ANTIOCH, the patriarch of, excommunicates count Bohemund III. for adultery, and lays the kingdom under an interdict, 74.
ANTONIO DI SAN MARTINO, defends himself before the grand master from the charge of having neglected to send succours to the relief of Rhodes, 7, ii.
ANTONIO DE TOLEDO, a candidate for the dignity of grand master of Malta, is set aside for his virtues, 46, iii.
ARACH, a strong place in the frontiers of Arabia Petræa, besieged by the Turcomans, 68.
ARASCHID, one of the eldest sons to Muley Mahomet, implores the protection of Barbarossa, against his younger brother Muley Hasun, 63. ii. is carried to Constantinople, and arrested in the seraglio by order of Solyman, 64. ii.
ARMENIANS, schismaticks from the Greek church, 66.
ARNAUD DE COMPS, elected grand master of the order of S. John, 56.
ASCALON, the key of Palestine to the Saracens of Egypt, 33. their school of war, 34. besieged by the Christians, 42. and taken, 45.
ASCANIO DELLA CORNA, advises the sending of succours to the knights of Malta, 21, iii. his advice prevails, 22, iii. is appointed major general, and lands in Malta with the Sicilian succours, 33, 34, iii. advises the waiting for the coming up of the enemy in their camp, 36, iii. but notwithstanding marches out with the rest, and fights in the first ranks, ibid.
ASSASSINS, a sort of Banditti seated in the mountains of Phœnicia, 68. the original of the word, ibid. are subjected to pay tribute to the templars, 69. offer to become Christians upon their releasement from the tribute, and are ill treated by the templars, ibid.
AUGER DE BALBEN, chosen grand master of the hospitallers, 53. composes the difference between king Amaury and the lords of Jerusalem, 55. dyes, 56.
AUSSONVILLE, the chevalier de, sues for succours to relieve Rhodes at the court of France, and obtains them, 7, ii. his fleet dispers'd by a storm at sea, 8, ii.

B

BAJAZET, fifth sultan of the Ottoman race, threatens Hungary with an invasion, 289. his advancement to the throne, and conquests, 290, 291. gains a victory over the French, 295. turns his arms against the Greeks, and lays siege to Constantinople, 296. is opposed by Tamerlane, great cham of Tartary, 297. raises the siege to march against him, 299. comes to a battel, is defeated and taken prisoner, ibid. 300. insulted by Tamerlane, and kills himself, ibid. 301. his sons dispute the succession, 322.
BAJAZET II. son to Mahomet II. lays claim to the crown, 383. is declared grand seignior at Constantinople, but opposed by Zizim his brother, 384. orders his troops to march immediately against him, ibid. offers to come to a composition with him, 385. marches against him in person, and returns victorious, 386, 387. makes him other proposals, designing to surprize him, 387. forces him to seek protection of the knights of Rhodes, 388. enters into a negociation of peace with the grand master, 391. and concludes it, 392. causes Achmet the grand vizier to be put to death, 393, 394. presents the grand master with the right hand of S. John Baptist, the patron of the order, 395. sends an embassador to Charles VIII. king of France, to sollicit the giving up of his brother Zizim, 398. makes a yearly allowance to pope Alexander VI. for the imprisonment of Zizim, 400. sollicits him to put him to death, 401. makes a secret league with the sultan of Egypt against the knights of Rhodes, 411. fits out a fleet, which makes a descent on the isle of Lero, 412. and is forc'd to retire with precipitation by the artifice of Paul Simeoni, a young commander in the island, ibid. 413. causes great preparations to be made in all his ports, 417. is obliged to suspend the execution of his project, by reason of some domestick dissentions in his own family, 418. is poison'd by his physician at the instigation of Selim his son, 419.
BACBANNUS, palatine of Hungary, made regent during the absence of king Andrew in the holy land, 122. stabs the queen for having assisted in the ravishment of his

his wife, 123. is pardon'd by the king, ibid. 125.

BALAC, a Turcoman emir, takes the count of Edeſſa and the king of Jeruſalem priſoners, 26, 27. kill'd by Joſceline de Courtenay, 27.

BALDWIN, ſucceeds his brother, Godfrey of Bouillon, in the kingdom of Jeruſalem, 21. after a ſucceſsful reign of eighteen years dyes of a dyſentery, 22.

BALDWIN DU BOURG, count of Edeſſa, ſucceeds to the crown of Jeruſalem, under the title of Baldwin II. 22. gains a victory over the Turcomans, and enters Antioch in triumph, 26. is taken priſoner by the enemy, 27. is diſmiſs'd upon the payment of a ranſom, 28. gains a conſiderable victory, ibid. makes new conqueſts, 29. dyes, 31.

BALDWIN III. ſucceeds his father Fulk in the throne of Jeruſalem, 37. advances againſt Noradin, 41. lays ſiege to Aſcalon, 42. ſuccours Paneas, 51. ſurpriz'd by Noradin, but eſcapes with the loſs of his forces, ibid. gains a compleat victory over him, 52. poyſon'd by a phyſician, 55.

BALDWIN IV. ſucceeds to the throne of Jeruſalem, 69. of an infirm conſtitution, 70. ſurprizes Saladine, and gains a victory over his army, ibid. attempts to fortify a caſtle in Jacob's-ford, and is defeated by the infidels, ibid. nominates the young Baldwin his nephew to ſucceed him, 77. commits the care of the government to the count of Tripoli, ibid. his death, 80.

BALDWIN V. dyes within ſeven months after his advancement to the throne, and not without ſuſpicion of poyſon, 80.

BALDWIN, count of Flanders, choſen emperor of Conſtantinople, 112. his death, 145.

BALDWIN II. the third ſon to Peter de Courtenay, made emperor of Conſtantinople, 146. travels into Italy to implore ſuccour, ibid.

BARBACAN, chief of the Choraſmins, invades Paleſtine, 148.

BARBAROSSA, Horruc, cauſes the king of Algiers to be ſtrangled, and ſets himſelf up in his ſtead, 62, ii. is beſieged in the capital of his kingdom, ibid. eſcapes with his treaſures by a ſubterraneous paſſage, is purſued, and forced to fight, ibid. is cut to pieces with 1500 of his men, 63, ii.

BARBAROSSA, Airadin, captain of the barbarian corſairs, puts to ſea with a conſiderable fleet, 56, ii. ſeizes upon the kingdom of Tunis, and threatens Tripoli with a ſiege, 61, ii. his birth and character, 62, ii. takes upon him the title of king of Algiers, and aſſociates himſelf with two famous pirates, whom he made his lieutenants, 63, ii. makes war upon the knights of Malta, ibid. takes Araſchid, ſon to Muley Mahomet, into his protection, 64, ii. carries him to Conſtantinople, and propoſes to Solyman the conqueſt of Tunis, ibid. returns with an army, and enters Tunis at the head of 9000 Turks, 65, ii. is acknowledg'd Solyman's viceroy, ibid. draws over the petty kings of Africk to his aſſiſtance, 67, ii. prepares to oppoſe the emperor Charles V. who was marching into Africa, ib. 68, ii. takes the field, 69, ii. is defeated, and retires to Tunis, and from thence to the city of Bon, 71. ii. reſtores Dragut to his poſt, 98, ii. found dead in his bed, 99, ii.

BARLETTO and St. Stephen, the Priors of, defend themſelves from the imputation of negligence in procuring ſuccours for the relief of Rhodes, 6, ii.

BARRES, William des, lord of Tiberias, enters into a league with the Duke of Venice, and takes the city of Tyre, 27, 28.

BEERSHEBA, rebuilt and fortified by Meleſinda queen of Jeruſalem, 34.

BELA, king of Hungary, reſtored to his throne, by the aſſiſtance of the knights hoſpitallers, 150.

BENDOCDAR, defeats Robert count of Artois, 139. advanced to the throne by the Mamalucks, 162. makes a bloody war upon the Chriſtians, 163. takes Jaffa, the caſtle of Beaufort, Antioch, and the fortreſs of Crac, 164. dies of the wounds he received in battel, 167.

BENEDICT XI. choſen pope, and dyes within eight days, 189.

BENEDICT XII. pope, writes a letter of complaint to the grand maſter of S. John, reproaching the negligence of the order, 254. forms the plan of a naval armament, to keep the ſea againſt the infidels, 255. furniſhes his quota, and ſends 'em out to ſea, 256.

BERNARD, a French monk, writes an account of his voyage to Jeruſalem, 7.

BERNARD, S. preaches up the cruſade, 38. his death, 25.

BERTRAND, made count of Tripoli, 22, 25.

BERTRAND DE GOT, archbiſhop of Bourdeaux, choſen pope, by the ſecret practice of the king of France and cardinal Duprè, 191. favours the French faction, and the Italians repent of their choice, 192. ſummons the two grand maſters of the templars and the hoſpitallars to appear before him, 193. his diſſimulation with regard to the affairs of the templars, 195, &c. publiſhes a general cruſade, and annexes plenary indulgences to it, 199. proſecutes the templars, in conjunction with the king of France, 211. ſuppreſſes the order, 216. is ſaid to have had a ſhare in their eſtates, 222.

BERTRAND DE TEXIS, choſen grand maſter of the order of S. John, 139. re-eſtabliſhes the emperor's authority in Paleſtine, 140. dyes, 147.

BERTRAND DE COMPS, choſen grand maſter of the order of S. John, 149. de-

feats the Turcoman army, and dyes of his wounds, 151.

BLANCHFORD, Bertrand de, grand maſter of the templars, taken priſoner by Noradin, 51.

BOHEMUND, a Norman lord, cuts his coat of arms into croſſes, and taking the firſt himſelf, diſtributes the reſt among his principal officers, 13. reſigns his rights of primogeniture to his younger brother, and engages in the cruſade, 15. takes Antioch, 17. is made prince of the city, and takes up his reſidence there, 20.

BOHEMUND II. ſucceeds his father in the government of Antioch, 25. marries Alice, the ſecond daughter to Baldwin II. king of Jeruſalem, 29. dyes, 31.

BOHEMUND III. ſucceeds in the principality of Antioch, 67. is excommunicated for adultery, 74. taken priſoner by the prince of Armenia, 104. is ſet at liberty upon conditions, which he afterwards refuſed to obſerve, ib.

BONIFACE VIII. advanced to the popedom, 181. takes the hoſpitallers and templars into his protection, 182. annexes the abbey of the holy trinity of Venuſia to the manſe of the grand maſter, 185. threatens to excommunicate the king of France, unleſs he will head the army of the cruſade, 188. dyes of grief, 189.

BOSIO, draws over the aga of Rhodes to aſſiſt the knights in their attempts for the recovery of the iſland, 17, ii. diſpatch'd to the grand maſter with advice, that the emperor had ſeiz'd upon the revenues of the order in Italy, 22, ii. embaſſador and negociator general of all the affairs of the order, 33, ii. propoſes to the grand maſter to ſeize upon the town of Modon for the ſeat of the order, 35, ii. made privy chamberlain to the pope, 37, ii. dies of an aneuriſm, 38.

BOTIGELLA, prior of Piſa, is victorious againſt Airadin, 77, &c. ii. deprived of the employment of general of the gallies, 79, ii. returns from his government of Tripoli, and adviſes the order to give back the place into the emperor's hands, 82, ii.

BOURBON, the conſtable of, over-runs Italy with his army, and lays ſiege to Rome, 30, ii. is ſlain by a muſket ſhot, ib.

BOURBON, the chevalier de, ſends preſents to the knights at Malta, 73, ii.

C

CAIR-BEG, governor of Egypt, refuſes to join with Gazelles, governor of Syria, in his inſurrection againſt Solyman, 420.

CALATRAVA, defended by the abbot of Fitero and his vaſſals, 50.

CALIPH, the title of Mahomets ſucceſſors, 5. the ſucceſs of their arms, 6.

CALIPH of Egypt, enters into a league with the princes of the cruſade, 16. deſerts his engagements, 17. enters Judæa with an army, and inveſts Jaffa, 27. his army routed, and his fleet deſtroyed, ib.

CALIXTUS III. pope, engages the princes of Europe to enter into a league againſt Mahomet II. for the defence of Hungary, 342.

CAMPSON GAURI, ſultan of Egypt, enters into a league with Bajazet againſt the knights of Rhodes, 411. aſſiſts the king of Calecut againſt the Portugueſe, ib. 412. ſends certain veſſels to ſea, to make an attempt upon the iſle of Lango, which are taken by the order, 413. reſolves to augment his naval force, 414. enters into a league with the king of Perſia againſt the Turks, 419. is defeated by Selim, and the empire of the Mamalukes entirely deſtroy'd, ib.

CANDELISSA, lieutenant to Haſſan, viceroy of Algiers, his education and character, 10, iii. aſſiſts in the attack of the peninſula of Malta, ib. his behaviour in the ſiege, 11, iii. is put to flight, 12, iii.

CARA MUSTAPHA, appears with the Turkiſh fleet before the iſland of Gelves, 181. ii. makes great havock among the Chriſtian ſhips, ib. lands his troops, and lays ſiege to the fort, 182, ii. takes poſſeſſion of the place, demoliſhes the fortifications, and returns to Conſtantinople, ib. is made general of the land forces in Solyman's expedition againſt Malta, 193, ii. appears before the iſland, and reſolves to begin the ſiege of the town at the poſt of Caſtille, 199, ii. takes a view of the place from Mont Calcara, 200, ii. holds a council of war, ib. reſolves upon the ſiege of fort S. Elmo, 201, ii. opens his trenches, ib. determines to come before it with all his forces, and give a general aſſault, ii. 214. is forc'd to retire, 215, ii. reſolves to erect a battery upon Mount Calcara, 216. ii. makes another ſtorm, 217, ii. and takes the fort, 219, ii. ſends an officer with a white flag to the gate of the town to propoſe a negociation with the grand maſter, 3, iii. is diſappointed, and orders his troops to inveſt the caſtle of S. Angelo, ib. iii. forms a project to cut off the communication of the beſieged with the ſea, and ſhut them up on all ſides, 5, iii. fails in his deſign, 7, iii. fires upon them from all his batteries together, ib. receives ſuccours from Algiers, and comes to a long and bloody engagement, 10, iii. renews the aſſault, and inſtead of Algerines, ſends on the Janizaries againſt the beſieged, 14, iii. not diſhearten'd with difficulties, 15, iii. calls an extraordinary council of war, and reſolves upon a general attack, 17, iii. is repulſed, and renews the aſſault, 18, iii. orders a retreat to be ſounded, upon a miſtaken ſuppoſition of the arrival of the Sicilian ſuccours, 19, iii. omits nothing, that may promote the carrying on of the

ſiege, 23, iii. gives the ſignal for an aſſault by the general diſcharge of his batteries, 25, iii. attempts another ſtorm, which was his twentieth, but without ſucceſs, 26, iii. leads on his troops in perſon againſt fort S. Michael, 27, iii. reſolves as a laſt ſtruggle to attack the notable city, 30, iii. diſappointed in all his projects, 31, iii. raiſes the ſiege and embarks with precipitation, 34, iii. lands again with his forces, 35. iii. is defeated and flies to his ſhips, 37, iii.

CELESTINE III. pope, publiſhes a new cruſade, 101.

CELESTINE V. pope, the manner of his election, 180. reſigns the papacy, 181. is diſpatched by ill uſage, ib.

CHARLES, duke of Anjou, lays claim to the kingdom of Jeruſalem, 166.

CHARLES L'ALEMAN DE LA ROCHE CHINARD, grand prior of S. Gilés, employs the profits of his priory in the defence and ſervice of the order of Rhodes, 416.

CHARLES VII. king of France, aſſiſts the king of Hungary againſt the Turks, 290, &c.

CHARLES VIII. king of France, refuſes to give up Zizim to his brother Bajazet, 398. intereſts himſelf in Zizim's preſervation, with a view to his own advantage, 399. raiſes a conſiderable army, which frights the pope and the Italians, 400. paſſes the Alps, and enters Italy without any oppoſition, 401. accommodates matters with the pope, 402. invites the grand maſter of Rhodes to conſult with him upon his deſign of invading Greece, 403. lays aſide the project, and returns into his own dominions, 404.

CHARLES V. emperor, ſolicited to grant Malta and Goza for a place of reſidence to the knights of Rhodes, 14, ii. his character, 20, ii. orders the revenues of the knights in Italy to be ſeized, 22, ii. reverſes his order, and promiſes them the iſle of Malta for a ſettlement, 23, ii. attempts to ſeize upon the perſon of the ducheſs of Alencon, who narrowly eſcapes him, 24, ii. raiſes a civil war in the pope's territories, 29, ii. keeps the pope a priſoner in the caſtle of S. Angelo, and orders publick prayers to be made for his liberty, 31, ii. grows jealous of the knights of Rhodes, 33. ſets the pope at liberty, 34, ii. propoſes a marriage between Margaret of Auſtria his natural daughter and Alexander de Medicis, 36, ii. grants the iſles and caſtles of Tripoli, Malta and Goza, with all their territories and juriſdictions, as a fief noble, free and frank, to the order of S. John, 37, ii. by a new treaty allows them to export corn from Sicily without duty, and to coin their own money, 41, ii. nominates Thomas Boſio to the biſhoprick of Malta, 51, ii. is oppoſed by the pope, who names cardinal Ghinucci for that employment, 52, ii. takes Muley Haſſen, the deprived king of Tunis, into his protection, 66, ii. endeavours to bribe Barbaroſſa, and draw him off from Solyman, ib. reſolves to march into Africk at the head of an army, and invites the knights of Malta to aſſiſt him, 67, ii. lands his army within cannon ſhot of the fort of Goletta, 68, ii. and takes it, 69, ii. gives orders to march towards Tunis, ib. comes to a battel with Barbaroſſa, and gets the victory, 70, 71, ii. reſtores Muley Haſſen to his throne, and embarks for Europe, 72, ii. ſends aſſiſtance to him againſt his rebel ſubjects, 81, ii. lays ſiege to Buda, 85, ii. carries his arms again into Africk, and falls upon the dominions of Barbaroſſa. 85, 86, ii. lays ſiege to Algiers, ib. 87. ii. ſuſtains a conſiderable loſs at ſea by a ſtorm, 89, ii. raiſes the ſiege, and reimbarks with his forces, 90, ii. is ſolicited by the knights of Malta, either to put Tripoli into a ſtate of defence, or give them leave to abandon it, 91. ii. orders Doria to clear the ſea of Dragut, 98, ii. ſends him into Africk to recover the places which Dragut had taken, 101, ii. orders him to go in ſearch of Dragut, and fight him at any rate, 109, ii. orders the viceroy of Sicily to pay extraordinary honours to the grand maſter of Malta, 163, ii. propoſes to him to remove the convent to Mehedia, and make it their ſettled habitation, ib.

CHARLOTTE DE LUSIGNAN, lays claim to the kingdom of Cyprus, 345. is obliged to quit her dominions, and retire to Rhodes, 347. has ſtill an intereſt in the iſle of Cyprus, 361. her adherents driven out of the countrey, 362.

CHATILLON, Renaud de, a ſoldier of fortune, privately marries the princeſs of Antioch, 75. a ſevere enemy to the Mahometans, 76. taken priſoner by the infidels, 84. his behaviour at his death, 85.

CHRISTIANS entirely expell'd out of Paleſtine, 173, &c.

CHURCH of S. Mary ad Latinos built at Jeruſalem, and ſupplied by Benedictine monks, 7.

CLAUDE DE LA SANGLE, commands the gallies of the order againſt Dragut, 101. reconciles the differences of the Chriſtian generals, 103, ii. erects an hoſpital in his tent, for the cure of the ſick ſoldiers, 105, ii. elected grand maſter of Malta, 162, ii. arrives in Sicily, and is honourably received by the viceroy, ib. 163, ii. lands in Malta, and is eſtabliſhed in his authority, 164, ii. gives audience to the emperor's embaſſador in full council, ib. adds new fortifications to the fort of S. Elmo, the iſle of S. Michael, and the town of Malta, 168, ii. repairs the Gallies, that had been diſabled by the ſtorm, 169, ii. dies, 172, ii.

INDEX

CLEMENT III. Pope, nominates William Archbiſhop of Tyre to be legate of the holy ſee, 91.

CLEMENT VI. Pope, publiſhes a new cruſade, 257.

COMMENDATARIA, and commandery, their original meaning, 162.

CONRAD, emperor of Germany, undertakes an expedition to the Holy Land, 39. returns without ſucceſs, 40.

CONRAD, ſon to the marquiſs of Montferrat, defends Tyre againſt Saladine, 89. refuſes to acknowledge Guy de Luſignan the depriv'd king of Jeruſalem, ib. his letter to the archbiſhop of Canterbury, 90. forgets his diſputes with Guy de Luſignan, and aſſiſts him againſt the infidels, 94. marries Iſabel the youngeſt daughter to the late king of Jeruſalem, and lays claim to the crown, 95. ſtabb'd by two aſſaſſins, and flay'd alive, 99.

CONSTANS, king of Armenia, gains a victory over the Saracens, by the aſſiſtance of the knights of Rhodes, 260.

CONSTANCE, daughter to Bohemund II. ſucceeds her father in the principality of Antioch, 31. married to Raymond count of Poitiers, 33.

CORASMINS, invade Paleſtine, and commit great ravages, 148. make themſelves maſters of Jeruſalem, 149. and gain a compleat victory over the Chriſtians, ib. diſſenſions ariſe among them, and they deſtroy one another, 150.

COSMO, duke of Florence, inſtitutes the order of St. Stephen, 182, ii. kills his younger ſon Garſia with his own hand, for having murder'd his elder ſon John, 183, ii. endeavours to divert the thoughts of his misfortune by a cloſe application to buſineſs, 184, ii. orders his knights to join the gallies of the knights of Malta, where-ever they ſhould meet with them, ibid.

COTELEDIN, made ſultan of Moſul, 37.

COURTENAY, prince of Edeſſa, taken priſoner, and dyes, 41.

CRUSADE, its original, 9, 12. the princes engaged in it meet in the plains near Conſtantinople, 13. reſtore Nice to the Greek emperor, 15, 16. their conqueſts, 17. their cruelty upon the taking of Jeruſalem, 18. return into their own countries, 20.

CYPRUS, the iſle of, its ſituation, and the ſucceſſion of its kings, 176.

D

DAHER, ſultan of Egypt, advanced to the throne by the Mamalukes, 324. declares war againſt Janus de Luſignan, king of Cyprus, ib. gains a victory over him, and takes him priſoner, 325. accepts of of a ranſom, and ſets him at liberty, ib. renews the treaty, which his predeceſſor had made with the knights of Rhodes, but with a fraudulent view, ib. ſuſpends the execution of his deſign againſt Rhodes, 326. puts to ſea a conſiderable fleet, and lays claim to the iſland, as formerly dependent on the empire of Egypt, 329. makes an attempt upon Rhodes, but without ſucceſs, ib. 330. deſigns to ſurprize the iſle of Lango, and is prevented, ib. comes to an engagement with the Chriſtian fleet, and ſuffers a conſiderable damage, ib. makes a treaty with the knights of Rhodes, in order to amuſe the grand maſter, 331. lands a conſiderable fleet in the iſland, and lays ſiege to the city, 332. his troops always repulſed, and retire to their ſhips with loſs, ib. aſſiſts the uſurper of Cyrus againſt queen Charlotte, 346, 347. threatens Rhodes with a ſiege, 347.

DAMASCUS, beſieged without ſucceſs, 40.

DAMIATA, beſieged by the Chriſtians, 126. carried by aſſault, 128.

DAQUIN, Thomas, one of the emperor's lieutenants, gives him advice of the pope's proceedings againſt him, 136.

DARTAL, Don Pedro, gives the city of Borgia with its dependencies to the hoſpitallers and templars, 48.

DE LA ROCHE-AIMON, the commander, determines the grand maſter to attempt the recovery of Rhodes, 16, ii. introduces certain Rhodian merchants to the grand maſter in diſguiſe to conſult upon the undertaking, 17, ii.

DENYS, king of Portugal, inſtitutes the order of Chriſt, 224.

DESMOULINS, Roger, elected grand maſter of the hoſpitallers, 73. ſlain in battel, 82.

DIDIER DE S. JAILLE, prior of Toulouſe, choſen grand maſter of Malta, 73, ii. dyes, 78, ii.

DIEU-DONNE DE GOZON, delivers the iſle of Rhodes from a terrible ſerpent, which deſtroy'd its inhabitants, 250, &c. is deprived of the habit of the order of S. John for having diſobey'd the orders of the grand maſter, 252. is reſtored and advanced to honours, ib. 253. ſtands candidate for the office of grand maſter, and recommends himſelf in a ſpeech to the electors, 259. is choſen to the ſatisfaction of the whole iſland of Rhodes, 260. behaves with courage and conduct in the execution of his office, ib. 261. refuſes to engage in the civil wars which raged in the empire of Conſtantinople, 262. offers to abdicate, but is not permitted by the pope, 263. fortifies the city of Rhodes, and dyes, ib.

DOLDEKUVIN, a Turcoman prince, makes incurſions into the territories of Antioch, 25, 28.

DOUAN DIODAR, envoy from the ſultan of Egypt, concludes a peace with the knights of Rhodes, 366.

DRAGUT, chief of the corſairs in Barbary, his birth and education, 97, ii. taken priſoner

ſoner by young Doria, demanded of him by the Genoeſe, and ſent back with preſents to Barbaroſſa, 98, ii. over-runs all the coaſts of the kingdom of Naples, ib. drives the Spaniards out of ſeveral towns in Africa, and forms a deſign of ſeizing upon Mehedia, 99, ii. gets poſſeſſion of it by treachery, 100, ii. prepares againſt the enemies attacks, 103, ii. deſigns to fall upon their lines and is diſcover'd, 105, ii. is defeated, 107, &c. ii. ſollicits Solyman to drive the knights of Malta out of Africa, 108, ii. is purſued by Doria, and eſcapes him, 109, &c. ii. ſails to Conſtantinople to haſten the fitting out of the fleet deſign'd againſt Tripoli, 110, ii. returns with the Turkiſh fleet to Malta, 115, ii. adviſes the ſiege of the caſtle of S. Angelo, 117, ii. prevails upon Sinan to lay ſiege to the city of Malta, ib. perſuades him to agree to the conditions propoſed by the governour of Tripoli, 129, ii. lands in Malta, and ravages the Countrey, but is forced to retire haſtily to his ſhips, 170, ii. is made governour of Tripoli, and fortifies the town, 174, ii. makes the petty ſovereigns in the iſle of Gelves ſubject to the port, 177, ii. joins the Turkiſh fleet before Malta with conſiderable ſuccours, 204, ii. his character and abilities, ib. propoſes the erecting of a new battery, but is oppoſed by Muſtapha, 208, ii. prevents the landing of the Sicilian ſuccours, 213, ii. is ſorely wounded by the fall of a ſtone upon his head, 216, ii. dyes, 219. ii.

DU MESNIL, a templar, ſtabs the envoy from the prince of the aſſaſſins, in direct oppoſition to publick faith, 69. is protected by Odo de S. Amand grand maſter of the order, ib. is forcibly carried off by the king of Jeruſalem, and thrown into priſon at Tyre, ib.

E

EDESSA, ravag'd by the ſultan of Iconium, 41.

EGYPT, ſorely afflicted with a famine, 104.

EGYPTIAN fleet, attempt to relieve Aſcalon by ſea, 43.

ELEANOR, queen of France, appears at a review with an army of ladies, whom ſhe carries to the holy war, 39. falls in love with Saladine, a converted Turk, 40.

EMANUEL, king of Portugal, makes war upon Naubraderin king of Calecut, 411.

EMERY D'AMBOISE, elected grand maſter of the order of Rhodes, 409. takes leave of the king of France, and repairs to Rhodes, 410. calls a general chapter, and makes ſeveral regulations for the ſupporting of diſcipline, and ſettling a good order in the adminiſtration of the revenue, 411. reſolves to oppoſe the new armament of the ſultan of Egypt, which was ſeen in the gulph of Ajazzo, 414. fits out a fleet under the command of the chevalier Villiers de l'Iſle Adam, 415. employs the revenues annex'd to his dignity, either in relieving the poor, or in making fortifications at Rhodes, 416. his death, ib.

EMPIRE, the Roman, declines upon the death of Theodoſius the Great, 2. the Greek, its miſerable ſtate at the time of of the commencement of the holy war, 10.

ENGLAND, the alterations in religion there upon the death of king Henry VIII. 157, ii. and Edward VI. 158, ii.

ERMENGARD DAPS, choſen grand maſter of the order of S. John, 85. his death, 100.

EUROPE, its ſtate at the beginning of the holy war, 12, 13.

EUSTACE GARNIER, conſtable of Paleſtine, defeats the army of the caliph of Egypt, 27.

F

FABRICIO CARETTO, elected grand maſter of the knights of Rhodes, 418. calls a general chapter, and makes fit regulations for the defence of the order, ib. enters into a league with the king of Perſia againſt the Turks, 419. aſſiſts Gazelles, the governor of Syria, againſt Solyman, 420. dyes, 422.

FATHIMITES, a dynaſty of Mahometans, their original, 57.

FERDINAND D'HEREDIA, caſtellan of Empoſta, choſen grand maſter of the knights of Rhodes, 274. his family and education, ib. 275. ſent embaſſador to the pope by the grand maſter and council of Rhodes, 275, 276. made prior of Catalonia, 276. appointed mediator by his holineſs between the kings of France and England, 277. declar'd governor of Avignon and the Comtè Venaiſſin, 278. conveys pope Gregory XI. from Avignon to Rome, 280. lays ſiege to Patras, 281. makes an attempt againſt Corinth, and is taken priſoner, 282. ranſom'd and declares in favour of pope Clement VII. 285. comes to Rhodes and takes poſſeſſion of his dignity and government, 286. his piety and care of the order, 287. his death and character, 288.

FERDINAND DE BRACAMONT, nominated governor of Tripoli, 82, ii. procures himſelf to be recall'd, 96, 97, ii.

FLORENCE, the revolutions there in favour of the houſe of Medicis, 80, &c. ii.

FOUCHER, patriarch of Jeruſalem, oppoſes the exemptions granted by pope Anaſtaſius IV. to the order of S. John, 46. takes a journey to Rome to procure the repeal

repeal of them from pope Adrian IV. 47.

FRANCIS I. king of France, his character and pretenſions, 20, ii. taken priſoner by the emperor, 21, ii. guarded as a ſtate criminal, 23, ii. obtains his liberty, 24, 25, ii.

FREDERICK I. emperor of Germany, enters into the cruſade, 91, 93. dies, 96.

FREDERICK II. emperor of Germany, is perſuaded by pope Honorius III. to undertake the expedition into the Holy Land, 130. marries the princeſs of Jeruſalem, and obliges her father to abdicate the government, 131. puts off his voyage for two years, 132. is excommunicated by pope Gregory IX. ib. defends his conduct in a letter to all the ſovereign princes of Chriſtendom, 133. the Roman barons take up arms in his favour, 134. he commits great ravages upon the patrimony of S. Peter, 134. arrives in the Holy Land, 135. prevails upon the hoſpitallers and templars to join his army, ib. marches to Jaffa, and reſtores the fortifications, 136. makes a truce with the ſultan of Egypt, and returns into Italy, 137. drives the pope's generals out of moſt of the places they had ſeized during his abſence, 138. ſubmits to the pope and is abſolv'd, ib. perſecutes the two orders of hoſpitallers and templars, ib. 139. ſends a body of German troops into Paleſtine againſt the princeſs Alice, who laid claim to the crown in his abſence, 140. laments the miſeries of Paleſtine in a letter to Richard earl of Cornwall, 149.

FULK, count of Anjou, diſtinguiſh'd by his behaviour againſt the infidels, 29. his family and marriage, ib. returns into France, ib. comes back to Jeruſalem, and marries Meleſinda, the eldeſt daughter to king Baldwin, 31. ſucceeds Baldwin in the throne of Jeruſalem, ib. undertakes an expedition to Antioch, 32. and ſecures the government to Conſtance the daughter of Bohemund II. 33. kill'd by a fall from his horſe, 36.

FULK, incumbent of Neuilli, his advice to Richard I. king of England, 92. procures a new cruſade, 108.

FULK DE VILLARET, choſen grand maſter of the order of S. John, 194. ſollicits the pope and the king of France to aſſiſt the hoſpitallers in the conqueſt of Rhodes, 199. returns to Cyprus, and enters upon the expedition, 199. makes a deſcent upon the iſland, 200. lays ſiege to the town, 201. and takes it, 202. reduces the neighbouring iſles to his obedience, 203. puts the town of Rhodes in a good ſtate of defence, 207. becomes idle and luxurious, 242. is ſummoned by the order to appear in council, and give an account of his adminiſtration, ib. a conſpiracy form'd againſt him, 243. is depoſed, and appeals to the holy ſee, ib. the cauſe heard at Avignon, 245. is re-eſtabliſhed in all the functions of his dignity, 246. abdicates his office, and dyes, ib.

G

GABRIEL MARTINENGO, an excellent engineer, undertakes the defence of Rhodes in conjunction with the knights of the order, 430, 431. takes upon him the croſs, 431. his vigilance and care in the defence of the town, 445. loſes an eye in the ſervice, 454.

GABRIEL D'ARAMON, undertakes to divert Sinan from laying ſiege to Tripoli, 123, ii. arrives at the Turkiſh fleet, has an audience of Sinan, and finds his deſign impracticable, 125, ii. is not permitted to return 'till the ſiege was ended, ib. obtains the liberty of the knights that were made priſoners in Tripoli by Sinan, 133, ii. ſails to Malta, and acquaints the grand maſter with what had happen'd, 134, ii. is falſly charged with having betray'd the order, and given up Tripoli to the infidels, 135, ii. demands an audience, and defends himſelf in full council, ib. proceeds in his voyage to Conſtantinople, 136, ii. his honour vindicated in a letter from the council of Malta to the king of France, 143, ii.

GALERAN, biſhop of Berytus, lays before the council of Lyons an account of the invaſion of Paleſtine by the Coraſmins, 151.

GARNIER, grand prior of England, choſen grand maſter of the order of S. John, 83.

GASI, a Turcoman prince, engages with his neighbours to attack the Chriſtians, and invade the territories of Antioch, 25, 26.

GASPARD DE VALIER, marſhal of the order of Malta, commands in Tripoli, and refuſes to ſurrender the town to the Turks, 124, ii. prepares himſelf for the ſiege by receiving the ſacrament, 127, ii. calls a council of war, ib. diſpatches the commander Copier to quell the mutiny which had aroſe among his own ſoldiers, 128, ii. is obliged by the council to ſubmit to neceſſity, and offer a capitulation. ib. upon his ſigning the treaty makes a viſit to Sinan, and is injuriouſly made a priſoner and put in irons, 130, ii. his behaviour in captivity, 132, ii. is ſet at liberty, and brought to Malta, 133, ii. is wrongfully accuſed and proſecuted by the grand maſter, and his deſtruction reſolv'd upon, 136, ii. his ſentence, 138, ii. his reputation vindicated, 141, &c. ii. reſtor'd to his liberty and honours, 174, ii.

GASTUS, choſen grand maſter of the order of S. John, 64.

GAZA, rebuilt and fortified, 41.

GAZAN, cham of the mogul Tartars, enters into a league with the Chriſtians againſt the Saracens, 186. his victories, ib. is oblig'd to return into Perſia, 187. ſends an embaſſy to Rome to deſire the pope's aſſiſtance, 187.

GAZELLES, governor of Syria, raiſes an inſurrection upon the death of Selim, 420. is defeated by the forces of Solyman, the ſucceſſor to Selim, 421.

GEOFFROY LE RAT, choſen grand maſter of the order of S. John, 104. his letter to the prior of England, complaining of the famine then raging in Paleſtine, 105. his death, 114.

GEORGE TRAPAN, a German engineer, encourages Mahomet II. to undertake the ſiege of Rhodes, 369. pretends to deſert from the Turkiſh army, and is admitted into Rhodes, 372. and diligently watch'd by order of the grand maſter, 373. confeſſes his treachery, and is executed, 379.

GEORGE SCHILLING, commands the gallies of the order of S. John in the emperor's ſervice againſt Algiers, 86, ii. his behaviour in the ſiege, 88, ii.

GEORGE ADORNE, governor of the city of Malta, prepares to defend it againſt the Turks, 118, ii.

GERARD, the adminiſtrator of the hoſpital of S. John of Jeruſalem, ſhut up in priſon, 18. prevails upon the brothers and ſiſters of the hoſpital to renounce the world, and take a regular habit, 20. erects a magnificent temple in honour of S. John the Baptiſt, 21. dyes, 22.

GERARD DE PINS, named by the pope to be lieutenant general of the order of S. John, 244. attacks the Turkiſh fleet, and gains a conſiderable victory, 247.

GERLAND of Poland, knight of S. John, illuſtrious for his valour and piety, 143.

GHINUCCI, cardinal, appointed biſhop of Malta by the pope, in oppoſition to the emperor, 52, ii.

GILBERT D'ASSALIT, choſen grand maſter of the order of S. John, 60. approves of king Amaury's deſign to invade Egypt, ib. levies troops to aſſiſt him, 61. reſigns his dignity in a full chapter, 64. and retiring into England, is caſt away at ſea, ib.

GODFREY of Bouillon, engages in the holy war, 12. firſt enters the city of Jeruſalem, 18. made governor of it, after having refuſed the title of king, 19. defeats the army of the caliph of Egypt, ib. forms new laws, extends his conqueſts, and dyes, 21.

GODFREY DE DUISSON, choſen grand maſter of the order of S. John, 100. procures a marriage between Amaury de Luſignan king of Cyprus and Iſabella queen of Jeruſalem, 101. his death, ib.

GOZA, deſcrib'd, 19, ii. viſited by the grand maſter of Malta, 44, ii. ravaged by the Turks, 121, ii.

GREGORY VIII. appoints publick prayers and faſts for the loſs of Jeruſalem, 91.

GREGORY IX. pope, excommunicates the emperor Frederick II. 132, 134. notifies it in his letter to the biſhops of Apulia, 134. forbids the emperor to croſs the ſea, as a member of the cruſade, 135. aſſiſts John de Brienne and his rebel ſubjects to make war upon him, 136. abſolves his ſubjects from their oath of allegiance, 138. accepts the emperor's ſubmiſſion, and gives him abſolution, ib. quiets the diſturbances in Paleſtine, in favour of the emperor, 140. writes an angry letter to the knights of S. John, complaining of irregularities and abuſes in the order, 142.

GREGORY X. advanced to the popedom, 165. calls a general council at Lyons for the procuring a new cruſade, 166.

GREGORY XI. excommunicates the Florentines, 279. revokes his bull at the ſollicitation of S. Catherine de Siena, 280. removes from Avignon to Rome, ib. is oppoſed by the magiſtrates, 282. his death, 283.

GUARIN, choſen grand maſter of the order of S. John, 147.

GUELPHS and Gibbelins, factions in Italy, their original, 137.

GUERIN, an hoſpitaller, takes pains to ſtop the progreſs of a new ſect of fanaticks, 116. gains a victory for the king of France over the emperor Otho IV. 119, 120. obtains conſiderable legacies of the French king for the defence of the Holy Land, and is named his executor, 130.

GUERIN DE MONTAIGU, choſen grand maſter of the order of S. John, 114. oppoſes the inroads of Solyman de Roveniddin into Armenia, 115. refuſes to join the army of the emperor Frederick II. unleſs he ſhould decline the command, 135. his death, 139.

GUIMARD, prince of Salerno, beſieged by the Saracens and deliver'd by the lords of Normandy, 14.

GUTTIERE D'ERMEGILDE, prior of the hoſpitallers of Caſtille, aſſiſts king Alphonſus VIII. againſt the Moors, 116.

GUY, count of Forcalquier, bequeaths his poſſeſſions to the order of S. John, 48.

GUY DE BLANCHEFORT, grand prior of Auvergne, elected grand maſter of the order of Rhodes, 417. upon the report of mighty preparations made by the Turk, embarks with all expedition for Rhodes, though dangerouſly ill, ib. his death, 418.

H

HACEN, ſeignior of the aſſaſſins, his abſolute power, 68.

HAMIDA, ſon to Muley Haſcen, ſeizes upon the kingdom of Tunis in his father's abſence, 94, 95, ii. gains a victory

ry over him, takes him priſoner, and puts out both his eyes, 96, ii.
HARGAN, diſpoſſeſſes Sannar of his dignity of ſultan of Egypt, 38. defeated by Noradin, and ſlain in battel, ib.
HASCEN, an aga, defends Algiers againſt the emperor Charles V. 87, ii.
HASSAN, viceroy of Algiers, arrives at the Turkiſh camp before Malta, with a conſiderable body of ſuccours, 10, iii. attacks the peninſula both by ſea and land, ib. is defeated, 13, 14, iii.
HEGIRA, the æra of the Mahometan chronology, its original, 5.
HELION DE VILLENEUVE, choſen grand maſter of the order of S. John, 247. calls a general chapter at Montpellier, to reform the abuſes which had crept into the order, 248. arrives at Rhodes, and repares the fortifications of the iſland, 249. deprives Dieu-donné de Gozon for having diſobey'd his orders in fighting with the ſerpent of Rhodes, 252. but afterwards reſtores him to the habit and honours, 252, 253. fits out ſix gallies in the port of Rhodes to keep the ſea againſt the infidels, by order of pope Benedict XII. 255. makes ſeveral regulations in the order, ib. dyes, 259.
HENRY II. king of England, engages to undertake an expedition into the Holy Land, 77. receives the embaſſadors from Paleſtine with reſpect, but declines to go thither in perſon, 79. takes the croſs, 91.
HENRY, count of Champagne, marries Iſabella the widow of Conrad, and obtains a right to the kingdom of Jeruſalem, 100. is killed by a fall from a window, 101.
HENRY DANDALO, doge of Venice, furniſhes the army of the cruſade with ſhips, to tranſport them to S. John d'Acre, 108. reſtores the emperor Iſaac Angelus to the throne of Conſtantinople, 110. refuſes to be made emperor himſelf, 112.
HENRY, brother to Baldwin I. made emperor of Conſtantinople, and poiſon'd by the Greeks, 145.
HENRY II. king of Cyprus, cauſes himſelf to be acknowledged and crown'd king of Jeruſalem, 169. arrives with ſuccour in the port of Acre, 171. privately retires to Cyprus, 172. diſobliges by his management, 183. is declared incapable of the government and impriſon'd, but recovers both his liberty and his crown, 184.
HENRY, marquiſs of Hochberg, gives the hoſpitallers his lordſhip of Heiterſheim, 185.
HENRY VIII. king of England, talks of uniting the revenues of the order of S. John to the crown, and diſmiſſes the embaſſadors of the grand maſter with diſreſpect, 26, ii. gives the grand maſter himſelf a gracious reception, 27, ii. approves the deſign of recovering Rhodes, and lays aſide the project of ſequeſting the eſtates of the order, 28, 29, ii. divorces queen Catherine of Arragon, and marries Anne Bullen, 59, ii. proſcribes cardinal Pool, 60, ii. perſecutes the order of Malta, 61, ii. ſettles the ſucceſſion, 156, ii.
HENRY II. king of France, ſends Mr. de Belloy to Malta, with a letter to the grand maſter, complaining of infamous reports concerning his embaſſador, and to make enquiry into the affair, 139, 140, ii. oppoſes the match of the queen of England with Philip of Spain, 159, ii.
HERACLIUS, patriarch of Jeruſalem, ſent into Europe to procure a cruſade, 77. viſits the pope and the emperor at Verona, 78. paſſes into England, and treats king Henry II. with haughtineſs and contempt, 79. returns without ſucceſs, 80.
HERRERA, a Spaniſh knight, promotes a mutiny in the town of Tripoli, 127, ii.
HOLY LAND, the reſpect paid to it by the ancient Chriſtians, 6.
HOSPITALLERS, the foundation of their houſe at Jeruſalem, 8. become a regular order, 20.
HUGH, brother to Philip I. king of France, engages in the holy war, 12.
HUGH DE PAYENS, founder of the order of templars, 29.
HUGH DE FORCALQUIER, aſſiſts Don James of Arragon in the conqueſt of Valencia, 141, 150.
HUGH DE REVEL, choſen grand maſter of the order of S. John, 162. puts the order under new regulations, ib. 164, 165. takes a journey to Rome to ſollicit the pope for new ſuccours, 165, 166. dyes, 167.
HUGH, S. a knight of S. John, his devotion and manner of life, 143.
HUGH III. king of Cyprus, aſſerts his title to the throne of Jeruſalem, 166.
HUMBERT II. dauphin of Viennois, made general of the cruſade by pope Clement VI. 257. puts to ſea with the fleet of the cruſade, and contributes to the raiſing the ſiege of Jaffa, 258. quits the enterprize, and turns monk, ib.
HUNIADES, ſuccours the beſieged in Belgrade, 342. ſallies out of the town, gains a conſiderable victory over the Turks, and returns triumphant, 343.

J

JAMES, Don, king of Arragon, drives the Moors out of Majorca and Minorca, and undertakes the conqueſt of Valencia, 140. unites it to the crown of Arragon, 141.
JAMES DE LUSIGNAN, regent of Cyprus, quarrels with the ſtate of Genoa, and is taken priſoner, 307. upon the death of his nephew gains his liberty and the crown, 308.
JAMES COEUR, a French merchant, concludes a peace between the ſultan of Egypt and the knights of Rhodes, 333.

JAMES DE MILLY, choſen grand maſter of the knights of Rhodes, 341. repeoples the iſlands, that had been ravaged by the Turks, 344. ſupports the claim of the houſe of Savoy to the kingdom of Cyprus againſt the pretenſions of the baſtard of Luſignan, 345, &c. complies with the demands of the Venetians, and frees the town of Rhodes from a ſiege, 348. his death, 349.

JANNETIN DORIA, takes the corſair Dragut priſoner, 98. ii.

JAROQUINS, two Turcoman princes, make an attempt to recover Jeruſalem, and are defeated, 42.

JAXI, a Rhodian, treacherouſly ſeiz'd on by the Turkiſh general, 436, 437.

IBRAHIM, the favourite of Solyman, diſpatch'd with an army into Egypt againſt Achmet, 18, ii. ſends his head to the grand ſeignior, ib.

JERUSALEM, its ſeveral revolutions, 18.

INNOCENT IV. pope, calls a general council at Lyons, to engage the weſtern princes to a new cruſade, 151. recommends the preſervation of the holy places in a particular manner to the hoſpitallers, and confers new donations upon them, 161.

INNOCENT VI. pope, orders the knights of Rhodes to quit the iſland, and tranſport their convent into the continent, 265. appoints a chapter to meet at Niſmes or Montpellier to debate the buſineſs, 266. transfers it to Avignon, ib. confers the beſt commandries of the order upon his favourite knight John Ferdinand d'Heredia, without the conſent of the grand maſter, 267.

INNOCENT VIII. pope, ſollicits the grand maſter to ſend Zizim to Rome, 397. grants the order great privileges in exchange for his perſon, ib. receives him graciouſly, and orders him to be nobly attended, 399. dyes, 400.

INTERDICT, its effects, 46.

JOACHIM, Abbe, a ſuppoſed prophet, foretells the conqueſt of Jeruſalem, 95. his character, 96.

JOANNITZ, king of the Bulgarians, takes priſoner Baldwin the firſt Latin emperor of Conſtantinople, and puts him to death, 145.

JOHN, S. of Jeruſalem, the inſtitution of the order, 20. their poſſeſſions, 21. the reformation of the order by Raymond Dupuy, 22. made military, 23. their ſtatutes, habit, form of government, &c. 24. they offer their ſervice to Baldwin II. king of Jeruſalem, 25. ſignalize their zeal in the defence of Antioch, 26. recommended to Fulk the ſucceſſor of Baldwin by pope Innocent II. 31. renown'd for their valour and exploits, 34. their manner of life, 49. adhere to pope Alexander III. in oppoſition to cardinal Octavian, 55. with difficulty conſent to attend the king in his expedition againſt Egypt, 61. diſagree with the templars, 73. have a ſettlement at Conſtantinople, 74. ſuch as were found there inhumanly murder'd by the Greeks, 75. their behaviour at the ſiege of Acre, 96. take up their reſidence at Acre, upon the recovery of the town, 100. their power, 105. quarrel with the templars, 106. their difference made up by pope Innocent, 107. have foundations in all the dominions of Aſia and Europe, 113. are allow'd fortreſſes in the kingdom of Armenia, 115. unjuſtly calumniated, as converting to their private uſe the ſums ſent out of Europe, 128. have large revenues conferred upon them by the king of Arragon, 141. offer to redeem their captive brethren from the hands of the Saracens, 153. but without ſucceſs, 154. compared to the Maccabees by pope Clement IV. 164. obliged to quit the Holy Land, 172, &c. retire to Limiſſo in Cyprus, 174. fortify the town, 179. grow formidable at ſea, ib. once more recover Jeruſalem, 186. but are again obliged to quit it, 187. reſolve to abandon Cyprus, and repair to Rhodes, 194, 198. apply to the pope and the king of France for aſſiſtance, 198. make a deſcent upon the iſland, and lay ſiege to Rhodes, 201. take the town, and are call'd the knights of Rhodes, 202. are inveſted with the eſtates of the templars, 220, &c. ſink into luxury, 242. a ſchiſm form'd amongſt them upon the depoſition of Fulk de Villaret their grand maſter, 244. the pope ſends a commiſſioner to Rhodes to enquire into the quarrel, 244. their negligence complained of to the pope, 253. their enemies endeavour to get the revenues of the templars out of their hands, 264. a chapter held at Avignon, 266. various regulations made relating to diſcipline, 267. enemies ariſe from among their own members, 273. they defeat the naval forces of the ſultan of Egypt, 329, 330. ravage the coaſts of the Turkiſh dominions, and ſecure their own, 343. divided amongſt themſelves, 348. aſſiſt the Venetians againſt Mahomet, 355, 357. behave with reſolution and courage in the ſiege of Rhodes, 374. oppreſſed by pope Alexander VI. 464. are victorious over the ſhips of the ſultan of Egypt, 413, 415. devote their prizes to the common good of the order, 416. invited to the council of Lateran by pope Julius II. who offers to put the council under their protection, 417. decline making any conſiderable detachment, but order their procurator general in Italy to attend upon his holineſs, ib. intereſt themſelves in the defence of Belgrade, 422. obliged to quit Rhodes, 468. are aſſign'd Viterbo for their reſidence, by pope Clement VII. 13, ii. their revenues in Italy ſeiz'd on by order of the emperor, 22, ii. obtain the grant of Tripoli, Malta and Goza from

from the emperor, at the interceſſion of pope Clement VIII. 37, ii. are put into poſſeſſion of them by the emperor's commiſſioners, 39, ii. are tranſported into the iſland of Malta, 41, ii. take the name of the knights of Malta, 43, ii. make an attempt againſt Modon, 46, ii. return with a conſiderable booty, 50, ii. join the emperor's fleets, and lay ſiege to Coron, 54, ii. a quarrel ariſes amongſt them, which makes them take arms againſt one another, 57, 58, ii. the authors of the tumult puniſhed, 59, ii. they attend the emperor in his expedition againſt Barbaroſſa, 67, ii. are complimented by his imperial Majeſty, 73, ii. their exploits at ſea, 74, ii. they defend Tripoli againſt Airadin, 76, ii. raze the tower of the Alcayd, 77, ii. are unſucceſsful before Suſa, 82, ii. behave with courage in the ſiege of Algiers, 87, 88, ii. are inſtrumental in the conqueſt of Africk, 107, ii. the aſhes of ſuch as were ſlain in the ſiege tranſported into Sicily, 108, ii. are attack'd in Malta by the Turkiſh fleet, 115, &c. ii. are mutinous in Tripoli, 127, ii. but upon Sinan's breach of faith reſolve to defend the place to the laſt extremity, 131, ii. being deſerted by their ſoldiers, are taken, ſtripp'd, and laid in irons, 132, ii. the knights at Malta improve the fortifications of the iſland, 147, &c. ii. are put in poſſeſſion of their eſtates in England by order of queen Mary, 160, ii. are offer'd Mehedia for a place of reſidence by the emperor 163, ii. determine to continue at Malta, 165, ii. ſuffer much loſs in their harbour by a ſtorm, 168, ii. their bravery at ſea, 184, &c. ii. reſolve to loſe their lives, rather than Malta, 2, iii. are ſucceſsful againſt the Algerine ſuccours, 12, iii. but with the loſs of a conſiderable number of men, 13, iii.

JOHN, count de Brienne, propoſed by the emperor as a match for the queen of Jeruſalem, 114. lands at the port of Acre with only three hundred men, and marries the queen, 117. lays ſiege to Damiata, 126. and carries it, 128. makes peace with the Saracens, ib. is obliged to abdicate the kingdom of Jeruſalem in favour of the emperor Frederick II. 131. is placed at the head of the pope's army againſt the emperor, 136. quits the command, 137. is made regent and protector of the empire of Conſtantinople, 146.

JOHN DE VILLIERS, choſen grand maſter of the order of S. John, 170. defends S. John d'Acre againſt the Saracens, 172. is obliged to quit the place, and eſcapes to Cyprus, 173. ſends a general ſummons to the hoſpitallers in Europe to repair to Limiſſo, 175. calls a general chapter, 178. makes new regulations in the order, 179, 180. dyes, 184.

JOHN XXII. pope, the manner of his election, 248.

JOHN DE BIANDRA, knight of Rhodes, made general of the gallies of the order, 256. lays ſiege to Smyrna and takes it, ib.

JOHN DE MEINGRE, marſhal de Boucicault, fits out a fleet againſt the king of Cyprus, and lands in Rhodes, 308. is diverted from his enterprize by the grand maſter, ib. turns his arms againſt the Turks, and lays ſiege to Scandaroon, ib. 309. enters into a league with the lord of the countrey, reimbarks his troops, and ſets ſail for Cyprus, ib. comes to an agreement with the king by the mediation of the grand maſter of Rhodes, 310. ravages the coaſts of the Saracens in conjunction with the grand maſter, ib. 312. returns to Italy, ib.

JOHN XXIII. pope, his character and advancement to the popedom, 317. calls the council at Conſtance, 318. his miſbehaviour towards the knights of Rhodes, ib. depoſed by the council, 319.

JOHN DE LASTIC, elected grand maſter of the knights of Rhodes, 328. has advice of the ſultan of Egypt's deſigns againſt Rhodes, with the concurrence of Amurath II. emperor of the Turks, ib. courts the alliance of Amurath, 329. defends the iſle of Rhodes with vigilance againſt the invaſions of the Saracens, 329, 331. obtains recruits from Europe for the defence of the iſland againſt the ſultan of Egypt, 332. calls a general chapter at Rhodes, ib. makes a peace with the ſultan, 333. is charged with miſmanagement by pope Nicholas V. and vindicates himſelf with reſolution and ſpirit, ib. is inveſted with ſovereign authority, and the entire diſpoſal of the revenue of the order, 334. his death, 340.

JOHN BAPTISTA URSINI, prior of Rome, elected grand maſter of the knights of Rhodes, 354. provides againſt the invaſions of Mahomet II. ib. &c. refuſes to comply with the treaty propoſed to the order by the Venetians, 355. but notwithſtanding ſends a ſquadron of gallies to their aſſiſtance in the invaſion of Negrepont, ib. favours the embaſſy of Uſſum-Caſſan, king of Perſia, 358. makes new fortifications for the defence of Rhodes againſt the Turks, 360. his death, 361.

JOHN D'OMEDES, choſen grand maſter of Malta, 78, ii. fits out a fleet for the ſiege of Suſa, 82, ii. ſends an embaſſador to the emperor to deſire the demolition of Tripoli, unleſs refortified by his highneſs, 83, ii. aſſiſts the emperor in his deſign upon Africa, 85, 86, ii. again ſollicits to abandon Tripoli, but without ſucceſs, 91, 92, ii. joins the emperor's fleet with the gallies of the order, againſt the inclination of ſeveral commanders in the council, 111, ii. is negligent in making the neceſſary preparations againſt the armament of the grand ſeignior, 113, &c.

&c. ii. is convinced of his miſtake by the appearance of the Turkiſh fleet, 115, protects the governour of Goza from the proſecution of the order, 122, ii. prevails upon d'Aramon, the embaſſador of the king of France at the port, to attempt the diverting Sinan from the ſiege of Tripoli, 123, ii. expreſſes his grief for the loſs of Tripoli, and privately charges the French embaſſador with having betray'd the order, 134, &c. ii. plots the deſtruction of the marſhal de Valier, 136, ii. cauſes letters to be wrote into ſeveral parts of Europe to the prejudice of the marſhal de Valier and the French knights, 137, ii. is diſpleaſed with the ſentence againſt de Valier, 138, ii. receives a letter from the king of France concerning his embaſſador, which he lays before the council, 140. endeavours to remove the grand prior of Capua from Malta, 148, ii. engages him in an enterprize againſt Zoara, 149, ii. writes a letter of acknowledgment to the queen of England for the kindneſs ſhe had ſhewn to the order, 160, ii. his death, 161, ii.

JOHN DE LA VALETTE, choſen grand maſter of Malta, 173, ii. demands the reſponſions and taxes due from the Bohemian knights, who promiſe to pay them, ib. requires the ſame reſponſions from the Venetians, and obtains them, 174, ii. reſtores the marſhal de Valier to his honours, and farther confers upon him the title of bailif of Lango, as a teſtimony of his innocence, ib. enters into a deſign of recovering Tripoli, ib. joins the forces of the order with the fleet of the king of Spain, and ſends them upon the expedition, 175, ii. will not ſuffer the knights to attempt the conqueſt of the iſle of Gelves, 176, ii. receives advice that the viceroy of Sicily had taken the iſland, and was building a fort, whilſt the fleet was infected with a dangerous ſickneſs, 179, ii. recalls the knights, whom he had ſent with him, and ſoon after ſends a reinforcement of freſh troops, 180, ii. builds new gallies at his own expence, 184, ii. is invited to the council of Trent, and ſends his embaſſador thither in his ſtead, 186, ii. ſollicits the council to confirm the immunities of the order, but without effect, through the interpoſition of pope Pius IV. 187, ii. has advice from Conſtantinople of Solyman's preparations to attack Malta, 193, &c. ii. makes ready for his defence, 194, ii. his character, ib. prepares for the engagement by acts of piety and devotion, 195, ii. the ſtate of the iſland, and the diſpoſition of his forces, 196, 197, ii. the chief ſecurity of the iſland lay in his preſence, 198, ii. offers to throw himſelf into the fort St. Elmo, which was firſt beſieged by the Turks, but is oppoſed by the council, 202, ii. ſollicits the viceroy of Sicily to make haſte with his ſuccours, 203, ii. preſſes the knights beſieged in the fort St. Elmo to hold out the place as long as poſſible, 209, &c. ii. writes to them with ſuch an air of indifference, as provoked them to continue their defence at all hazards, 212, ii. fires upon the Turks from the caſtle S. Angelo, as they were engaged in the attack of fort St. Elmo, 215, ii. again ſollicits the ſuccours from Sicily, but with no better ſucceſs than before, 217, ii. diſſembles his concern for the loſs of fort S. Elmo, and exhorts his knights to follow the example of their brethren, who had dyed in the ſervice, 1, iii. makes new regulations for the defence of Malta, 2, iii. orders all the Turks, that ſhould be taken, to be put to the ſword, ib. refuſes to enter into a negotiation with the baſha, 3, iii. receives a ſmall body of ſuccours from Sicily, 4, iii. defeats the baſha's project of cutting off their communication with the ſea, 6, 7, iii. forms a new kind of bridge by the advice of Boſio a young knight, for the conveyance of ſuccours from the town to the fort S. Michael, 8, iii. again ſollicits the ſupplies from Sicily, ib. is deluded by the king of Spain, 9, iii. his behaviour upon the death of his nephew, 16, iii. ſets fire to the new bridge of the baſha, and burns it to aſhes, 17, iii. writes again to the viceroy of Sicily for ſuccours, 20, iii. does not depend upon his promiſes, but continues his vigilance and encouragement of the ſoldiers to hold out to the laſt extremity, 22, iii. advancing too far againſt the enemy, is dangerouſly wounded, 25, iii. draws the wounded knights out of the infirmary to place 'em in poſts, which required their preſence, 27, iii. is adviſed by the council to blow up the remains of fort S. Michael, and rejects the propoſition with indignation and horror, 28, iii. receives the Sicilian ſuccours, 34, iii. ruins the works, and fills up the trenches of the Turks, upon their quitting the iſland, 35, iii. entertains the generals of the auxiliary troops, 39, iii. refuſes to be made a cardinal, ib. refortifies the iſland, 41, &c. iii. quarrels with the pope, 44, iii. dyes, 46, iii. his funeral, 48, iii.

JOCELINE DE COURTENAY, made governour of Edeſſa, 22, 25. ſurprized in an ambuſcade by Balac, an emir among the Turcomans, and makes his eſcape, 26. kills Balac with his own hand, 28.

JOUBERT, an hoſpitaller, attends king Fulk in his expedition to Antioch, 32. diſpatch'd to Raymond count of Poitiers, with the offer of a marriage with Conſtance, and the principality of Antioch, 33. made grand maſter of the hoſpital of S. John, 66. and appointed regent during the abſence of the king of Jeruſalem, ib. hardly eſcapes being taken by the enemy, 70. his death, 72.

ISAAC ANGELUS, emperor of Conſtantinople, deprived of his crown by his brother, 109. reſtored to his throne, 110. dyes of grief, 111.

ISMAEL, king of Perſia, invaded by Selim, enters into a league with Campſon Gauri ſultan of Egypt, and the grand maſter of Rhodes, 419.

JULIO DE MEDICIS, cardinal, and knight of Rhodes, a candidate for the popedom, 11, ii. his birth, education and power, under the pontificate of Leo X. ib. is choſen pope, and takes the name of Clement VII. 12, ii. aſſigns Viterbo for the reſidence of the knights of Rhodes, 13, ii. enters into a league with the king of England and the Venetians to maintain the liberty of Italy, 20, 29, ii. is beſieged in Rome, and takes refuge in the caſtle of S. Angelo, 30, 31, ii. recommends the intereſts of the order of S. John to the emperor, 37, ii. nominates cardinal Ghinucci for the biſhoprick of Malta, 52, ii. dyes, 53, ii.

L

LA CERDA, viceroy of Sicily, forms a project for the recovery of Tripoli, 174, ii. ſets out in the expedition, and is joyn'd by the knights of Malta, 175, ii. propoſes the conqueſt of the iſle of Gelves, but cannot obtain the grand maſter's conſent, 176, ii. lands to take in freſh water, but is always oppoſed by the inhabitants of Gelves, 177, ii. rejects the motion of reducing Tripoli, lands in the iſle of Gelves, and finds no oppoſition, 178, ii. receives the keys of the caſtle from the governor, and engages him to pay tribute to the king of Spain, 179, ii. reſolves to build a fort in the iſland, ib. is deaf to all entreaties to the contrary, and goes on with his work, 180, ii. is attack'd by the Turkiſh fleet, and in a terrible conſternation adviſes with Doria what ſtep he ſhould take, 181, ii. deſerts the iſland, and lands in Sicily, 182, ii.

LASCARIS, a Greek officer, revolts from the Turks to the Chriſtians, 5, iii. his birth and education, ib. acquaints the grand maſter with the baſha's project to cut off all communication with the ſea from the Malteſe, 6, iii.

LATERAN, the third general council of, cenſures the behaviour of the hoſpitallers and templars, 71. makes a conſtitution in favour of Lepers, 72. the fourth general council of, 121.

LEO STROZZI, prior of Capua, made general of the gallies of the knights of Malta, 79, ii. his atchievements in arms, ib. 80, ii. ſets out from Malta for Italy to procure the liberty of his father, [80,] ii. leaves the ſervice of France, and aſks leave to enter the port of Malta, 144, ii. is refuſed by the grand maſter d'Omedes, ib. writes to the king of France to excuſe his behaviour, and promiſes never to make war againſt him, 145, ii. is courted by the emperor, 146, ii. privately enters Malta, without the grand maſter's leave, who is obliged to give him a favourable reception, ib. 147, ii. adviſes the farther fortification of the iſland, and aſſiſts in the doing it, ib. 148, ii. engages in an enterprize againſt Zoara, 149, ii. his army enter the town by ſurprize, and fall to plunder, 150, ii. are ſurrounded by the forces of the aga Morat, and in great meaſure cut to pieces, 151, ii. is diſabled by a muſket ſhot in his thigh, 152, ii. is carried ſafe to his ſhips by a knight of Majorca, nam'd Torcillas, ib. returns with the ſhatter'd remains of his troops to Malta, 155, ii. ſets ſail again and ſpends the ſummer in ſcouring the Mediterranean up to the mouth of the Nile, ib. carries his prizes into the ports of the order, 156, ii. is a candidate for the dignity of grand maſter, 161, ii. ſets ſail to attack the Corſairs, which had appear'd before Palermo, 165. ii. determines to enter again into the ſervice of France, and command the French army in Italy, 166, ii. finds himſelf ſuſpected by the viceroy of Sicily, ib. eſcapes from him by ſtratagem, 167, ii. forms a deſign to ſeize Scarlino, and is kill'd by a muſket ball, ib. his character, ib.

LEONARD BALESTRIM, the Latin metropolitan of Rhodes, retires to Candia with his clergy, upon the conqueſt of the iſland by Solyman, 3, ii.

LIVRON, ſeizes upon the kingdom of Armenia, and takes the prince of Antioch priſoner, 104. ſollicits pope Innocent III. in favour of Rupin's claim to the principality of Antioch, 115.

LOTHAIR, cardinal, advanced to the popedom, under the title of Innocent III. 166. reconciles the differences between the knights hoſpitallers and templars, 107. repreſents in his letters to the biſhops of France the miſerable ſtate of the Chriſtians in the eaſt, 114. preaches up a new cruſade, and annexes indulgences to to it, 117, 118. calls the fourth council of Lateran, and recommends to them the recovery of the Holy Land, 121.

LOUIS VIII. king of France, reſolves upon an expedition to the Holy Land, 38. but returns without ſucceſs, 40.

LOUIS IX. king of France, takes up the croſs, 152. enters upon the expedition, 154. paſſes the winter in the iſle of Cyprus, 155. compoſes the differences between Hayton, king of Armenia, and Bohemund V. prince of Antioch, ib. refuſes to come to an accommodation with the ſultan of Egypt, ib. arrives before Damiata, 156. marches againſt the infidels, 157. is taken priſoner, 159. obtains

obtains his liberty upon reſtoring Damiata, and paying a conſiderable ranſome for the reſt of the captives, ib. is complimented by the prince of the aſſaſſins, 160. returns into France, 161.

LUCIUS III. pope, favours the expedition into the Holy Land, 78.

LUSIGNAN, Guy de, marries the king of Jeruſalem's ſiſter, and is declar'd regent of the kingdom, 75. oblig'd to reſign his regency, 76. retires to Aſcalon, 77. is content with the title of count of Jaffa, ib. is proclaim'd king of Jeruſalem, 80. is depos'd and divorc'd from his queen, 81. is married again and crown'd, ib. is taken priſoner by Saladine, 84. renounces the title of king of Jeruſalem, and is ſet at liberty, 88. makes head againſt the infidels, 94. marries the princeſs of Cyprus, and is ſettled in the government of the iſland by Richard I. king of England, 100. dyes 101.

LUSIGNAN, Amaury de, king of Cyprus, marries Iſabella queen of Jeruſalem, 101. prevail'd on by pope Innocent to continue his reſidence in the Holy Land, 107. repreſſes the ſeditions in Cyprus, 108. dyes, 113.

LUSIGNAN, Hugh de, ſucceeds his father Amaury in the kingdom of Cyprus, 113.

LUSIGNAN, Godfrey de, arrives in the eaſt with a freſh body of troops, 94.

M

MAHAZIN, ſon to ſultan Sannar, defends Peluſium againſt the king of Jeruſalem, 62.

MAHOMET, his birth and riſe, 3. his methods of founding a new religion, 4. his ſucceſs, and death, 5.

MAHOMET II. his character, and advancement to the throne, 337. lays ſiege to Conſtantinople and takes it, 338. falls in love with Irene, a Greek lady, 339. cuts off her head with his own hand, ib. declares war againſt the knights of Rhodes, 340. vows their deſtruction, 341. lays ſiege to Belgrade, 342. is beaten and wounded, 343. puts to ſea a ſtrong fleet, with directions to deſtroy all the iſles of the order of Rhodes with fire and ſword, ib. his admiral lays ſiege to a fortify'd caſtle in the iſle of Lango, and is unſucceſsful, 344. lands in Rhodes and ſeveral other iſlands of the order, commits great ravages, and reimbarks with his troops, ib. aſſiſts the uſurper of Cyprus, in oppoſition to queen Charlotte, 346, 347. threatens Rhodes with a ſiege, 347. refuſes a ſafe conduct to the commander de Saconnay, embaſſador from the knights of Rhodes, 347, 349. admits of an embaſſy, and ſigns a truce for two years, 349. lays ſiege to Trebiſond, 350. takes it by capitulation, and puts the Greek prince, who defended it, to death, ib. attempts the conqueſt of Leſbos, 351. is made maſter of Mitylene by capitulation, and breaks his faith, 352. ſends out a fleet with orders to make a deſcent upon the iſle of Rhodes, but without ſucceſs, 354. fits out a fleet, and inveſts the town and iſle of Negrepont, 355. makes himſelf maſter of the place, and treats the vanquiſh'd with all poſſible inhumanity and cruelty, 356. menaces the order of Rhodes, ib. marches in perſon againſt Uſſum-Caſſan, king of Perſia, 358. gains a victory over him, 359. propoſes to make a treaty of peace with the grand maſter of Rhodes, 364. grants a ſuſpenſion of arms, 366. declares his deſign of attacking the iſle of Rhodes, 369. is confirm'd in this deſign by the grand vizier and three famous renegades, ib. ſends the baſha to take a view of the place, 370. who attacks the fortreſs of Fano, but is oblig'd to retire, ib. his fleet are ſeen off from Rhodes, 370, 371. they land in the iſland, and require the town to ſurrender, 371. upon refuſal they lay ſiege to it, 372. the ſiege raiſed, 382. prepares to attack it in perſon, but is carried off by a fit of the cholick, before he could enter upon the expedition, 383.

MALTA, its deſcription, 18, 41, 196. ii. fortified by the grand maſter, 42, 43, 51, ii.

MAMALUCKS, the original of their inſtitution, 153.

MANUEL COMNENUS, the Greek emperor, joins with Amaury king of Jeruſalem in his deſign againſt Egypt, 60. makes conſiderable remittances to the grand maſter of the hoſpitallers, 61. his fleet diſperſed by a ſtorm, 64. favours the Latin Chriſtians, 74.

MARTEL, the houſe of, call'd the hoſpital of the true croſs, founded, 185.

MARTIN V. unanimouſly elected by the council of Conſtance, 320. puts an end to the ſchiſm, which had ſo long prevail'd in the Roman church, ib.

MARY, eldeſt daughter to queen Iſabel and Conrad, marqueſs of Montferrat, is acknowledged heireſs of the crown of Jeruſalem, 113. the count de Brienne is nominated for her huſband, 114.

MARY, queen of England, ſends an envoy to the grand maſter, with advice that ſhe had reſolv'd to reſtore all the commanderies to the order, which her father and brother had taken away, 156, ii. her advancement to the throne of England, 158. ii. ſought in marriage by ſeveral pretentenders, ib. married to Philip of Auſtria, the emperor's ſon, 160, ii.

MAURICE DE PUGNAC, forms a conſpiracy againſt Fulk de Villaret, grand maſter of the order of S. John, 242. cauſes him to be depoſed, and himſelf to be elected in his ſtead, 243. the pope interpoſes in the affair, and the cauſe is heard at Avignon,

non, 244, &c. dyes, before the matter was decided, 245.
MEBEC-SERAF, proclaim'd ſultan, 171. lays ſiege to S. John d'Acre, and takes it, ib. &c.
MEHEDIA, formerly nam'd Adrumetum, deſcrib'd, 99, ii.
MELECH-SAIS, ſucceeds Bendocdar in the throne, 167. takes Margat, 168. is murder'd by one of his emirs, who takes poſſeſſion of the crown by the name of Melec-Meſſor, 168.
MELESINDA, eldeſt daughter to Baldwin II. king of Jeruſalem, marries Fulk count of Anjou, 31. lays claim to the kingdom after his death in her own right, 37.
MELIER, an apoſtate templar, made king of Armenia, and joins his forces with Saladine's, 67. retires to the mountains, ib. is diſpatched by the grandees of the countrey, 74.
MERCATI, Gerard, a knight of the order of S. John, his manner of life, 143.
MERCHANTS, Italian, obtain leave of the caliph Monſtaſer-billah for the Latin Chriſtians to viſit the holy ſepulchre, 7.
MICHAEL PALEOLOGUS, offers to join his forces to thoſe of the cruſade, and to put on the croſs himſelf, 166.
MICHIELI, Henry, duke of Venice, aſſiſts the Chriſtians of Judæa againſt the Saracens, 27. beſieges the city of Tyre, and takes it upon condition, 28.
MILITARY FRIARS, their ſeveral orders, 50.
MODON, its ſituation, 35, ii. propoſed as a ſettlement for the knights of S. John, ib. 36, ii. the grand maſter attempts to ſeize upon it, 46, &c. ii.
MOEZ, the caliph, his family, 57.
MOLEY, James de, grand maſter of the templars, obeys the pope's orders, and repairs to him to Poitiers, 195. preſents two memorials to him, in behalf of the order, 195, &c. offers to vindicate his order from the imputations laid to their charge, 213. declares himſelf and his order innocent upon the ſcaffold, 219. is burnt alive, and repeats his declaration in the midſt of the flames, ib.
MOORS, their conqueſts, 49.
MONTFERRAT, marquiſs de, heads a new army of the cruſade into Paleſtine, 108. attempts to reſcue the emperor Alexis from the hands of the uſurper Murzulphle, 111. is inveſted in the kingdom of Theſſalonica, 112.
MORAVIA, the count of, raviſhes the regent of Hungary's wife, by the aſſiſtance of the queen his ſiſter, 123.
MORBASSAN, a Turk, attempts to recover Smyrna from the Chriſtians, 256. makes a cruel ſlaughter amongſt them, ib.
MOROSINI, Thomas, choſen patriarch of Conſtantinople, 112.
MULEY HASSEN, king of Tunis, makes a particular alliance with the governor of Tripoli againſt the Turks, 63, ii. aſcended the throne by the murder of his father, ib. quits Tunis and flies from the arms of Barbaroſſa, 65, ii. applies to the emperor Charles V. for ſuccour, 66, ii. reſtor'd to his throne, 72, ii. ſhut up in his capital by the Turks, and demands the aſſiſtance of the order of S. John, 81, ii. ſets out for Italy to ſollicit ſuccours of the emperor, 92, ii. receiv'd with great magnificence by the viceroy of Naples, who is order'd to confer with him, 93, ii. returns into Africk to oppoſe the rebellion of his ſon Hamida, is taken priſoner, and depriv'd of both his eyes, 96, ii.
MURZULPHLE, uſurps the throne of Conſtantinople, 111. the princes of the cruſade make war upon him, ib. flyes to ſecure his life, 112.
MUSQUETA, an old officer, makes a diverſion, which draws off the Turkiſh army from entering at the breach they had made in the fort S. Michael, 19, iii. defends the notable city againſt Muſtapha and the Turkiſh army, 30, ii.
MUSTAPHA, ſon to Mahomet II. is victorious againſt the Perſians, 359. is ſtrangled by his father's order, 360.
MUSTAPHA, commander under Solyman at the ſiege of Rhodes, is thrown out of his employment, 453, i. ſent into Egypt to command there in quality of Begler-bey, 15, ii. is beſieged in grand Cairo by an army of rebellious Arabians and Egyptians, 16, ii.
MUSULMEN, their averſion to the Chriſtians, 7.

N

NICE, ſurrender'd to the Latin Chriſtians, 16.
NICHOLAS LORGUE, choſen grand maſter of the order of S. John, 167. takes a journey to Rome to ſollicit ſuccours, but with ſmall ſucceſs, 169. dyes of grief, after having made conſiderable regulations in the order, ib.
NICHOLAS IV. pope, refuſes to aſſiſt the hoſpitallers with money for the recovery of the holy places, 169. expreſſes his concern for the loſs of the Holy Land, and endeavours to draw the princes of Europe into a new cruſade, 176, &c.
NICHOLAS DURANDE DE VILLEGAGNON, a knight of Malta, his birth and character, 111, ii. informs the grand maſter, that the grand ſeignior's armament was ſolely deſign'd againſt the order, ib. preſſes the viceroy of Sicily to ſend ſuccours to Malta, &c. 112, ii. gives notice to the knights to prepare againſt the danger that threaten'd 'em, ib. undertakes the defence of the city of Malta againſt the attacks of Sinan, Solyman's general, 189. defends the marſhal de Valier againſt the proſecution of the grand maſter, 137. is appointed to return with the French king's envoy,

envoy, and carry the letter drawn up by the council in favour of his embaſſador, 140, ii. diſcovers the corrupt dealing of the grand maſter againſt le Valier and the French embaſſador, 140, 141, ii. lays the matter before the council, 142, ii. receives the letter in favour of d'Aramon, 143, ii. publiſhes a memorial at Malta to the diſcredit of the grand maſter, 144.

NORADIN, made ſultan of Aleppo, 37. commits great ravages in the principality of Antioch, 41. takes the city of Paneas, and gains a victory over the king of Jeruſalem, 51. reſtores Sannar to his dignity of ſultan of Egypt, 58.

NORMAN lords, ſettle themſelves in the lower Italy, 14.

NUNS HOSPITALLERS, a monaſtery founded for 'em at Sixenne in the kingdom of Arragon, 93. their manner of life, 94. had conſiderable houſes at Florence, Piſa, and Verona, 113.

O

OCTAVIAN, cardinal, lays claim to the popedom under the title of Victor III. 54.

ODO DE S. AMAND, grand maſter of the templars, protects du Meſnil, 69. is taken priſoner by the infidels, 70. refuſes to be ranſom'd, 71.

ODO DE PINS, choſen grand maſter of the order of S. John, 184.

OMADEDDIN ZENGHI, ſultan of Moſul and Aleppo, ſeizes upon the territories of Edeſſa, 37. is aſſaſſinated in his tent by his own ſervants, 37.

OMAR and Otman, the apoſtles and ſucceſſors of Mahomet, 5.

ORCHANES, ſon and ſucceſſor to Ottoman, attempts the recovery of Rhodes, 246. is beaten at ſea, 247. his future conqueſts, 264.

ORTOGULE, ſon to Bajazet, defends Sebaſte againſt Tamerlane, 268. is taken priſoner and beheaded, 299.

OSMAN or Ottoman, the founder of the Turkiſh empire, reſolves to drive the knights hoſpitallers out of the iſle of Rhodes, 204. the original of his family, ib. takes whole towns and provinces from the Greeks, 205.

OTHO IV. emperor of Germany, in conjunction with the other princes of Europe, makes war upon France, 118. is defeated by Philip II. 120. abdicates the empire, 121.

P

PAMIERS, the biſhop of, his inſolent behaviour at the French court, 188.

PANEAS, a city of Phœnicia, ſack'd and burnt by ſultan Noradin, 51.

PARISOT DE LA VALETTE, made general of the gallies of Malta, 167, ii. grows terrible to the Corſairs of Barbary, 168, ii.

PASCAL II. pope, confirms the Inſtitution of the order of S. John of Jeruſalem, 20.

PAUL SIMEONI, a knight of Malta, and priſoner in Tunis, ſeizes upon the caſtle, and holds it out againſt Barbaroſſa, 71, ii. gives notice to the emperor, who advances forward, and is met by Simeoni, at the head of ſix thouſand ſlaves, 72, ii. made general of the gallies of the order, and order'd to march to the ſiege of Suſa, 81, ii.

PETER, the hermit, forms the project of reſcuing the Holy Land out of the hands of the infidels, 9. adviſes with Simeon the Greek patriarch about the execution of his Scheme, ib. 10. applies to pope Urban II. 11. preaches the cruſade thro' all Europe, and with wonderful ſucceſs, ib.

PETRUS BLESENSIS, oppoſes the raiſing a tax upon the clergy for the defence of the Holy Land, 92.

PETER DE COURTENAY, made emperor of Conſtantinople, and treacherouſly murder'd, 145.

PETER DE VILLEBRIDE, choſen grand maſter of the order of S. John, 151.

PETER DE BEAUJEU, grand maſter of the templars, elected general of the Chriſtians in the ſiege of Acre, 171.

PETER DE CORNILLAN, or Cormelian, elected grand maſter of the knights of Rhodes, 263. makes new regulations in the order, 264. his death, 266.

PETER ROGER, cardinal de Beaufort, choſen pope, and takes the title of Gregory XI. 270. refuſes to accept the abdication of Raimond Berenger, grand maſter of the knights of Rhodes, 270. ſummons an aſſembly of the principal commanders at Avignon, 271.

PETER DE LUSIGNAN, acts the tyrant in Cyprus, and is ſlain by his ſubjects, 307.

PETER RAIMOND ZACOSTA, elected grand maſter of the knights of Rhodes, 349. raiſes a new fort in Rhodes, for the defence of the fort and city, 351. aſſiſts the prince of Leſbos againſt the Turks, ib. ſummons a chapter of the order to meet at Rhodes, 353. is accuſed to pope Nicholas V. and repairs to Rome to enter upon his vindication, ib. his death, 354.

PETER D'AUBUSSON, grand prior of Auvergne, elected grand maſter of Rhodes, 361. his behaviour towards the Venetian envoy, 362. obtains the liberty of the captive knights of his order from the lieutenant of the governor of Lycia, ib. 363. the uſefulneſs of his ſpies, ib. calls a general chapter for the defence of Rhodes, ib. obtains a ſupply from the ſeveral courts of Europe, 364. ſeems to comply with the propoſals of a peace, offer'd him by Mahomet II. 365. procures a ſuſpenſion of arms from the grand ſeignior,

ſeignior, 366. enters into a treaty with the ſultan of Egypt, ib. makes peace with the king of Tunis, 367. is inveſted with an abſolute command of the forces, and adminiſtration of the revenue of the order, ib. his regulations, ib. 368. ſeveral perſons of quality come over to his aſſiſtance from divers parts of Europe, 368. admits the German Engineer, whom the baſha had ſent as a ſpy, into the town of Rhodes, and ſets a ſtrict guard over him, 372, 373. bravely defends the city againſt the infidels, ib. &c. a deſign form'd to poiſon him, 376. drives the Turks in perſon from the poſt they had gain'd upon the walls, 382. returns publick thanks to God for the victory he had won, 383. grants his protection to Zizim, the brother of Bajazet, 389. his wiſdom and circumſpection with reference to the Ottoman princes, 390. prevails upon Zizim to depart for France, 391. ſends embaſſadors to Bajazet to treat of a peace, ib. the treaty agreed to, and ſign'd, 392. is charg'd with breach of faith to Zizim, 396. ſollicited by the European princes to put Zizim at the head of their forces, and make war upon Bajazet, 397. complies with the pope's demand of ſending Zizim to Rome, 397. is ſenſibly afflicted at the death of Zizim, 402. invited by the king of France to attempt the conqueſt of Conſtantinople in conjunction with himſelf, 403. adviſes him to decline the project, ib. 404. regulates the conſtitution of his ſtate and the manners of his knights, 407. his death and character, 408.

PETER DU PONT, choſen grand maſter of Malta, 61, ii. arrives in the iſland, 66, ii. ſollicits the emperor to ſend an army into Africk to put a ſtop to the progreſs of Barbaroſſa, 66, ii. the emperor reſolving to march thither in perſon, the grand maſter fits out a fleet for his aſſiſtance, 67, ii. congratulates the emperor upon the ſucceſs of his arms, and dyes, 73, ii.

PETER DE MONTE, choſen grand maſter of Malta, 48, iii. his firſt care is to pay due honours to the funeral of his predeceſſor, ib.

PHILEBERT DE NAILLAC, choſen grand maſter of the knights of Rhodes, 289. enters into a league againſt the Turks, ib. 291. buys the Morea of Thomas Palæologus for the order of S. John, 296. refuſes to court the favour of Tamerlane, great cham of Tartary, 301. takes a caſtle built upon the ruins of Halicarnaſſus, and fortifies it, 305, &c. defends all the Chriſtian ſtates in the eaſt, and particularly the iſle of Cyprus, 306. makes peace between the king of Cyprus and the Genoeſe, 309, 310. ravages the coaſts of the Saracens, 311, 312. makes peace with the ſultan, 313. propoſes a ſcheme for the uniting of all Chriſtian princes againſt the Turks, 315. nominated the pope's embaſſador to mediate a peace between the kings of France and England, 316. endeavours to efface the leaſt footſteps of the ſchiſm, 320. acknowledged as grand maſter by the whole order, ib. and 321. takes a journey to Florence to confer with the pope about uniting all the princes of Europe in a league againſt Bajazet's ſons, 321. calls an aſſembly to ſettle the affairs of the order, ib. returns to Rhodes, ib. opens a general chapter, ſends the records of it to the pope, and procures his holineſs's confirmation, 322. his death, ib.

PHILIP II. king of France, inclined to engage in the holy war, 78. takes up the croſs, 91. arrives at the ſiege of Acre, 97. leaves Paleſtine, 100. is victorious againſt the emperor Otho IV. 118, &c. his death, and legacies for the defence of the Holy Land, 130.

PHILIP, count of Namur, reſigns the dignity of emperor of Conſtantinople to Robert his younger brother, 145.

PHILIP III. king of France, puts on the croſs, 166.

PHILIP THE FAIR, king of France, refuſes to put on the croſs, 177, 188. procures the election of Bertrand de Got, archbiſhop of Bourdeaux, to the popedom, 190, &c. reſolves to ſuppreſs the order of templars, 207. gives private orders to ſeize upon the grand maſter and all the templars within his dominions, 208.

PHILIP II. king of Spain, marries Mary queen of England, 160, ii. orders the viceroy of Sicily to keep a watchful eye upon Leo Strozzi the prior of Capua, 166, ii. makes the order of Malta a preſent of the two gallies well provided, 169, ii. fits out a fleet for the recovery of Tripoli, 175, ii. ſends out a fleet under the command of Don Garſia de Toledo againſt Gomera, who takes the town in a few days, which the year before had held out againſt all the forces of Spain, 188, ii. orders Don Garſia to confer with the grand maſter of Malta about the armament that was preparing in the Turkiſh Ports, 193, ii.

PILGRIMS, freely entertain'd in the houſe of S. John at Jeruſalem, 17, 20.

PISA, a ſynod, call'd there to determine the difference between the two contending popes Benedict XIII. and Gregory XII. 314. they elect the cardinal of Milan, who takes the name of Alexander V. 315.

POMPEIO COLONNA, cardinal, a candidate for the popedom, 11, ii. reſigns his pretenſions to Julio de Medicis, 12, ii.

POMPEIO Colonna, commodore, advances with a ſmall ſuccour before Malta, and returns to Sicily without landing his men, 10, iii.

POOL, cardinal, a pretender to queen Mary, 158, ii. adviſes the queen to a reſtitution of the church lands, 160, ii.

PREJAN DE BIDOUX, governor of Lango, deſires leave to come to Rhodes, and ſerve the order in the ſiege, 438. is joyfully receiv'd by the grand maſter, ib. ſhot thro' the neck by a muſket ball, but is happily cur'd, 449.

R

RAIMOND OF S. GILES, count of Thouloufe, the firſt lord who took the croſs, 12. is victorious in the ſiege of Jeruſalem, 18.

RAIMOND DUPUY, ſucceeds Gerard in the Government of the hoſpital of S. John of Jeruſalem, 22. draws up a body of ſtatutes for the order, ib. engages the fraternity to reſume their arms, but upon condition to employ them only againſt the infidels, 23. ſent into Spain, to demand the execution of king Alphonſus's will, 36. the effect of his negotiation, ib. has the title of grand maſter, 36, dyes, 52.

RAIMOND BERENGER, count of Barcelona, enters into the order of the templars, 34.

RAIMOND BERENGER, ſon to the templar, marries the heir of the countrey, and is created prince of Arragon, 35.

RAIMOND, count of Antioch, defeated by ſultan Noradin, 41.

RAIMOND III. count of Tripoli, is made regent of Jeruſalem, 70. aſpires to the ſucceſſion of the kingdom of Jeruſalem, 75. is again conſtituted regent, 77. deprived of his office, 80. enters into a league with Saladin, and privately turns Mahometan, 81. is ſeemingly reconcil'd to the king of Jeruſalem, 82. betrays him, ib. 83, 84. dyes diſtracted, 90.

RAIMOND, count of Thouloufe, and marquiſs of Provence, excommunicated and deprived of his dominions, upon ſuſpicion of favouring the Albigenſes, 129. takes the habit and croſs of the hoſpitallers, ib. his death, 130.

RAIMOND, count of Tripoli, lays claim to the dominions of Antioch, 115. ſeizes upon ſeveral caſtles belonging to the military orders, 131. excommunicated by the pope, 132. reſtores all he had uſurped, ib.

RAIMOND BERENGER, choſen grand maſter of the knights of Rhodes, 269. in concert with the king of Cyprus, burns the ſhips of the Egyptian Corſairs in the ports of Alexandria, enters the town, and carries off a conſiderable booty, 269. deſires to abdicate his dignity, 270. cauſes new regulations to be made and authorized by the pope's authority, 271. his death, ib.

RAMIREZ, don, choſen king of Navarre,

RED-CROSS, the diſtinguiſhing mark of the Militia, engaged in the croiſade, 12.

RELIGION, ſuffers upon the declenſion of the empire, 2.

RENAUD, lord of Margat, makes a grant to the hoſpitallers of a caſtle on the confines of Judæa, 72.

RHODES, its ſeveral revolutions, 194. its deſcription and ſituation, 200, 371. infeſted by a ſerpent, which was ſlain by Dieu-donné de Gozon, 250, &c. formerly call'd Ophiuſa, from the number of ſerpents that inhabited it, 252. vaſt miſchiefs wrought by a ſerpent there in the time of Attilius Regulus, 252, 253, the city beſieged by the ſultan of Egypt, 332. the ſiege raiſed, ib. the port blocked up, and the town threaten'd with a ſiege by the Venetians, 348. beſieged by the Turkiſh baſha, 372, &c. factions raiſed in the town, but repreſſed by the conduct of the grand maſter, 379, 380. a conference propoſed by the baſha to the grand maſter and accepted, 380. the Turks enter the town, 381. and are repulſed by the Chriſtians, 382. the ſiege raiſed, ib. furniſh'd with proviſions by the grand maſter in expectation of a ſiege by Solyman, 430, &c. its deſcription at the time Solyman laid ſiege to it, 434, &c. the Turkiſh fleet advance before it, 438, 439. and lay ſiege to it, 439. a Turkiſh woman and ſlave forms a deſign to ſet fire to the town, 440. is diſcover'd and executed, 441. a breach made in the walls, 444. the Turks enter the town, and are repulſed, 447. the Chriſtian women aſſiſt in its defence, 451. a mutiny raiſed in the town, 461, &c. ſurrender'd, 465.

RICHARD I. king of England, undertakes an expedition to the Holy Land, 92. arrives in Sicily, and is promiſed ſucceſs by the Abbe Joachim a pretended prophet, 95. conquers Cyprus, 98. arrives at the Chriſtian camp before Acre, ib. makes a truce with the infidels, 100.

RICHARD, earl of Cornwall, arrives in Paleſtine at the head of a cruſade, and procures an advantageous truce from the infidels, 147. gives a thouſand pound towards the defence of the Holy Land, 153.

RINALDO, duke of Spoleto, impower'd by the emperor Frederick II. to make up the differences between him and pope Gregory IX. 135. is refuſed an audience, and makes war upon the pope's ſubjects, 136.

ROBERT, duke of Normandy, engages in the holy war, 12.

ROBERT, count of Flanders, takes the croſs, 12.

ROBERT, younger ſon to the late emperor Peter of Conſtantinople, inveſted in the imperial dignity, 145. is deſpiſed by his ſubjects, 146. takes ſhipping for Italy, and dyes of grief, ib.

ROBERT, count of Artois, attends his brother Louis IX. in his expedition to the Holy Land, 154. gains a victory over the Saracens, 158. purſuing it too far, is defeated and ſlain, 159.

ROBERT DE JULLIAC, grand prior of France, elected grand maſter by the knights of Rhodes, 271. makes new regulations in the order, ib. compounds the diviſions between the knights of the convent and the council, 272. at the pope's inſtigation determines to unite Smyrna to the poſſeſſions of the order, 272. his death, 273.

ROBERT OF GENEVA, cardinal, elected pope in oppoſition to Urban VI. under the name of Clement VII. 285.

RODOLPH, emperor of Germany, takes up the croſs, 166.

ROGER, a prince of the ſame family, appointed guardian to Bohemund II. in the principality of Antioch, 25. is defeated and ſlain by the infidels, 26.

ROGER, king of Sicily, attempts to make himſelf maſter of Antioch, 32.

ROGER DU PINS, elected grand maſter by the knights of Rhodes, 266. is forced to connive at the pope's abuſes, 268. but ſtrives to prevent the like innovations for the future, ib. dyes, 269.

ROLAND, cardinal, advanced to the ſee of Rome, under the title of Alexander III. 53. his election conteſted, 54. own'd by the king of Jeruſalem, 55.

ROME, govern'd by a magiſtrate, who took the title of ſenator, 279.

ROMEGAS, a knight of Malta, his exploits at ſea. 185, ii. 189, ii.

RUPIN, made prince of the leſſer Armenia, in the room of Melier, 74, 104.

RUPIN, the younger, declared preſumptive heir to Bohemund III. prince of Antioch, 114, 115. obtains the aſſiſtance of the hoſpitallers by the mediation of the pope, 116.

S

SAFADINE, brother to Saladine, cuts off his nephews, and obtains the empire of the infidels, 101. propoſes to prolong the truce between the infidels and the Chriſtians, 114. his death, 126. the ſucceſſion of his ſons, ib.

SALADINE, a Mahometan prince, bravely defends the city of Alexandria, 59. knighted by Humfrey de Thoron, conſtable of Jeruſalem, ib. ſucceeds his uncle Siracon in the command of Noradin's troops, 65. marries the dowager of Noradin, and makes war upon his ſon, ib. lays ſiege to the caſtle of Dacon in Idumea, 66. makes an incurſion into Paleſtine, and is obliged to retire with diſgrace, 70. draws the Chriſtians into an ambuſh, and cuts off the greateſt part of their army, ib. over-runs the countrey, but is at laſt prevail'd on to agree to a truce, 69. contrives a means of breaking the agreement, 75. comes to an open rupture, and commits great ravages in Paleſtine, 76. grants a new truce, 77. makes a private league with the count of Tripoli, 81. enters Paleſtine with an army, and lays ſiege to Acre, 82. ſits down before Tiberias, and carries it, 83. gains a complete victory over the Chriſtians, and takes the king of Jeruſalem priſoner, 84. ſtrikes off the head of Renaud de Chatillon with his own hand, 85. lays ſiege to Jeruſalem, and carries it by capitulation, 86, 87. beſieges Tyre, but without ſucceſs, 89. turns his arms againſt the principality of Antioch, 90. his death, 100.

SALECH, ſon of Camel, ſultan of Egypt, refuſes to accept a ranſom for the captive hoſpitallers and templars, 153, 154.

SALGUEZ, his family held in ſingular veneration by the Turcomanni, 8.

SANCHA, queen of Arragon, founds a Monaſtery for nuns hoſpitallers at Sixenne, 93, retires thither her ſelf, 94.

SANGUESSE, the chevalier, appointed governour of Tripoli, 39, ii. confirm'd in his employment by the grand maſter of Malta, 44, ii. grants a peace to the neighbouring infidels, aud opens a free trade, 45, ii.

SANNAR, caliph of Egypt, ravages the countrey of Judæa, 56. diſpoſſeſs'd of his dignity, 58. reinſtated by Noradin, ib. enters into a league with the king of Jeruſalem, 59. calls in Noradin to his aſſiſtance againſt the Chriſtians who invaded Egypt, 63. is aſſaſſinated by order of Siracon the general of Noradin's army, 64.

SCANDERBEG, ſon to John Caſtriot king of Albania, puts a ſtop to the conqueſts of Amurath II. 323. his education, 335, 336. makes himſelf maſter of Albania, 336. is victorious againſt Amurath, 337.

SELIM, youngeſt ſon to Bajazet II. cauſes his father to be poiſon'd, and aſcends the throne, 419. procures his two brothers, with their wives and children, to be ſtrangled, ib. declares war againſt Iſmael king of Perſia, defeats him, and takes the city of Tauris, ib. advances againſt the ſultan Gauri, and deſtroys the empire of the Mamelukes, ib. makes great preparations againſt Rhodes, ib. his death, 420.

SIGISMUND, king of Hungary, applies to the Pope for ſuccours againſt Bajazet, 290. a league form'd in his favour, 291. undertakes the ſiege of Nicopolis, 292. is defeated by the Turks, 295.

SIMEON, the Greek patriarch, lays open the miſery and weakneſs of the Grecian empire, 9, 10.

SIMIANE, the chevalier de, his behaviour at the ſiege of Malta, death and character, 15, iii.

SINAN, Solyman's general, lands the Turkiſh fleet in Malta, 116, ii. declines the ſiege of the caſtle of S. Angelo, but is prevail'd on by Dragut to march againſt the town of Malta, 117, ii. lays aſide his deſign of beſieging it, 120, ii. bends all his endeavours againſt Tripoli, 121, ii.

gives leave to his ſoldiers to ravage the iſle of Goza, ib. takes the governour and all the inhabitants priſoners, 122, ii. demoliſhes the caſtle, and marches directly towards Tripoli, 123, ii. ſummons the town to a ſurrender, 124, ii. lays ſiege to it, 125, ii. is adviſed to change his batteries by a renegado within the town, 126, ii. makes a breach in the wall, ib. enters into a treaty of capitulation with the governour, 129, ii. breaks the terms agreed on, and uſes the governour roughly, 130, ii. becomes maſter of the town, 132, &c. ii. lays the knights in irons, who are ranſom'd by d'Aramon the French embaſſador, 133, ii.

SIRACON, chief captain to Noradin, reſtores Sannar to the ſultanſhip of Egypt, 58. marches againſt Amaury king of Jeruſalem, 63. cauſes Sannar to be aſſaſſinated in his camp, 64. dyes, 65.

SMYRNA, beſieged by Tamerlane, and defended by the knights of Rhodes, 301. an account of the ſiege by Cherefeddin Ali, a contemporary hiſtorian, 302. taken, 304.

SOLIMAN DE ROVENIDDIN, ſultan of Iconium, lays waſte Armenia, 115.

SOLYMAN I. eldeſt ſon of Orchanes, his conqueſts, 273.

SOLYMAN II. ſon to Selim, ſucceeds him in the throne, 420. ſends a ſtrong army againſt Gazelles governour of Syria, who had revolted upon the death of Selim, ib. is victorious over him, 421. determines to make war upon the knights of Rhodes, 421. his character, ib. lays ſiege to Belgrade, 422. and takes it, 425. different opinions concerning the war with Rhodes, ib. which however is at laſt reſolved on, 426. his letters to Villiers de l'Iſle Adam, grand maſter of Rhodes, 426, &c. ſends a declaration of war to the grand maſter, 437. comes in perſon to the ſiege of Rhodes, and puts a ſtop to the murmurings of the janizaries, 441. carries on the ſiege with vigour, 442, &c. holds a council of war, and agrees to a general aſſault, 449, 450. not meeting with ſucceſs, orders his general to be ſlain, but at length yields to the interceſſion of his friends, and pardons him, 453. ſeems reſolved to raiſe the ſiege, but by a letter from d'Amaral is encouraged to continue it, ib. ſhuts himſelf up for ſome days in his tent, without ſuffering any of his officers to come near him, through vexation at his loſſes, 460. ſummons the place to ſurrender, with offers of advantageous conditions, 463. rejects the propoſition of a truce, and fires again upon the town, 464, &c. makes himſelf maſter of it by capitulation, 465, 466, i. treats the grand maſter with reſpect, 467, i. obliges the Latin biſhop to leave the iſland, 3, ii. ſeizes upon Tunis, and is acknowledged as their ſovereign, 65, ii. declares war againſt the Venetians, 84, ii. ſuccours Buda, 85, ii. orders all the Corſairs of his dominions to ſubmit to Dragut, 99, ii. makes great preparations againſt the knights of Malta, 109. ii. gives orders to his general Sinan to do nothing without the advice of Dragut, 115, ii. ſends ſtrict orders to all the ports of the Archipelago, to fit out their ſhips and gallies for the defence of Tripoli, 177, ii. ſwears by his head to extirpate the order of Malta, 190, ii. calls a council on horſeback to debate upon the affair, 191, ii. declares for the enterprize of Malta, 192, ii. ſends orders for the equipping all the ſhips and gallies in his ports fit for ſervice, ib. vows revenge upon the knights of Malta for the defeat of his armies, and threatens to march againſt 'em in perſon, 38, iii. turns his arms againſt Hungary, and ends his days at the ſiege of Sigeth, 41, iii.

SOURDAIN, nephew to Raimond, count of Tholouſe, takes Tripoli in Syria, 22.

STEPHEN, count of Blois takes the croſs, 12.

SUABIA, Philip duke of, leads the German troops to the ſiege of Acre, upon the the death of his father the emperor Frederick, 96. marries Irene, ſiſter to Alexis Comnenus, 109.

SUETA, the caſtle of, beſieged by ſultan Noradin, 51.

SUSA, beſieged by the Marquis of Terra Nova, 81.

T

TAMERLANE, great cham of Tartary, ſollicited by the emperor Manuel to oppoſe the incurſions of Bajazet, 296. advances againſt him, as he was beſieging Conſtantinople, 297. his original, ib. attacks Sebaſte, and carries it by ſtorm, 298. comes to an engagement with Bajazet, defeats his army, and takes him priſoner, 299, 300. the manner of his treatment, 300, 301. makes war upon the knights of Rhodes, and lays ſiege to Smyrna, 301. and takes it, 304. his retirement into his own countrey and death, 305.

TANCRED DE HAUTEVILLE, a Norman lord, ſettles in Italy, 14.

TEMPLARS, the inſtitution of their order, 29, 30. are very ſerviceable in their defence of pilgrims, ib. their behaviour at the ſiege of Aſcalon, 44. their manner of life, 49. ſuffer in their reputation by countenancing an act of barbarity, 68. come to a miſunderſtanding with the hoſpitallers, 73. their courage at the time of death, 84. their power, 105. diſagree with the hoſpitallers, 106. their differences compoſed by pope Innocent, 107. oppoſe the prolongation of a truce with the infidels, 114. are in a ſtate of war with the hoſpitallers, 147. call in the ſultans of Damaſcus and Edeſſa to their aſſiſtance againſt the Coraſmins, and are defeated, 149. attempt to redeem their captive brethren from the hands of the Saracens, but without ſucceſs, 153. their conſtancy under the perſecution of Bendocdar, 163. forced to leave the Holy Land, 173. obtain the Town of Limiſſo from the king of Cyprus for a place of retreat,

retreat, 174. charged with moſt grievous crimes, 207. and proſecuted, 208, &c. their order diſſolv'd and ſuppreſs'd, 216. their poſſeſſions ſettled upon the order of S. John, 220.

TERRA NOVA, the marquis of, lays ſiege to Suſa, 81, ii. deceived by a renegado, and obliged to raiſe the ſiege, ib. 82, ii.

TEUTONICK order of S. Mary of Jeruſalem, their inſtitution, 96, 97. they gain a ſettlement in Pruſſia, 139. return into Europe, 173.

THEODORE, king of the Armenians, makes an alliance with the Latin princes, 67.

THEODORICK, prior of the hoſpitallers of Clerkenwel in London, ſets out with an army for the Holy Land, 140.

THIBAUD V. king of Navarre, undertakes an expedition into the Holy Land at the head of a cruſade, and makes a truce with the infidels, 147.

THIERRI, grand preceptor of the templars, writes a circular letter to the brothers of his order, after the battel of Tiberias, 86. gives an account of the conqueſt of Jeruſalem by Saladine to Henry king of England, 87.

THOMAS, the lawful ſucceſſor in the kingdom of the Armenians, is expell'd the countrey, 67.

THOMAS PALAEOLOGUS, deſpot of Morea, ſells his dominions to the order of S. John, 196. gives back part of the price, and returns to Sparta, 197.

THOMAS BOSIO, nominated biſhop of Malta by the emperor, and is oppoſed by pope Clement VIII. 51, 52, ii. obtains a bull for his promotion of pope Paul III. 53, ii.

THORON, Humph. de, conſtable of Jeruſalem, confers the order of knighthood upon Saladine, 59. raiſes the ſiege of Arach, 68.

TIBERIAS, beſieged and carried by Saladine, 83.

TOGRULBEG, general of the Turcomanni, his character and conqueſts, 8, 9.

TRIPOLI deſcrib'd, 19, ii. beſieged by the Turks, 125, ii.

TURCOMANNI, conquer Paleſtine, and commit great ravages, 8, 9.

TURCOPOLIER, the title, whence derived, 83.

TYRE, erected into an archbiſhoprick, 28.

V

VARACIUS, conſtituted emperor of the Greeks, 144. his power and abilities, 146.

UBALDINA, an hoſpital nun, her piety and virtues, 113.

VELASQUEZ, Diego, defends Calatrava againſt the Moors, 50.

VITRI, James de, biſhop of Acre, to be regarded as an original hiſtorian, 19.

VILLIERS DE L'ISLE-ADAM, commands the veſſels of the order of Rhodes againſt the fleet of the ſultan of Egypt, 415. gains a victory over 'em, ib. 416. elected grand maſter, 423. ſets out for Rhodes, and after the danger of being deſtroy'd by fire and tempeſt, lands ſafe at Syracuſe, 424. arrives at Rhodes, 425. anſwers the grand ſeignior's letters with ſpirit and reſolution, 427, &c. prepares for the defence of Rhodes againſt the attacks of Solyman, 428, 429. cauſes the Italian knights to be deprived of the habit by the council for their deſertion and diſobedience, 432. receives 'em into favour upon their ſubmiſſion, ib. ſollicits the pope and the princes of Chriſtendom to ſend him ſuccours, ib. 433. makes freſh preparations againſt the ſiege, 433. diſtributes the charge of the principal parts of the town to his chief officers, 435. orders the knights to prepare for the ſiege by faſting and prayer, 438. his vigilance in the defence, 439, &c. ſupplies the ſoldiers with powder in an extraordinary manner, 445. drives the Turks from the breach, as they were entring the town, 447. diſcovers the treaſon of the Jewiſh Phyſician, who had ſettled at Rhodes as a Spy for the Turks, 449. viſits all the quarters of the town, and exhorts them to a vigorous defence, 450. drives the Turks from the baſtion they had ſeized, 452, 453. never ſtirs from the intrenchment on the Spaniſh baſtion for four and thirty days, nor ſleeps, except on a matraſs, 455. is diſappointed of the ſuccours he expected from the princes of Europe, 458, &c. drives back the Turks from the town in diſorder, 460. agrees to a negotiation with the enemy, 463. ſurrenders the town upon capitulation, 465, 466. is viſited by the grand ſeignior, 467. quits Rhodes, 468, i. 1, 2, ii. arrives at Candia with the diſtreſſed remains of the order, 2, ii. repairs his ſhips, and deſigns for Italy, 3, ii. notifies his purpoſe to the pope by an embaſſador, 4, ii. obtains a bull to oblige all the knights of the order to continue in a body under his authority, 5, ii. arrives at Gallipoli in the territories of Naples, ib. and at laſt in the port of Meſſina, where he meets the poor remains of the order, ib. is complimented by the viceroy of Sicily, and offer'd the town of Meſſina for a retreat, 6, ii. his firſt care is to provide for the ſick and wounded, whom he attends upon in perſon, ib. makes a ſevere enquiry into the negligence of the knights who were employ'd to procure aid from Europe, ib. calls a general aſſembly of the order, lays before 'em the pope's bull, and adviſes 'em to continue together, 8, ii. a plague breaking out at Meſſina, he reimbarks with his knights, and lands his colony in the gulph of Baiæ, 9, ii. diſpatches the chevalier de Chevriere to Rome to deſire an audience of the pope, ib. comes to Rome, and is kindly received by the pope, 10, ii. upon the death of pope Adrian, entruſted with the guard of the conclave, 11, ii. expreſſes his ſatisfaction in the election of pope Clement VII. 12, ii. relates the ſtory of the ſiege of Rhodes before the pope and cardinals in a full conſiſtory, and draws tears from the aſſembly, 13, ii. has the firſt

place on the right hand of the throne given him by the pope, with the privilege of walking immediately before his holineſs in all proceſſions, ib. lays before his holineſs the different propoſals made him with reference to the ſettlement of his order, and by his advice determines upon the iſlands of Malta and Goza, 14, ii. ſends an embaſſador to the emperor to deſire thoſe iſlands from him, ib. declines the project upon the proſpect of recovering Rhodes, 15, ii. conſults with certain Rhodian merchants upon the undertaking, 17, ii. ſends the commander Boſio to Rhodes to facilitate the enterprize, ib. reſolves to viſit the emperor in perſon, with a view to obtain of him the iſles of Malta and Goza and the town of Tripoli with the more eaſe for the order, 21, ii. lays before his imperial majeſty an account of the ſiege and ſurrender of Rhodes, and obtains a promiſe of the iſle of Malta for the ſettlement of the knights, 23, ii. makes a viſit to Francis I. king of France, then priſoner at Madrid, 23, ii. acts as a mediator between the emperor and the king of France, 24, ii. and procures a peace, ib. 25, ii. takes his leave of the emperor, with freſh aſſurances of the iſland of Malta, 25, ii. puts an end to the diſpute relating to the priory of Crato, ib. ſets out for England, and is graciouſly received by Henry VIII. 27, ii. returns into Italy, 29, ii. is ſenſibly afflicted at the pope's impriſonment, 30, ii. has his heart fix'd upon the recovery of Rhodes, and writes to the Greek metropolitan Euthymius about the method of executing his deſign, 32, ii. calls a general chapter, and exhorts them to be unanimous in the choice of a port for the future reſidence of the order, 33, ii. ſollicits the pope to uſe his credit with the emperor for ſettling the order in Malta, upon eaſier conditions than his highneſs demanded, 36, ii. the emperor yields to the pope's entreaties, and grants the iſles of Malta and Goza, and the town of Tripoli, as a fief-noble to the order, 37, ii. the grand maſter carries on the correſpondence of Modon, 38, ii. procures a confirmation of the emperor's grant from the pope, ib. meets with new difficulties in relation to the exportation of corn out of Sicily, and the coining of money, 39, ii. gets over theſe two articles by the pope's mediation, 41, ii. arrives with his knights in the great port of Malta, and makes his firſt ſettlement in the caſtle of S. Angelo, 42, ii. builds houſes for the knights, 43, ii. viſits Goza and Tripoli, 44, ii. endeavours to ſurprize Modon, 46, ii. the deſign miſcarries, 50, ii. turns all his thoughts upon the fortification of Malta, 51, ii. orders the inhabitants to take up arms, to repel the expected invaſion of Barbaroſſa, captain of the Barbarian corſairs, 56, ii. calls a general chapter, and makes divers regulations for the benefit of the order, ib. 57, ii. proſecutes the authors of a tumult amongſt his knights, 59, ii. dyes of grief, 61, ii. his monumental inſcription, ib.

URBAN II. pope, approves the cruſade, 11. calls together the councils of Placentia and Clermont, and exhorts them to the undertaking, ib. and 12.

URBAN V. pope, his declaration upon his death bed, 270.

URBAN VI. pope, the manner of his election, 283, 284.

USSUM-CASSAN, king of Perſia, enters into a league with the princes of Europe againſt Mahomet II. 357, 358. is ſollicited by Mahomet to abandon his new allies, 358.

W

WILLIAM, biſhop of Acre, ſent into Europe to ſollicit a new cruſade, 66.

WILLIAM, archbiſhop of Tyre, diſpatch'd into the weſt, to procure aid againſt the infidels, 90. prevails by his rhetorick, 91.

WILLIAM I. count of Holland, arrives in the Holy Land with a conſiderable fleet of Germans, Frieſlanders and Dutch, 125.

WILLIAM DE CHATEAUNEUF, elected grand maſter of the order of S. John, 160. his care in the diſcharge of his office, 161. his death, 162.

WILLIAM DE VILLARET, choſen grand maſter of the order of S. John, 184. gives the habit and croſs of the order to ſeveral young ladies of quality, 185. dyes, 194.

Z

ZABULON, the biſhop of, diſpatch'd into Europe to ſollicit a ſecond cruſade, 38.

ZARA inveſted and taken, 109.

ZATH, king of Valentia, ſurrenders the countrey to the king of Arragon, 141.

ZIZIM, ſon to Mahomet II. upon his father's death lays claim to the crown, 383. ſeizes upon part of his dominions, and waits the coming up of his brother's forces to oppoſe him, 384. is defeated by Achmet, the general of Bajazet's army, 385. flies into Egypt, ib. retires from thence, and throws himſelf into the protection of the Caramanian prince of Cilicia, ib. is defeated in a ſecond battel, 387. hardly eſcapes, 388. takes refuge in Rhodes, 389. is kindly received by the grand maſter and the knights, ib. departs thence for France, at the inſtance of the grand maſter, 391. arrives ſafe on the coaſts of Provence, 394. is refuſed an interview with the king of France, 395. receives the news of the grand maſter's treaty with Bajazet with the higheſt expreſſions of grief and paſſion, 396. is ſent to Rome, 393. and favourably received by pope Innocent VIII. 399. the king of France intereſts himſelf in his affairs, ib. oppreſſed with a new ſeries of calamities upon Innocent's death, and impriſon'd in the caſtle of S. Angelo, 400. poiſon'd by order of pope Alexander VI. 402.

FINIS.

An EXPLANATION of the References in the PLAN of MALTA, with a Chronological Account of the Progreſs of its FORTIFICATIONS.

The CITY LA VALETTE.

THAT city was founded on the 18th of March, 1566. by the Grand Maſter John Pariſot de la Valette; and by a decree of the council was call'd by his name. In 1640 they added to it four counter-guards 27. by the advice of the Marquis de S. Ange, Engineer General to the Grand Duke of Tuſcany.

1 The Royal Gate.
2 S. John's Baſtion, or the poſt of Provence.
3 S. Michael's Baſtion, or the poſt of Auvergne.
4 S. Andrew's Baſtion, or the poſt of Arragon.
5 Marſa-Muſſiete's Gate.
6 Salvador's Baſtion.
7 The poſt of Germany.
8 Rampart of the French.
9 The poſt of Vendôme.
10 The Jews Poſtern.
11 S. Gregory's Baſtion.
12 S. Toſcana's Courtain.
13 The Conception's Baſtion.
14 S. Scolaſtica's Courtain.
15 S. John's Baſtion.
16 S. Ubaldeſca's Courtain.
17 S. Lazarus's Platform.
18 The Infirmary's Courtain.
19 Baſtion and Poſt of Caſtille.
20 S. . . . . Courtain.
21 The Harbour or Sea Gate.
22 Courtain of . . . . .
23 The Italian Baſtion and Gate.
24 S. James's Baſtion, or Poſt of France.
25 Cavalier of S . . . .
26 Cavalier of S . . . . .
27 Marquis S. Ange's Counter-guard.
28 Half-moon of the Royal Gate.
29 Poſterns in the ditches.
30 Communication intended.
31 Cover'd ways to be made up.

The FLORIANNA.

The fortifications of this incloſure were begun in the year 1665, under the Magiſtery of the Grand Maſter Laſcaris, and it took its name from Colonel Floriany, an Italian Engineer, who form'd the deſign of it, but it remain'd very imperfect till the year 1715. It was finiſh'd under the Magiſtery of D. Raimond de Perellos, according to the draught of the Chevalier de Tigné.

32 S. Philip's Baſtion.
33 S. James's Baſtion.
34 S. Denis's Baſtion.
35 S. Luke's Baſtions unfiniſhed.
36 An intrenchment intended.
37 S. Francis's Half-moon.
38 Our Lady's Half-moon.
39 A falſe-bray.
40 New works to prevent the enemy's coming in privately on the ſea-ſide.
41 New communications.
42 An intrenchment.
43 Another intrenchment intended to cover the gate.
44 Horn-work.
45 Crowned work.
46 A work intended.
47 Communication-gate.
48 A defence on the ſea-ſide contriv'd in the rock.
49 A work to ſupport the glacis.
50 A covered way lately made.

The ISLAND of LA SANGLE or S. MICHAEL'S.

The firſt works of this place were begun about the year 1541, under the Magiſtery of the Grand Maſter John d'Omedes, continued in 1651 by the Grand Maſter de la Sangle, and perfected as they now are by order of the Grand Maſter D. Raimond de Perellos.

51 Principal gate.
52 S. Michael's Baſtion and Cavalier.

The CASTLE S. ANGE.

When the Knights ſettled their abode in Malta, this was the chief fortreſs to defend the port. The Grand Maſter Philip de Villiers de l'Iſle Adam fix'd his dwelling in it, as did alſo his ſucceſſors, till they removed to the city Valette. He repaired it in ſeveral places, and the Grand Prior de Toulouſe, in the abſence of the Grand Maſter de Monté, added to it in 1533 the Baſtion on the ſide of the Engliſh harbour. In 1541 the Grand Maſter John d'Omedes rais'd a Cavalier, according to the draught of Faramolin, the Emperor's Engineer, that they might ſee what paſſed in the port of Marſamuſette.

The Grand Maſter de la Valette ordered, during the ſiege, to raiſe the battery 55. at the foot of the Caſtle, which prevented the ſtorming of it intended by the Turks, who had prepared rafts and other conveniences on the Marſa: And laſtly under the magiſtery of D. Raimond de Perellos, they raiſed three great batteries which hinder the coming into the harbour, by the direction of D. Carlos de Grunemberg, the King of Spain's Engineer.

53 The principal gate.
54 A Cavalier.
55 A low battery cut out in the rock.
56 Another battery.

The Burgh or Victorious City.

This town was the firſt ſettlement of the Knights; they took poſſeſſion of it on the 28th of October 1530.

It was then very inconſiderable, being only encompaſſed with a ditch of a ſmall depth, and very ill flank'd; and, as a guard againſt the attempts of the pyrates, under the Grand Maſter de Monté the two Baſtions were added to it, which ſome time after the year 1541 were perfected at the requeſt of the Grand Prior of Caſtille. But in the year 1715, upon the report that the Turks were fitting out a large fleet, they raiſed new fortifications by order of the Grand Maſter Dom Raimond de Perellos, which have been continued under the following magiſteries of Marco Antonio Zondodari and Antonio Manoel de Villena, the preſent Grand Maſter, who made it one of the ſtrongeſt places in Europe, according to the plans of the Chevalier de Tigné, the King's Engineer, and by the direction of the Chevalier de Mondion, Engineer to the Order.

57 The Burgh's Gate.
58 S. Laurence's Baſtion and Cavalier.
59 Baſtion and poſt of Caſtille.

Fort S. Marguerite, or la Feorenzola.

This fortification, which is ſo called from a chapel of S. Marguerite that happened to be in the ditch, and father Feorenzola, an Auſtin Friar, a man of merit and reputation, was begun about the year 1638, and they raiſed the three Baſtions 60, 61, and 62, with the two adjoining Courtains. This work remain'd unfiniſhed, and, as it were, buried under its ruins, till the year 1715, when it was ſet on foot again, to which they added the communication 63. in order to ſecure the harbour, and joyn to the iſland what had been made already; as alſo the communication 64, to joyn it likewiſe to the burgh, and cut off all means of approaching the harbour; and thus but little remains now to be done.

60, 61, 62 Baſtions begun in 1642, under the Grand Maſter Laſcaris, which were not finiſhed till the year 1715.
63 A communication to joyn that fort to the iſle, and to ſecure the harbour.
64 Another communication with the burgh.

The City Cotoner.

This vaſt incloſure was begun in 1670, by order of the Grand Maſter Nicolas Cotoner, with a view likewiſe to ſecure the harbour, and to ſerve for a place of refuge to the countrey people in the iſland, the fort S. Marguerite not anſwering fully that purpoſe. He ſent for Count de Valperga, an Engineer in the ſervice of the Duke of Savoy, who made a plan of it; and his Eminency carried on this new fortification as long as he lived; but it was afterwards neglected, and left very imperfect, and of very little uſe till the year 1715, when the Grand Maſter Raimond de Perellos ordered it to be finiſhed. It has been ſince brought up to the ſtate it is now in, and tho' it be not perfect, having no out-works nor ditches, it is however the fineſt intrenchment that can be ſeen.

65 S. Raphael's Baſtion.
66 Valperga's Baſtion.
67 S. Paul's Baſtion.
68 S. John's Baſtion.
69 S. Nicolas's Baſtion.
70 S. Clement's Baſtion.
71 Our Lady of Grace's Baſtion.
72 S. James's Baſtion.
73 S. Lewis's Baſtion.
74 Salvador's Baſtion, wherein there is an intrenchment to cover the burgh.
75 S. Laurence's Baſtion.

The Fort of Ricarzoly.

It was begun about the ſame time with the city Cotoner, according to the plan of Count Valperga; and took its name from an Italian Knight, who furniſhed a conſiderable ſum towards the raiſing of it.

There had been however a long while before, on that point, the battery 79 at the entrance into the harbour, which ſtill continues to be there, and was call'd the Point of Lorſo: they both defend and ſecure the entrance into the harbour.

76 The Sea-Gate.
77 The Land-Gate.
78 New fortifications.
79 A battery plac'd near the edge of the water.

The Castle S. Ange.

Before the city Valette was built, this was the only fort they had on that ſide

to defend and guard the entrance into both harbours. When the Turkiſh army had landed on the 18th of May 1565, they beſieged it, to open a paſſage into the Marſa-muſſiette, and there ſhelter their fleet. On the 24th of the ſame month they raiſed a battery againſt it, and took it on the 23d of June following, notwithſtanding the vigorous oppoſition of the Knights who defended it. After the ſiege was raiſed, they repair'd it, and added to it a large Cavalier; and the Grand Maſter D. Raimond de Perellos order'd it to be encompaſſed with a new incloſure, and joyn'd it with the city Vallette, which extends itſelf as far as the ſea.

80 The Foot-Gate.
81 A large Cavalier.
82 The Light-Houſe's Tower.

FORT MANOEL.

To put the city Vallette entirely out of danger, they ſtill wanted to ſecure the iſland of the Lazaret, in the middle of the harbour Marſa-muſciette, from whence the enemy might batter the back of all the fortifications, ruin all the flanks, and by the means of Rafts attempt a ſtorm, and find themſelves in the center of all, without having any thing to do with the head works. There had been always a deſign to fortify that poſt, but the glory of executing it was reſerv'd for the preſent Grand Maſter.

The draught of it was made in the month of June 1723, by the Chevalier de Tigné in his third voyage to Malta; the execution hath been purſued by the Chevalier de Mondion; and it is now one of the beſt pieces of fortification in this countrey, and conſequently in all Europe.

83 S. Anthony's Baſtion.
84 S. John's Baſtion.
85 La Miſida's Baſtion.
86 N. S. de la Pieta's Baſtion.

An EXPLANATION of the References to the Towers, Batteries, and Redouts already raiſed, or intended to be raiſed, for the defence of the Iſlands of MALTA, of the GOZE, and the CUMING.

CALLE of MARSA-SIROCO.

1 THE Tower of Marſa-Siroco, built in 1610.
2 A great circular Battery below the Tower.
3 S. George's Battery.
4 A Redout below S. George's Chapel.
5 Kechakara's Battery.
6 Berſebougia Redout.
7 Oitelboura, or S. Raymond's Battery.
8 Callafranca's Redout.
9 Benenza, or S. Catharine's Battery.
10 S. James's Battery.
11 The Fiſhery's Redout.

CALLE of S. THOMAS, and MARSA-SCALA.

12 A great Tower built in 1674.
13 A great Battery.
14 A Battery on the right of the Calle S. Thomas.
15 A Battery on the left.
16 A Redout in the Calle of Marſa-Scala.
17 The little Tower of S. Julien, or of the Univerſity; a new Battery at the foot of it.
18 A Houſe, or Mandrague, turn'd into a Redout.
19 S. Magdalen's Battery.
20 and 21 Battery of the point of Marco.

CALLE of the SALINES and of S. PAUL.

22 A ſmall Battery of the Salines, or Salt-pits.
23 A Houſe, or Mandrague, turn'd into a Redout.
24 The little Tower of Caura, or the Univerſity, and the new Battery at the foot of it.
25 S. Paul's Tower, built in 1609.
26 A Battery at the end of the Calle.
27 A Redout to defend the intrenchments, and oppoſe a landing.
28 A great Battery.

CALLE of MELECHA and FRIOUL.

29 Battery on the right, or the Madona's.
30 A Redout, or ſmall fort at the end of the Calle, to ſupport the intrenchments.
31 Battery on the left.
32 S. Agathe's red Tower, with the new Battery at the foot of it.
33 Little Tower of the Harache, and the new Battery at the foot of it.
34 Great Battery at the Frioul.
35 and 36 A Battery of ſmall Guns.
37, 38 and 39 A Redout in the middle of the Calles.

ISLANDS of CUMING and the GOZE.

40 A great Tower with a falſe-bray.
41 S. Mary's Redout.
42 Migart's Redout and Battery.
43 Tower of Garſa.
44 and 45 Ramella's Battery.
46 A Redout in the middle of the ſand.
47 Tower of Marſa-Forno.
48 Great Redout of Marſa-Forno.
49 S. Paul's Battery.
50 Marſa-Forno's Battery.
51 Calle-Baida's Battery.
52 Calle-Bazar's Redout.

BOOKS Printed for and Sold by *George Strahan* in *Cornhill*, *Fletcher Gyles* over-againſt *Gray's-Inn* in *Holborn*; Meſſ. *Woodman* and *Lyon* in *Ruſſel-Street*, *Covent-Garden*; *Daniel Brown* without *Temple-Bar*; Meſſ. *Groenwegen* and *Vanderhoeck* in the *Strand*; *Charles Davis* in *Pater-noſter-row*, and *Thomas Oſborn* near *Grey's-Inn* Walks.

DE Vita & Rebus Geſtis Sereniſſimæ Principis Mariæ Scotorum Reginæ Franciæ dotariæ, quæ ſcriptis tradidere autores ſexdecim. In duo Volumina diſtributa, & ad optimæ fidei codices recenſita à Samuele Jebb. 2 Vol. Folio.

The moſt Notable Antiquity of *Great-Britain*, vulgarly called *Stone-Henge*, on *Saliſbury* Plain, Reſtored, by *Inigo Jones*, Eſq; Architect General to the King. To which are added, The *Chorea Gigantum*, or *Stone-Henge* Reſtored to the *Danes*, by Dr. *Charleton*; and Mr. *Webb*'s Vindication of *Stone-Henge* Reſtored, in Anſwer to Dr. *Charleton*'s Reflections; with Obſervations upon the Orders and Rules of Architecture in uſe among the Antient *Romans*. Before the whole are prefix'd certain Memoirs relating to the Life of *Inigo Jones*, with his Effigies, engrav'd by *Hollar*; as alſo Dr. *Charleton*'s, by *P. Lombart*; and four new Views of *Stone-Henge* in its preſent Situation; with above Twenty other Copper-Plates, and a compleat Index to the entire Collection.

Memorials of Affairs of State in the Reigns of Queen *Elizabeth* and King *James* I. Collected (chiefly) from the Original Papers of the Right Honourable Sir *Ralph Winwood*, Kt. ſometime one of the Principal Secretaries of State. Comprehending likewiſe the Negotiations of Sir *Henry Neville*, Sir *Charles Cornwallis*, Sir *Dudley Carleton*, Sir *Thomas Edmonds*, Mr. *Trumbull*, Mr. *Cottington* and others, at the Courts of *France* and *Spain*, and in *Holland*, *Venice*, &c. Wherein the principal Tranſactions of thoſe Times are faithfully related, and the Policies and Intrigues of thoſe Courts at large diſcover'd. The whole digeſted into an exact Series of Time. To which are added two Tables, one of the Letters, the other of the principal Matters. In Three Volumes Folio. By *Edmund Sawyer* of *Lincoln's-Inn*, Eſq;

Itinerarium Septentrionale, or a Journey thro' moſt of the Counties of *Scotland*, and thoſe in the *North* of *England*; in Two Parts. Part I. Containing an Account of all the Monuments of *Roman* Antiquity, found and collected in that Journey, and exhibited in order to illuſtrate the *Roman* Hiſtory in thoſe Parts of *Britain*, from the firſt Invaſion by *Julius Cæſar*, till *Julius Agricola*'s March into *Caledonia*, in the Reign of *Veſpaſian*; and thence more fully to their laſt abandoning the Iſland, in the Reign of *Theodoſius*, jun. With a particular Deſcription of the *Roman* Walls in *Cumberland*, *Northumberland*, and *Scotland*; their different Stations, Watch-Towers, Turrets, Exploratory Caſtles, Height, Breadth, and all their other Dimenſions; taken by an actual Geometrical Survey from Sea to Sea, with all the Letters and Inſcriptions found on them: As alſo a View of the ſeveral Places of Encampment made by the *Romans*, their Caſtles, Military Ways, *&c.* Part II. An Account of the *Daniſh* Invaſions on *Scotland*, and of the Monuments erected there on the different Defeats of that People; with other curious Remains of Antiquity; never before communicated to the Publick. The whole illuſtrated with ſixty-ſix Copper Plates. By *Alexander Gordon*, A. M.

The *Engliſh* Works of Sir *Henry Spelman*, Kt. publiſhed in his Life-time: Together with his Poſthumous Works, relating to the Laws and Antiquities of *England*: And the Life of the Author. By the Right Reverend Father in God *Edmund* Lord Biſhop of *London*. To which are added, Two more Treatiſes of Sir *Henry Spelman*, never before Printed; One of the Admiral Juriſdiction, and the Officers thereof, the Other of antient Deeds and Charters. With a compleat Index to the whole. The Second Edition.

FH
MVSEVM
BRITANNICVM